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A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

CATHOLIC CHURCH:

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA
UNTIL THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

M. L'ABBÉ J. E. DARRAS.

FIRST AMERICAN FROM THE LAST FRENCH EDITION.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY THE MOST REV. M. J. SPALDING, D. D.,

ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE.

VOL. III.

NEW YORK:
P. O'SHEA, PUBLISHER.
27 BARCLAY STREET,
1871.

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CONTENTS.

FIFTH PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

§ I. Pontificate of Sylvester II. (February 19, A. D. 999—May 12, 1003). I. Character of the fifth period of the history of the Church.—2. Great men and saints of the period.—3. Eminent qualities of Gerbert.—4. Magnanimous conduct of Sylvester II. toward Arnulf, his former competitor for the See of Rheims.—5. The year 1000. Gothic architecture.—6. First idea of the Crusades, and of the institution of the Jubilee.—7. Erection of the kingdom of Hungary.—8. St. Henry II., king of Germany.—9. Death of Sylvester II. § II. Pontificate of John XVIII. (June 6, A. D. 1003—October 31, 1003). 10. Election and premature death of John XVIII. § III. Pontificate of John XIX. (March 19, A. D. 1004—July 18, 1009). 11. Death of St. Nilus in the hermitage of *Grotta Ferrata*.—12. Martyrdom of St. Abbo, of Fleury.—13. St. Adalbero, bishop of Metz.—14. St. Fulcran, bishop of Lodeve. St. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres.—15. Fulk-Nerra, count of Anjou.—16. William V., duke of Aquitaine.—17. Collection of canons by Burchard, bishop of Worms.—18. Isidore Mercator's collection of decretals.—19. Abdication of John XIX.—20. Invention of the gamut by Guy of Arezzo. § IV. Pontificate of Sergius IV. (October 10, A. D. 1009—July 13, 1012). 21. Persecution of the Jews in the various provinces of Christian Europe.—22. Martyrdom of St. Elphege, archbishop of Canterbury.—23. Death of Sergius IV. § V. Pontificate of Benedict VIII. (July 20, A. D. 1012—July 10, 1024). 24. Schism in the Church. Sclavonian revolt.—25. The Emperor Henry II. crowned by Benedict VIII.—26. The singing of the Creed adopted in the Roman liturgy. The four symbols of the Church.—27. St. Meinwerc, bishop of Paderborn.—28. The Emperor St. Henry a disciple of Blessed Richard of Verdun.—29. Italy saved by Benedict VIII. from a Saracen invasion.—30. Interview between the Pope and the Emperor at Bamberg.—31. The Greeks expelled from the south of Italy.—32. Council of Selingstadt.—33. Council of Orleans.—34. St. Romuald founds the order of the Camaldoli.—35. Death of the Emperor St. Henry II. and of Benedict VIII..... Page 1

CHAPTER II

§ I. Pontificate of John XX. (July 19, A. D. 1024—November 6, 1033). 1. Conrad II., duke of Franconia, raised to the throne of Germany.—2. Election of John XX.—3. Embassy from the Greeks, requesting for the Patriarchs of Constantinople the title of Ecumenical Patriarch. Refusal of the Pope.—4. Zeal displayed by Gerard, bishop of Cambray, against innovators.—5. Conrad II. crowned by the Pope emperor of Germany.—6. Canute the Great. His virtues.—7. Olaus II., *the Saint.*—8. Decline of the Church of Constantinople.—9. Disorders among the regular and secular clergy in the East.—10. Succession of the Greek emperors.—11. Famine and plague in France.—12. The *Truce of God.*—13. The Apostolate of St. Martial.—14. Chivalry.—15. Death of John XX. § II. Pontificate of Benedict IX. (December 9, A. D. 1033—May, 1044). *First Period.* 16. Scandals in the See of St. Peter 17. Election of Benedict IX.—18. Vices of the Pope.—19. St. Gerard, bishop of Chonad, in Hungary.—20. Casimir I., called the Peaceful, king of Poland.—21. *Mal des ardents.*—22. Last acts and death of St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny.—23. Revolutions in Constantinople.—24. Antipope Sylvester III. Benedict IX. abdicates the Papacy for the first time. § III. Pontificate of Gregory VI. (April 28, A. D. 1045—December 17, 1046). 25. Election of Gregory VI.—26. St. Peter Damian.—27. Abdication of Gregory VI. § IV. Pontificate of Clement II. (December 25, A. D. 1046—October 9, 1047). 28. Election of Clement II.—29. Modesty of St. Peter Damian.—30. Death of Clement II. § V. Pontificate of Benedict IX. (November, A. D. 1047—July 17, 1048). *Second Period.* 31. Benedict IX. again ascends the pontifical throne. His final abdication. § VI. Pontificate of Damasus II. (July 17, A. D. 1048—August 8, 1048). 32. Election and death of Damasus II. ..... Page 35

CHAPTER III.

§ I. Pontificate of St. Leo IX. (February 11, A. D. 1049—April 19, 1054). 1. Election of Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the Sovereign Pontificate.—2. Council of Rome.—3. Council of Pavia. St. John Gualbert founds the Monastery of Vallis Umbrosa.—4. Council of Rheims.—5. Council of Mentz.—6. Berengarius. Lanfranc.—7. Heresy of Berengarius.—8. His condemnation.—9. Michael Cerularius. Eastern schism.—10. Closing acts of the life of St. Leo. § II. Pontificate of Victor II. (April 13, A. D. 1055—July 28, 1057). 11. Election of Pope Victor II.—12. Question of *Investitures.*—13. Zeal and humility of Pope Victor II.—14. Councils of Lyons and of Tours.—15. State of the Catholic world.—16. Death of the Emperor Henry III. Death of Pope Victor II. § III. Pontificate of Stephen X. (August 2, A. D. 1057—March 20, 1058). 17. Election of Stephen X.—18. His zeal for ecclesiastical reform.—19. St. Peter Damian a Cardinal.—20. Death of Stephen X. § IV. Schism of Benedict X. (April 5, A. D. 1058—January, 1059). 21. Schismatical election of Benedict X. Protest of St. Peter Damian.—22. Deposition of Bene-

dict X. Election of Nicholas II. § V. Pontificate of Nicholas II. (January 31, A. D. 1059—June 24, 1061). 23. Council of Rome. The election of Popes reserved to the Cardinals. The right of confirmation assigned to the Emperors of Germany.—24. Council of Amalfi. Treaty between Nicholas II. and Robert Guiscard.—25. Heresy of the Nicholaites. St. Peter Damian legate to Milan.—26. Mission of St. Hugh, abbot of Cluny, and of Cardinal Etienne, to France.—27. Relations of Nicholas II. with the various Christian powers.—28. Disorders in the court of Henry IV. Death of Nicholas II. § VI. Pontificate of Alexander II. (September 30, A. D. 1061—April 20, 1073). 29. Election of Alexander II. Cadalous, bishop of Parma, antipope, under the name of Honorius II.—30. Struggle between the lawful Pontiff and the antipope. Deposition of Cadalous.—31. Heresy of the Incestuous.—32. St. Peter Igneus.—33. Attempt of Henry IV. to repudiate his lawful wife. Legation of Peter Damian to the emperor.—34. Death of St. Peter Damian. His works.—35. Conquest of England by William, duke of Normandy.—36. Illustrious saints under the Pontificate of Alexander II.—37. Discipline, or self-flagellation.—38. Death of Alexander II. ..... Page 65

CHAPTER IV.

§ I Pontificate of St. Gregory VII. (April 22, A. D. 1073—May 25, 1085). 1. Antecedents of St. Gregory VII. His election.—2. Confirmation of his election by Henry IV., king of Germany.—3. Political state of the Christian world at the accession of St. Gregory VII.—4. Matilda, countess of Tuscany.—5. Fatal consequences accruing to the Church from the usurpation of the right of investiture by the emperors.—6. Doctrine of St. Gregory's predecessors on this subject.—7. First decree of St. Gregory VII. against disorderly or simoniacal clerics.—8. Decree of the Council of Rome against the investitures.—9. Henry IV. subdues the rebellious Saxons.—10. Conspiracy of Cencius against the Pope.—11. A sentence of deposition pronounced against St. Gregory by the pseudo Council of Worms.—12. State of public opinion in the Middle Ages concerning the right of the Sovereign Pontiff to depose kings and princes.—13. Henry IV. is deposed by St. Gregory in the Council of Rome, and his subjects released from their oath of allegiance.—14. Diet of Tribur.—15. Meeting of St. Gregory VII. and Henry IV. at Canossa. Reconciliation.—16. Rudolph, duke of Suabia, elected King of Germany at the Diet of Forcheim.—17. Rudolph and Henry IV. appeal to the arbitration of St. Gregory.—18. Hostilities between the two kings.—19. Rudolph recognized as King of Germany by St. Gregory. Sentence of deposition again pronounced against Henry IV.—20. The false Council of Brixen elects an antipope in the person of Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who assumes the name of Clement III. Death of Rudolph.—21. Hermann, count of Luxemburg, elected King of Germany by the Diet of Goslar.—22. Departure of St. Gregory from Rome, which falls into the hands of Henry IV., and the antipope.—23. Robert Guiscard comes to the Pope's relief. Death of St. Gregory VII.—24. Progress of the Turks in the East, under the Pontificate of St. Gregory VII.—25. Labors of St. Gregory VII. in the northern States of Europe.—26. Holy personages

and religious foundations under the Pontificate of St. Gregory.—27. Was the law of ecclesiastical celibacy an innovation of St. Gregory VII.? § II. Pontificate of Victor III. (April 24, A. D. 1086—September 16, 1087). 28. Victor III. elected, in spite of his own resistance, to the Sovereign Pontificate.—29. The Countess Matilda drives the Antipope Guibert from Rome.—30. Council of Beneventum against investitures. Death of Victor III....Page 105

CHAPTER V.

§ I. Pontificate of Urban II. (March 12, A. D. 1088—July 29, 1099). 1. Election of Urban II.—2. Henry IV. still hostile to the Holy See. Election of Conrad, his eldest son, to the throne of Germany.—3. First labors of Urban II. He calls St. Bruno to Rome.—4. Excommunication of Philip I. and Bertrada.—5. William Rufus in England.—6. Election of St. Anselm to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.—7. Struggle between St. Anselm and the King of England.—8. Roscelin. Universals. Realists and Nominalists.—9. Philosophical works of St. Anselm.—10. Were the Crusades just and useful wars?—11. Peter the Hermit. Council of Clermont.—12. The first Crusade.—13. Taking of Jerusalem. Godfrey de Bouillon chosen king.—14. Death of Pope Urban II. § II. Pontificate of Paschal II. (August 13, A. D. 1099—January 18, 1118). 15. Election of Paschal II. Death of the antipope Guibert. His successors.—16. Henry I. succeeds William Rufus and recalls St. Anselm to England.—17. Henry, the second son of Henry IV., proclaimed king of Germany at the death of Conrad. Council of Northus.—18. Diet of Mentz. Henry IV. abdicates in favor of his son Henry V.—19. Henry IV. again in arms. His death.—20. Henry V. also claims the right of investiture. Journey of Paschal II. into France. Council of Châlons-sur-Marne.—21. Henry V. marches upon Rome, seizes the Pope, and carries him into captivity.—22. Paschal II. signs a treaty granting to Henry V. the right of investiture. Crowns Henry emperor. Release of the Pope. His repentance.—23. Council of Lateran. Paschal II. annuls the treaty wrung from him by the violence of Henry V.—24. Indignation of the Catholic world at Henry's sacrilegious attempts.—25. Henry V. once more before Rome. Flight and death of Paschal II.—26. Death of Godfrey de Bouillon. Foundation of the military orders. Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre. Knights Templars.—27. St. Bernard at Citeaux.—28. Abelard. § III. Pontificate of Gelasius II. (January 25, A. D. 1118—January 29, 1119). 29. Election of Gelasius II. Sedition raised in Rome by Cencio Frangipani.—30. Henry V. seizes Rome. Gelasius II. withdraws to Gaëta. Election of the antipope Maurice Bourdin under the title of Gregory VIII.—31. Death of Gelasius II. at Cluny. § IV. Pontificate of Calixtus II. (February 1, A. D. 1119—December 12, 1124). 32. Election of Calixtus II. Attempt at a reconciliation between the Pope and the emperor. Conference of Mouson.—33. Henry V. deposed and excommunicated by the Pope in the Council of Rheims, and his subjects freed from their allegiance.—34. St. Norbert. Premonstratensian order.—35. The Pope's return to Rome. End of the war of investitures.—36. Ninth Ecumenical Council. Death of Calixtus II. and of Henry

V.—37. Peter of Bruys. Henry of Lausanne. Tanchelm or Tanquelin.—38. Bogomiles.—39. Guibert de Nogent ....Page 146

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. Pontificate of Honorius II. (December 21, A. D. 1124—February 14, 1130). 1. Extraordinary circumstances attending the promotion of Honorius II.—2. State of Christendom at the accession of Honorius II.—3. Influence of St. Bernard over his age.—4. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny.—5. Suger and the abbey of St. Denis.—6. Henry, archbishop of Sens. St. Bernard *On the Duties of Bishops.*—7. Stephen de Senlis, bishop of Paris. —8. Council of Troyes.—9. St. Otho, bishop of Bamberg, apostle of Pomerania. Successes of the Christians in Spain, under Alphonso the Great and Alphonso VII. Death of Honorius II. § II. Pontificate of Innocent II. (February 17, A. D. 1130—September 24, 1143). 10. Schism of the antipope Peter de Leone.—11. Journey of Innocent II. to France.—12. Miraculous cure of the *Sacred Fire.*—13. Council of Rheims. Crowning of Louis-le-Jeune, son of Louis-le-Gros.—14. Roger, duke of Sicily, and William, duke of Aquitaine, the only upholders of the antipope. Departure of Innocent II. The Pope at Clairvaux.—15. Innocent returns to Rome. Crowning of the Emperor Lothaire.—16. Second journey of St. Bernard into Italy. Council of Pisa. St. Bernard at Milan.—17. St. Bernard and William, duke of Aquitaine, at Parthenay.—18. Third voyage of St. Bernard to Italy. Conference between the Abbot of Clairvaux and Peter of Pisa, at Salerno. End of the Schism of the antipope Peter de Leone.—19. Tenth general council, the second Lateran. Roger acknowledged king of Sicily.—20. Peter de la Châtre, archbishop of Bourges. Raoul, count of Vermandois. The kingdom of France under interdict.—21. Burning of Vitry-le-Brûlé. Death of Innocent II.—22. Condemnation and death of Abelard.—23. Arnold of Brescia.—24. Doctors and holy persons in the Pontificate of Innocent II. § III. Pontificate of Celestin II. (September 26, A. D. 1143—March 9, 1144). 25. Election and death of Celestin II. He raises the interdict placed upon the French kingdom by his predecessor.—26. Prophecies ascribed to St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh. §. IV. Pontificate of Lucius II. (March 10, A. D. 1144—February 25, 1145). 27. Rome declared a republic, by the partisans of Arnold of Brescia. Death of Lucius II. § V. Pontificate of Eugenius III. (February 27, A. D. 1145—July 8, 1153). 28. Election of Eugenius III. St. Bernard's letter to the cardinals and to the new Pope.—29. Triumphal entrance of Eugenius into Rome. St. Bernard's work *De Consideratione.*—30. Assembly of Vezelay. St. Bernard preaches the Crusade in France and Germany.—31. Departure of the Crusaders. Treachery of Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople.—32. Wretched end of the second Crusade.—33. Gilbert de la Porré. Eon de l'Etoile.—34. Petrobrusians. Henricians. Albigenses. Cathari. Labors of Peter the Venerable and St. Bernard against them. Saintly characters under the Pontificate of Eugenius III.—35. Death of Eugenius III. § VI. Pontificate of Anastasius IV. (July 9, A. D. 1153—December 2, 1154). 36. Election and death of Anastasius IV.—37. Death of St. Bernard..... .....Page 204

CHAPTER VII.

§ I. Pontificate of Adrian IV. (December 3, A. D. 1154—September 1, 1159). 1. Election and antecedents of Adrian IV.—2. Punishment of Arnold of Brescia.—3. Political state of Italy under Adrian IV. William the Bad, king of Sicily. Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany.—4. Coronation of Frederick Barbarossa.—5. Restoration of peace between Adrian IV. and William the Bad.—6. The Pope's letter to Frederick Barbarossa.—7. Meeting at Roncaglia.—8. Separation of Louis VII., king of France, and Eleanor of Guienne.—9. Intellectual movement during the Pontificate of Adrian IV. The scholastic system. Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences. Decree of Gratian.—10. Military orders in Spain. § II. Pontificate of Alexander III. (September 7, A. D. 1159—August 30, 1181). 11. Voltaire's eulogy of Alexander III. Schism of the antipope Victor III.—12. The false Council of Pavia issues a sentence of deposition against Alexander.—13. The lawful Pontiff is supported by the majority of the Catholic world.—14. Destruction of Milan by Frederick Barbarossa.—15. Alexander retires into France, to escape the fury of Barbarossa. Conference between Louis VII. and the deputies of the German emperor.—16. Council of Tours.—17. Death of the antipope; is succeeded by Guy de Crême, under the name of Paschal III. Return of Alexander III. to Rome. Restoration of Milan. Frederick Barbarossa takes Rome. The Pope withdraws to Anagni.—18. Congratulatory letters sent to Pope Alexander after the retreat of Frederick Barbarossa.—19. Death of the antipope Paschal III. John, abbot of Strum, succeeds, as Calixtus III. Siege of Ancona.—20. Frederick Barbarossa submits to the Pope. Ratification of the peace. Interview between the Pope and the emperor.—21. Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.—22. Council of Northampton.—23. Thomas à Becket visits France and is taken under the protection of Louis VII.—24. The King of England excommunicated by Thomas à Becket. Alexander III. confirms the sentence. Reconciliation of the prelate and the king.—25. Martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket.—26. Penance of the King of England.—27. Eleventh general council and third Lateran.—28. Death of Alexander III.—29. Holy persons of his Pontificate. Beguinages. § III. Pontificate of Lucius III. (September 1, A. D. 1181—November 24, 1185.) 30. Final treaty between Frederick Barbarossa and the Lombard cities.—31. Bull of Lucius III. against the Albigenses, Cathari, and Patarini. Origin of the Inquisition.—32. The Humiliati, or Poor Men of Lyons. Waldenses.—33. Death of Lucius III. § IV. Pontificate of Urban III. (November 25, A. D. 1185—October 19, 1187). 34. Election of Urban III. Accession of Isaac Angelus to the throne of Constantinople.—35. Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa, crowned king of Italy.—36. Jerusalem taken by Saladin. Death of Urban III. § V. Pontificate of Gregory VIII. (October 20, A. D. 1187—December 15, 1187). 37. Election and death of Gregory VIII. § VI. Pontificate of Clement III. (December 19, A. D. 1187—March 25, 1191). 38. Departure of Frederick Barbarossa for the Holy War. His successes and death.—39. Death of Clement III. § VII. Pontificate of Celestin III. (March 28, A. D. 1191—January

8, 1198). 40. Coronation of the Emperor Henry IV.—41. Departure of Philip Augustus and Richard the Lion-hearted, for the Crusade. Siege of Ptolemaïs. —42. Capture of Ptolemaïs.—43. Philip Augustus returns to France. Successes of Richard in Palestine.—44. Return of Richard to Europe. Death of Saladin. —45. Unjust detention of Richard by Leopold, archduke of Austria, and by the Emperor of Germany. Efforts of Celestin III. to obtain his release. Death of the Pope.—46. Saints of this period.....Page 257

CHAPTER VIII.

Pontificate of Innocent III. (January 8, A. D. 1198—July 16, 1216.) 1. Influence of the Papacy in the Middle-Ages.—2. Election and antecedents of Innocent III.—3. Life of Innocent III., after his promotion.—4. State of the world at the time of his accession.—5. Innocent III. restores the Pontifical power in Italy.—6. The Pope bestows the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily upon Queen Constance. Affair of the Four Chapters. Innocent III. becomes the guardian of the youthful Frederick II.—7. Philip Augustus repudiates Queen Ingelberga.—8. Philip Augustus solemnly excommunicated in the Council of Dijon.—9. Philip submits and receives back Ingelberga.—10. The question of succession to the German throne. Guelphs and Ghibellines.—11. Otho, duke of Aquitaine, elected and crowned emperor.—12. Otho, proving false to his oath to the Holy See, is deposed by Innocent III., and the crown is bestowed upon Frederick II., king of Sicily.—13. The Pope calls to his tribunal the question in dispute between Philip Augustus and John Lackland.—14. King John excommunicated by Innocent III. His submission. Battle of Bouvines.—15. Fourth Crusade.—16. Capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders. Foundation of a Latin empire in the East.—17. Success of the Christians in Spain.—18. Crusade against the Albigenses. Simon of Montfort.— 19. St. Dominic.—20. St. Francis of Assisi.—21. Twelfth general, and fourth Lateran, Council.—22. Death of Innocent III.....Page 311

CHAPTER IX.

§ I. Pontificate of Honorius III. (July 18, A. D. 1216—March 18, 1227). 1. Condition of the East at the accession of Honorius III.—2. Fifth Crusade.— 3. Honorius declares himself the protector of Henry III., king of England.— 4. Renewal of the Crusade against the Albigenses, by Louis of France, son of Philip Augustus.—5. The Inquisition.—6. Death of Philip Augustus. Louis VIII. carries on the war against the Albigenses. Saint Louis.—7. End of the war against the Albigenses.—8. Death of Honorius III. Saints of this period.
§ II. Pontificate of Gregory IX. (March 18, A. D. 1227—August 21, 1241). 9. Frederick II., emperor of Germany.—10. Sixth Crusade.—11. Gregory IX. deposes Frederick II. Submission and reconciliation of the emperor.—12. Various works of Gregory's Pontificate.—13. Fresh attacks of Frederick II. upon the Holy See. Is again excommunicated. Death of Gregory IX.
§ III. Pontificate of Celestin IV. (October A. D. 1241—November, 1241).

14. Election and death of Celestin IV. § IV. Pontificate of Innocent IV. (June 24, A. D. 1243—December 7, 1254.) 15. First relations of Innocent IV. and Frederick II. The Pope is threatened with imprisonment and takes refuge in Lyons.—16. The thirteenth general council, the first of Lyons.—17 Gengis Khan Oktai.—18. Circumstances determining the seventh Crusade. Its lamentable issue.—19. The *Pastoureaux*.—20. Labors of Innocent's Pontificate. Death of the Pope.—21. Saints of this period. § V. Pontificate of Alexander IV. (December 25, A. D. 1254—May 25, 1261). 22. Contest between Alexander IV. and Manfred, regent, and afterward king of Sicily.—23. Revolt in Rome. Alexander IV. flies to Viterbo.—24. Constitutional charter of Prussia, promulgated by James Pantaleon, Apostolic legate.—25. The Inquisition in France.—26. Dispute of the University of France with the Dominicans and Franciscans.—27. Roger Bacon. Alexander of Hales. Duns Scotus. St. Bonaventure. Vincent of Beauvais. Albert the Great. St. Thomas Aquinas.—28. Death of Alexander IV. § VI. Pontificate of Urban IV. (August 29, A. D. 1261—October 2, 1264). 29. Letter of Urban IV. to James III., king of Aragon.—30. The Pope offers the throne of Sicily to Charles of Anjou.—31. Institution of the feast of Corpus Christi. Death of Urban IV. § VII. Pontificate of Clement IV. (February 5, A. D. 1265—November 29, 1268). 32. Charles of Anjou crowned king of Sicily, by order of Clement IV.—33. Trial and death of Conradin.—34. Death of Clement IV. *Pragmatic Sanction*. Liberties of the Gallican Church. § VIII. Vacancy in the Holy See. (November 29, A. D. 1268—September 1, 1271). 35. Eighth and last Crusade. Death of St. Louis.—36. End of the last Crusade. The Christians expelled from Palestine.—37. Remarks on the Crusades. § IX. Pontificate of Gregory X. (September 1, A. D. 1271—January 10, 1276). 38. Gregory's projected Crusade. Efforts to bring back the Greek Church.—39. Fourteenth general council, held at Lyons.—40. The Carmelites, Servites of Mary, and Celestines, approved by the fourteenth general council.—41. Cession of the County of Venaissin to the Holy See by Philip the Bold.—42. Rodolph of Hapsburg, emperor of Germany.—43. Death of Gregory X. § X. Pontificate of Innocent V. (January 21, A. D. 1276—June 22, 1276). 44. Election and death of Innocent V. § XI. Pontificate of Adrian V. (July 4, A. D. 1276—August 18, 1276). 45. Election and death of Adrian V. § XII. Pontificate of John XXI. (September 13, A. D. 1276—May 16, 1277). 46. Election and death of John XXI. § XIII. Pontificate of Nicholas III. (November 25, A. D. 1277—August 22, 1280). 47. Opposition of the Greeks to the Treaty of Union.—48. Death of Nicholas III. § XIV. Pontificate of Martin IV. (February 22, A. D. 1281—March 28, 1285). 49. Treaty of Martin IV. with the Roman people.—50. Sicilian Vespers.—51. Accession of Andronicus to the throne of Constantinople. § XV. Pontificate of Honorius IV. (April 2. A. D. 1285—April 3, 1287). 52. Election and death of Honorius IV. § XVI. Pontificate of Nicholas IV. (February 15, A. D. 1288—April 4, 1292). 53. Election and death of Nicholas IV. § XVII. Pontificate of St. Celestin V. (July 7, A. D. 1294—December 13, 1294). 54. Election and abdication of St. Celestin V..... Page 343

CHAPTER X.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE FIFTH PERIOD OF THE CHURCH.

1. Hostile attitude of the German emperors toward the Church.—2. Holiness of the Pope's mission at this period.—3. Cardinals.—4. Relation of the episcopate to the Holy See.—5. Morals of the clergy of this period.—6. Influence of the Church upon society in the Middle-Ages.—7. The Crusades.—8. The Albigensian war.—9. Propagation of the gospel.—10. The spirit of faith. Worship. Devotion to the Blessed Virgin.—11. Religious orders.—12. Universities.—13 Gothic architecture.—14. Religious symbolism of Gothic art. The cathedrals of this period.... .....Page 416

SIXTH PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Pontificate of Boniface VIII. (December 24, A. D. 1294—October 11, 1303). 1. Character of the sixth period.—2. State of the world at the accession of Boniface.—3. Truce between the Holy See and James II. of Sicily violated as soon as concluded.—4. Revolt in Rome. The Colonnas.—5. Bull of the Jubilee.—6. Struggle between Albert of Austria and Adolphus of Nassau for the imperial crown. Albert recognized as emperor of Austria.—7. Philip the Fair, king of France. Edward I. of England. Bull *Clericis laicos*.—8. Bull *Ineffabilis*.—9. Bull *Ausculta, fili*. States-General of France assembled in Paris.—10. Council of Rome. Bull *Unam sanctam*.—11. Sacrilegious outrage of Anagni. Death of Boniface VIII. § II. Pontificate of B. Benedict XI. (October 22, A. D. 1303—July 6, 1304). 12. Difficulties in the government of the Church at the accession of Benedict XI.—13. Death of Benedict.—14. Guelphs and Ghibellines in Florence. Dante. § III. Pontificate of Clement V. (November 14, A. D. 1305—April 20, 1314). 15. Reproaches incurred by the administration of Clement V.—16. Election of Clement. Calumnies brought against it.—17. Translation of the Holy See to Avignon.—18. First acts of Clement V. He refuses to annul the bull *Unam sanctam*.—19. The Templars.—20. Arrest of the Templars.—21. Charges brought against them.—22. Fifteenth general council at Vienne. Publication of the bull suppressing the Templars.—23. Execution of James Molay.—24. Critical review of the trial of the Templars.—25. Condemnation of the Albigenses by the general Council of Vienne. Division in the Order of St. Francis.—26. Henry of Luxemburg, emperor. Death of Philip the Fair and of Clement V.—27. Saints of the period..... .....Page 441

CHAPTER II.

§ I. Pontificate of John XXII. (August 7, A. D. 1316—December 4, 1334.) 1. State of the world at the accession of John XXII.—2. Canonization of St. Louis, bishop of Toulouse, and of St. Thomas Aquinas. Universities. Division in the order of St. Francis.—3. Heresy of the Fratricelli. Michael of Cesena. William Ockham.—4. Contest between Louis of Bavaria and the Holy See.—5. Excommunication of Louis by John XXII. Louis deposes the Pope. Election of the antipope, Nicholas V.—6. Popular outbreak against Louis of Bavaria and the antipope.—7. John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia. Submission of the antipope. Death of John XXII.—8. Controversy on the *Beatific vision.* § II. Pontificate of Benedict XII. (December 20, A. D 1334—April 25, 1342). 9. Election and character of Benedict XII.—10. Building of the Papal palace at Avignon.—11. Publication of the bull *Benedictus Deus*, closing the controversy on the Beatific vision.—12. Diet of Reuss. Illegitimate marriage of the son of Louis of Bavaria.—13. Truce effected between Charles the Fair and Edward III. of England, through the intervention of the Pope.—14. Defeat of the Spanish Saracens on the field of Tarifa.—15. Death of Benedict XII. § III. Pontificate of Clement VI. (May 7, A. D. 1342—December 6, 1352). 16. Noble generosity of Clement VI. 17. Embassy of the Romans to Clement VI.—18. State of the world at the Pope's accession. Treaty of Malestroit between France and England.—19. Feigned submission of Louis of Bavaria to the Holy See.—20. Clement VI. deposes Louis of Bavaria and bestows the imperial crown upon Charles of Luxemburg.—21. Truce of Calais between France and England.—22. Expedition of Louis, king of Hungary, against Joanna, queen of Naples.—23. Nicholas of Rienzi.—24. The Black Plague.—25. Jubilee of 1350. § IV. Pontificate of Innocent VI. (December 18, A. D. 1352—September 12, 1362). 26. Compromise in the conclave. Election of Innocent VI. His first acts.—27. State of Europe at the accession of Innocent VI.—28. Cardinal Ægidius Albornoz.—29. Peter the Cruel.—30. Battle of Poitiers. Peace of Brétigny.—31. Crusade organized by Blessed Peter Thomas. Death of Innocent VI. § V. Pontificate of Urban V. (September 27, A. D. 1362—December 19, 1370). 32. Election of Urban V.—33. Success of B. Peter Thomas in Egypt.—34. Excommunication and death of Peter the Cruel.—35. Wise administration of Urban V. The Pope acquaints the Sacred College and the Christian princes with his intention of returning to Rome.—36. Return of the Pope to the Eternal City.—37. The Eastern and the Western emperors at Rome.—38. St. Bridget. Return of Urban V. to Avignon. His death. § VI. Pontificate of Gregory XI. (December 30, A. D. 1370 March 27, 1378.) 39. Election of Gregory XI. Revolt of Italy.—40. The Pontifical troops sent into Italy.—St. Catharine of Sienna.—41. Return of Gregory XI. to Rome.—42. Wycliffe. Death of Gregory XI. at Anagni.....Page 478

CHAPTER III.

WESTERN SCHISM (September 20, A. D. 1378—November 11, 1417).

Lawful Popes in Rome.—URBAN VI. (April 9, A. D. 1378—October 15, 1389.)—BONIFACE IX. (November 3, A. D. 1389—October 1, 1404).—INNOCENT VII. (October 17, A. D. 1404—November 6, 1406).—GREGORY XII. (December 30, A. D. 1406—abdicates at the Council of Pisa, for the peace of the Church, June 5, 1409).—ALEXANDER V. (June 26, A. D. 1409—May 3, 1410).—JOHN XXIII. (May 17, A. D. 1410—abdicates, for the peace of the Church, at the Council of Constance, May 29, 1415).

Antipopes at Avignon.—ROBERT OF GENEVA, styled Clement VII. (September 20, A. D. 1378—September 16, 1394).—PETER DI LUNA, styled Benedict XIII. (September 28, A. D. 1394—his authority ended in the Council of Constance, July 26, 1417).

MARTIN V. (November 11, A. D. 1417) restores peace to the Church and ends the Great Western Schism after a struggle of thirty-nine years.

§ I. PONTIFICATE OF URBAN VI. (April 9, A. D. 1378—October 15, 1389). 1. Historical reflections upon the Great Western Schism.—2. Theological view of the schism.—3. The system adopted in classifying the lawful Pontiffs and the antipopes.—4. Election of Urban VI. Troubles arising out of the election.—5. Character of the new Pope. Breach between Urban and the cardinals. Letter of St. Catherine of Sienna to the cardinals.—6. Election of the antipope Clement VII.—7. The University of Oxford supports the rightful Pope against the University of Paris.—8. St. Peter of Luxemburg, cardinal-bishop of Metz.—9. Affairs of Naples. Charles of the Peace.—10. Charles of Anjou. War of Charles of Durazzo against Urban VI. Death of Urban VI. § II. PONTIFICATE OF BONIFACE IX. (Nov. 3, A. D. 1389—October 1, 1404). 11. Election of Boniface IX.—12. Alliance between Ladislas, king of Naples, and the Holy See.—13. Bajazet I., sultan of Turkey. Battle of Nicopolis. Battle of Ancyra. Death of Bajazet, a captive of Tamerlane.—14. St. Vincent Ferrer.—15. St. John Nepomucene.—16. Death of the antipope Clement VII. The cardinals at Avignon elect a successor in the person of Benedict XIII.—17. Doctors of the University of Paris. Peter d'Ailly. The Chancellor Gerson.—18. Benedict XIII. driven from Avignon. Death of Boniface IX.—§ III. PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT VII. (October 17, A. D. 1404—November 6, 1406). 19. Election of Innocent VII.—20. Troubles in Rome appeased by the intervention of Ladislas, king of Naples. Death of Innocent VII.—21. St. Colette. § IV. PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY XII. (December 30, A. D. 1406—is deposed in the Council of Pisa, June 5, 1409).—22. Letter of Gregory XII. to the antipope Benedict XIII.—23. Gregory refuses to appear at the Conference of Savona.—24. Council of Pisa.—25. Legitimacy of the Council of Pisa.—Gerson's *De Auferibilitate Papæ*.—26. Deposition of Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. by the Council of Pisa. § V. PONTIFICATE OF ALEXANDER V. (June 26, A. D. 1409—May 3, 1410). 27. Election of Alexander V.—28. The Catholic world divided between three obediences. Death of Alexander V.—VI. PONTIFICATE OF JOHN XXIII. (May 17, A. D. 1410—abdicates in the

Council of Constance; recalls his abdication, and is finally deposed on the 29th of May, 1415).—29. Election of John XXIII.—30. Ladislas in Rome.—31. Sigismund, emperor of Germany.—32. Council of Constance.—33. John XXIII. leaves Constance. Is deposed and submits.—34. Abdication of Gregory XII.—35. Deposition of Benedict XIII.—36. Condemnation and execution of John Huss and of Jerome of Prague.....Page 528

CHAPTER IV.

§ I. Pontificate of Martin V. (November 11, a. d. 1417—February 20, 1431). 1. Election of Martin V. Submission of John XXIII. to the new Pope. End of the schism of Benedict XIII. and of his successor, Clement VIII.—2. Closing sessions of the Council of Constance.—3. Entrance of Martin V. into Rome.—4. Ravages of the Hussites in Germany.—5. Embassy of John Palæologus to Rome.—6. Joan of Arc. Orleans delivered.—7. Coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims. Execution of Joan of Arc at Rouen. Death of Martin V. § II. Pontificate of Eugenius IV. (March 4, a. d. 1431—February 23, 1447). 8. Systematic opposition to the Papacy.—9. Election of Eugenius IV. The Hussites in Germany.—10. Council of Basle. Its attacks upon the authority of Eugenius IV.—11. Moderation displayed by the Pope.—12. "Bright days" of the Council of Basle.—13. Hussites in the Council of Basle.—14. Eugenius dissolves the council.—15. The council sets itself in open rebellion against Eugenius IV. Election of the antipope Felix V. Pragmatic sanction of Charles VII., king of France.—16. Council of Florence, the sixteenth ecumenical. Reunion of the Greek Church.—17. The people of Constantinople refuse to accept the reunion.—18. Æneas Sylvius, secretary of the Council of Basle, submits to Pope Eugenius IV. § III. Pontificate of Nicholas V. (March 6, a. d. 1447—March 24, 1455). 19. Concordat of Nicholas V. with Germany. Submission of the antipope Felix V.—20. John Hunyades. Battle of Varna.—21. Mahomet II. before Constantinople.—22. Heroic defence of Constantine Dragases. Fall of Constantinople.—23. The Pope offers an asylum to the Greek writers spared in the fall of their capital. Invention of printing.—24. Death of Nicholas V. § IV. Pontificate of Calixtus III. (April 8, a. d. 1455—August 6, 1458). 25. Crusade preached throughout the whole of Europe, against the Turks. Siege of Belgrade by Mahomet II. Institution of the *Angelus*. Death of Calixtus III. § V. Pontificate of Pius II. (August 27. a. d. 1458—August 14, 1464). 26. Efforts made by Pius II. to arm the Christian princes against the Turks.—27. He confers the investiture of the kingdom of Naples on Ferdinand I.—28. Condemns the principles and the acts of the Council of Basle. The bull *Execrabilis*.—29. Rejection of the bull by the Parliament of Paris.—30. Accession of Louis XI. to the French throne. Revocation of the pragmatic sanction of Charles VII.—31. Letters of Pius II. to the Christian rulers and to Mahomet II. Death of the Pope.....Page 373

CHAPTER V.

§ I. Pontificate of Paul II. (August 31, A. D. 1464—July 26, 1471). 1. Election of Paul II. Scanderbeg.—2. Paul deposes Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, and gives his place to Uladislas.—3. Question of the Pragmatic Sanction resumed.—4. Cardinal de la Balue.—5. Prudent administration of Paul II. Death of the Pope. § II. Pontificate of Sixtus IV. (August 9, A. D. 1471—August 13, 1484). 6. Efforts of Sixtus IV. to organize a Crusade against the Turks.—7. Peter d'Aubusson. Siege of Rhodes. Death of Mahomet II.—8. Revolution in Florence. Execution of Francis Salviati, archbishop of Pisa. The city of Florence placed under interdict. League of the Italian principalities with France against Sixtus IV.—9. Policy of the Sovereign Pontiffs in Italy. Death of Sixtus IV.—10. Death of Louis XI. St. Francis of Paula. § III. Pontificate of Innocent VIII. (August 29, A. D. 1484—July 24, 1492). 11. Contest in the East for the succession of Mahomet II. Bajazet I. Prince Zizim.—12. Fruitless attempt of Bajazet upon Italy.—13. Troubles in Naples.—14. Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic. Inquisition in Spain. Torquemada.—15. Death of Innocent VIII. Pico della Mirandola. § IV. Pontificate of Alexander VI. (August 11, A. D. 1492—August 18, 1502). 16. Election of Alexander VI. His character.—17. Alexander divides the territory of the New World between the Kings of Spain and Portugal.—18. Safety and order restored to Rome by Alexander. Ludovico Sforza, *il Moro*, duke of Milan, calls the French into Italy.—19. The Roman nobles submit to Charles VIII. Entry of Charles into Rome. Expedition against Naples.—20. Punishment of the Roman nobles.—21. Savonarola.—22. Revolt of Savonarola against the authority of the Holy See. His execution.—23. Accession of Louis XII. to the throne of France. New attempt upon Italy. Death of Alexander VI. § V. Pontificate of Pius III. (September 23, A. D. 1502—October 18, 1503). 24. Election and death of Pius III. § VI. Pontificate of Julius II. (November 1, A. D. 1503—February 21, 1513). 25. Character of Julius II.—26. League of the European rulers against the Pope. The false Council of Pisa deposes the Pope.—27. Seventeenth general Council of Lateran.—28. Intellectual movement in Italy at this period. *Renaissance* ..... Page 615

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE SIXTH PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. Effects of the Great Western Schism.—2. Opposition to the Pontifical Power.—3. Struggles of the Papacy against the hostile tendency.—4. The Episcopate.—5. Morals of the clergy.—6. Religious orders. Olivetans. Jesuates. Hieronymites. Sisters of St. Bridget. Minims. Free clerics.—7. Mendicant

orders.—8. Preachers. John of Vicenza. Berthold. John Tauler. St. Vincent Ferrer. Savonarola.—9. Saints of the period. St. Veronica of Milan. St. Catherine of Genoa. Nicholas of the Flue.—10. General decline of faith and morality among the people.—11. Penitential discipline. Flagellantes. Dancers.—12. Mystical writers. Tauler. Suso. Ruysbroek. Gerson. Thomas à Kempis.—13. Literary revival. Danté. Petrarch. Boccacio. Christian art.....Page 650

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

FIFTH PERIOD.

From Sylvester II. (February 19, A. D. 999), until the death of Boniface VIII. (October 11, A. D. 1303).

CHAPTER I.

SUMMARY.

§ I. Pontificate of Sylvester II. (February 19, A. D. 999—May 12, 1003).

1. Character of the fifth period of the history of the Church.—2. Great men and saints of the period.—3. Eminent qualities of Gerbert.—4. Magnanimous conduct of Sylvester II. toward Arnulf, his former competitor for the See of Rheims.—5. The year 1000. Gothic architecture.—6. First idea of the Crusades, and of the institution of the Jubilee.—7. Erection of the kingdom of Hungary.—8. St. Henry II., king of Germany.—9. Death of Sylvester II.

§ II. Pontificate of John XVIII. (June 6, A. D. 1003—October 31, 1003).

10. Election and premature death of John XVIII.

§ III. Pontificate of John XIX. (March 19, A. D. 1004—July 18, 1009).

11. Death of St. Nilus in the hermitage of *Grotta Ferrata*.—12. Martyrdom of St. Abbo, of Fleury.—13. St. Adalbero, bishop of Metz.—14. St. Fulcran, bishop of Lodeve. St. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres.—15. Fulk-Nerra, count of Anjou.—16. William V., duke of Aquitaine.—17. Collection of canons by Burchard, bishop of Worms.—18. Isidore Mercator's collection of decretals.—19. Abdication of John XIX.—20. Invention of the gamut by Guy of Arezzo.

§ IV. Pontificate of Sergius IV. (October 10, A. D. 1009—July 13, 1012).

21. Persecution of the Jews in the various provinces of Christian Europe.—22. Martyrdom of St. Elphege, archbishop of Canterbury.—23. Death of Sergius IV.

§ V. Pontificate of Benedict VIII. (July 20, A. D. 1012—July 10, 1024).

24. Schism in the Church. Sclavonian revolt.—25. The Emperor Henry II. crowned by Benedict VIII.—26. The singing of the Creed adopted in the Roman liturgy. The four symbols of the Church.—27. St. Meinwerc, bishop of Paderborn.—28. The Emperor St. Henry a disciple of Blessed Richard of Verdun.—29. Italy saved by Benedict VIII. from a Saracen invasion.—30. Interview between the Pope and the Emperor at Bamberg.—31. The Greeks expelled from the south of Italy.—32. Council of Selingstadt.—33. Council of Orleans.—34. St. Romuald founds the order of the Camaldoli.—35. Death of the Emperor St. Henry II. and of Benedict VIII.

§ I. Pontificate of Sylvester II. (February 19, A. D. 999—May 12, 1003).

1. The fifth period of the history of the Church includes the brightest pages in mediæval annals. It is the period of great works, of our grand gothic cathedrals, of chivalry and the crusades. The Papacy, with the strong arm of Gregory VII., breaks the chains riveted upon it by imperial despotism. The great struggle of the investitures ends in the triumph of the right, of civilization and the Church. The Sovereign Pontiffs are now the guardians of kings, the stay of empires, the champions of the people. Every Christian institution advances with giant strides. The religious orders display their ranks like countless armies, throughout the whole of Christendom. Schools increase. Illustrious doctors, saints, whose world-wide renown enlightens their age and throws a halo of glory about it, bequeath to posterity the admiration of their genius and their virtues. Monastic discipline once more flourishes in the West: the sciences and literature show an unwonted vigor of growth. True, the Eastern schism rends the bosom of the Church, and throws a gloomy shadow upon the brightness of the glorious triumph; but the Crusades, that religious outpouring of the people of Europe toward the sepulchre of Christ, found a kingdom in Palestine, a Latin empire in Constantinople. Faith quickens the world and causes it to bring forth wonders.

2. The opening of the eleventh century, by its generous tribute of great men and great saints, amply consoled the Church for her long barrenness. Otho III. is succeeded on the imperial throne of Germany by St. Henry II. and the Empress Cunegunda; St. Stephen, king of Hungary, becomes the apostle of his people; his glorious and royal example is followed by St. Vladimir, grand-duke of Russia; Robert-the-Pious illustrates the French throne by his virtues, and blots out, by a saintly old age, the waywardness and scandals of his earlier years. Sancho III. the Great, sways with glory the heroic sceptre of Navarre. A generous rivalry in virtue, a noble and holy friendship closely binds these sovereigns, and directs all their efforts to the good of their subjects and the welfare of the Church. The French episcopate is graced by St. Gerard of Toul, Blessed Adalbero of Metz, St. Fulcran of Lodeve, St. Gilbert of Meaux, St. Thierry of Orleans, St. Burchard of Vienne, and St. Fulbert of Chartres. Nor does Germany yield to France in the splendor of her hierarchy; she glories in St. Wolfgang of Ratisbon, St. Gebhard of Constance, St. Adalbert of Prague, St. Villigise of Mentz, St. Libentius of Hamburg, St. Bernard and St. Godard of Hildesheim, St. Vulpode of Liege, St. Heribert of Cologne, St. Harrwitch of Saltzburg, and St. Meinwerc of Paderborn; Sweden boasts St. Sigfrid, bishop and apostle, St. Wilfrid, bishop and martyr; Norway, a martyr king, St. Olaus. The monastic order is graced by St. Abbo of Fleury, St. Romuald, founder of the Camaldoli, and St. Odilo, the successor of St. Mayeul, at Cluny.

3. Above all these great and holy men, towers the imposing historical figure of Pope Sylvester II., the first Frenchman whose privilege it was to ascend the throne of St. Peter. Gerbert was of an obscure family of Aurillac, received his education, through charity, at the monastery of St. Gerald, and owed his elevation wholly to his own merit. Providence was gradually shaping, by hidden and steady workings, the destiny of the Pontiff who was to give back to the Roman See the rank it had held under Gregory the Great and Nicholas I. The first

Pope was chosen from among the fishermen of Galilee; more than one of his successors was drawn from a like lowly station to illustrate this eminent dignity. The Church, in her gradual development through the course of ages, remains ever true to the beginnings of her divine institution. She again identifies herself with the very types of weakness to confound the great and powerful of the world. Gerbert—a prince in learning, philosopher, mathematician, musician, archbishop of Rheims and of Ravenna, and at length Pope, under the title of Sylvester II.—combined in his own great mind, and showed forth in their application to the active life, all the elements of progress attained at the tenth century; like all great men he was the impersonation of his age. It is a grateful task for the French historian to record the name of a Son of France, a child of her pious Auvergne, as that of the restorer of the religious and social order of the eleventh century. As tutor to the young emperor, Otho III., Gerbert had acquired a learning above the standard of his time. The extent of his acquirements marked him as the most learned scholar of the age, before the Pontifical dignity had placed him at the head of the world. He first introduced in Western Europe the use of Arabic figures, which he had learned from the Moors, while travelling in Spain. He furnished the church of Magdeburg with the first specimen of a clock worked by weights;* these clocks were used until 1650, when Huyghens substituted the pendulum. When first appointed archbishop of Rheims, Gerbert maintained his position in that see, even against the Pope, with a spirit which has called down upon him the censure of historians. The career of the greatest men has always shown some weak point by which they pay their tribute to human frailty. His rival, Arnulf, of the race of Charlemagne, was at length put in possession of the see by Hugh Capet,

* Gerbert took particular delight in the exact sciences, which he had studied at the university of Cordova. In the course of a few years spent in this university, he acquired an extensive knowledge of chemistry, mechanics, and the various branches of mathematics. He is said to have invented an organ, of which the keys were moved by steam.

who wished to prove the power and popularity of his dynasty by supporting the claims of a member of the fallen royal family. Otho III., to compensate Gerbert for the loss of the see, obtained his appointment to the archbishopric of Ravenna. Gregory V. approved the translation; and Gerbert thus ascended the steps to the sovereign authority. At the death of Gregory V., the emperor looked to the monk of Aurillac, to intrust him with the government of the Church, and Sylvester II. was elected (February 19, A. D. 999).

4. The first act of the new Pontiff was to confirm his former rival, Arnulf, in the see of Rheims; and this generous act was conveyed in terms which proved the lofty views and sentiments which he brought to the Sovereign Pontificate. "It belongs to the Apostolic See," said Sylvester, "to restore to their dignities those who have been deprived of them, in order to preserve to St. Peter the unrestrained power of binding and loosing, which was given him by Jesus Christ, and that all nations may behold the splendor of the Roman glory. Hence, we deem it proper to use mercy in regard to you, Arnulf, archbishop of Rheims, who were once visited with a sentence of deposition; and as you were deposed without the consent of Rome, we must show that Rome knows how to repair what has been unjustly done; for such is the sovereign authority given to Peter and to his successors, that no human greatness can be compared to it." The Church now receives a new impulse. Sylvester II. addresses to all the bishops of the Catholic world a letter full of energy, humility, and unction, pointing out, with consummate ability, the vices of the times, and urging their reform, thus did he prepare the way for the reformation afterward carried out by St. Gregory VII.

5. It was the year 1000, the dread epoch of mystery to which a false interpretation of the Apocalypse had referred the end of all things. Sylvester II. was obliged to combat the popular terror; but superstition was stronger than arguments and exhortations. The closing year of the tenth century witnessed a total neglect of trade, material interests, every thing—even

the essential labors of agriculture. Now, lands and castles were bequeathed to churches and monasteries of which the spoils had enriched so many grasping barons. At the approach of the fatal day, the churches, basilicas, oratories, and chapels were thronged by the terror-stricken victims of superstition, who tremblingly awaited the appointed hour. It passed like any other, and the end of the world, known to God alone, had not yet knelled. The religious impulse given to the public mind by superstitious terror, now turned into a general ardor for the rebuilding of churches and sacred edifices. Since the time of the Barbarian inroads, Christian architecture had disappeared, like all the other arts, whelmed in the wreck of European society. The principal cities of the world were now adorned with monuments of a new style of architecture called the Gothic, because borrowed from the Spanish Goths. "King Robert," says a chronicler, "took an active part in the great religious movement; he began to raise the church of our Lady of Paris, over the ruins of a heathen temple;" and this period marks the birth of the splendid improvements in the monumental art of the middle-ages. The tendency to undertake the interpretation of prophecies gave rise to two directly opposite heresies. A fanatic named Leutard, in the diocese of Chalons, reasoning from the fact that the world had outlived the term believed to have been marked by the Apocalypse, held that only a part of the prophetic writings could be believed. Meanwhile another theorist, Vilgar of Ravenna, was teaching that implicit belief was due to all that has been said by the poets, and that their inspiration was of a prophetic character. These wandering theories, brought into the world at a moment when all minds were deeply engaged in prying into the mysterious gloom of futurity, were eagerly seized upon by the masses, and caused an overflow of errors, which led many to believe that these words of the Apocalypse were really fulfilled: "After a thousand years, 'Satan' must be loosed a little time." The close of the tenth century was marked by great public calamities, plagues, famine, disturbances of the

seasons, the overflowing of rivers, and all, in fine, that could signalize a period of fatal character.

6. The attention of Christian Europe was now drawn to Jerusalem and Palestine, devoted to all the horrors of Mussulman persecution. Sylvester II. was the first Pope who understood the necessity of arming Christendom to drive back its deadliest foe. The spirit of faith, so lately awakened in all hearts, was deeply moved at the tidings of disaster from the Holy Land, and at the humiliations inflicted by a cruel and impious race upon the spot hallowed by the world's Redemption. Beside the religious interest so actively engaged in the struggle, the question of humanity and civilization was to be decided between the soldiers of the Cross and the defenders of the Crescent. In a celebrated letter addressed to the whole Christian world, Sylvester II. sketched the political programme which the Crusades should realize. "The fruitful soil of Jerusalem," he said, "is the land of the Prophets, and contains the tombs of the Patriarchs; from this land went forth the Apostles, those splendid lights of the world, to conquer the universe; here Jesus Christ uttered His heavenly teaching. *His sepulchre*, says the Prophet, *shall be glorious*. Yet the unbelievers desolate the holy places, and make them places of ignominy. Arise, then, Soldiers of Christ! seize the standard and the sword; and what you cannot do by arms, do by your counsel and wealth." The Pisans alone answered the eloquent appeal of the Papacy; but the echoes of that voice were to ring for ages, throughout the whole of Europe, and especially in France, the home of generous self-devotion and noble deeds. Sylvester seemed destined to inaugurate, in the course of his pontificate, all the ideas which should afterward receive so splendid a development in the bosom of the Church. The first idea of the Jubilee is ascribed to him; "that great call addressed to all Christians, to make a pause in life, and to gather, in faith and charity, some strength to finish their pilgrimage toward eternity." * In maintaining the supremacy of the

* Life of Sylvester II., by M. Hock. Preface.

Popes, he displayed that energy which St. Gregory VII. afterward carried to the height of heroism. Conon, bishop of Perugia, laid some claim to the abbey of St. Peter, which had hitherto formed an integral part of the domain attached to the Roman See. The abbot strove to defend the rights of the Sovereign Pontiff; but he had been driven from the church by armed force, and his property plundered. Sylvester followed up the affair with great energy, and assembled a council in the Lateran palace to examine it; Conon's action was condemned, and the Holy See resumed its jurisdiction over the disputed estates.

7. But the most prominent event in the pontificate of Sylvester II. is the final conversion of Hungary. The youthful Duke Stephen, whom the Church honors as a saint, succeeded his father, Geisa, in the government of his native country (A. D. 997). He inaugurated his reign by a formal declaration of his will to see all his subjects embrace the faith of Jesus Christ. Those who still retained their attachment to idolatry, revolted under the leadership of some nobles. Stephen marched against them, won a complete victory, and, in thanksgiving, founded an abbey in honor of St. Martin, whose birth connected him more particularly to the kingdom of Hungary. From that period the body of the nation flocked to the standard of Jesus Christ. Apostolic workmen diligently sowed the seeds of the gospel. To give more strength and consistency to the infant church, Stephen divided the territory under his rule into ten bishopries, of which the metropolitan see was Strigonia upon the Danube. Having accomplished all these great events, Stephen sent Astric, bishop of Calocza, to Rome, to beg of Pope Sylvester the confirmation of the ten sees and the title of king for Duke Stephen (A. D. 1000). On receiving the glad tidings, the Pope did not hide his joy; and as the Hungarian envoy saluted him with the title of *Apostolic*, then officially given to the Popes: "If I am the Apostolic," he replied, "Stephen is the Apostle, since he has subjected so great a people to the yoke of the faith." This is the origin of the title

Apostolic Majesty, by which the kings of Hungary were thenceforth usually addressed. Sylvester granted the title asked by Stephen; he sent him a diadem, enriched with precious gems, for the ceremony of the coronation, and a cross which he allowed him to have borne before him as a mark of his apostolate. He likewise granted him the power of disposing and regulating the ecclesiastical affairs of his kingdom, which privilege was equivalent to the title of perpetual legate of the Holy See. It was afterward ratified by the Council of Constance, at the request made by the Emperor Sigismund, as king of Hungary. St. Stephen swayed with becoming dignity the sceptre which he gloried in having received from the Holy See. He completely subjected the Sclaves and Bulgarians, and Hungary is indebted to him for most of its social institutions. Such was then the political preëminence of the Papacy that it could even bestow crowns, thus fully proving that the disasters of the tenth century had not destroyed its influence over the world.

8. While St. Stephen I. honored the throne he had just established in Hungary, the crown of Germany passed to a prince equally dear to the Church, and whose name bears the twofold character of holiness and historic renown. The Emperor Otho III. had lately died in the flower of his age, at Paterno, a small town in Campania, and was succeeded by St. Henry II., duke of Bavaria. His reign was a long succession of struggles, nearly always successful, either with the great German or Italian vassals aiming at independence, or with the Sclavonians, whom he wished to subdue and convert. His piety, his zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, his submission to the authority of the Church, were subjects of continual edification to his contemporaries. He presented a happy combination of the saint and the hero, and his brilliant qualities vividly recalled Charlemagne, whose blood did indeed flow in his veins. The Empress Cunegunda, by her modesty, virtue, and exhaustless charity, proved herself worthy to share the throne of a crowned saint (A. D. 1002). By mutual consent, they both lived in a state of perfect continence, and gave one

of the most illustrious examples of those unions of virginity, richly fruitful in blessings and graces.

9. Sylvester II. did not long survive the accession of Henry II. to the German throne. He died on the 12th of May, A. D. 1003, leaving behind him the reputation of a great and holy Pontiff, with the glory of having restored literature and science to their fitting station, after the literary eclipse of the tenth century. We have from Pope Sylvester one hundred and forty-nine letters, some mathematical works, and a life of St. Adalbert, archbishop of Prague. After his pontificate, the Holy See again falls from the lofty stand to which his genius had raised it, and again becomes the sport of factions; but the impetus has been given; Gregory VII. is at hand.

§ II. Pontificate of John XVIII.* (June 6, A. D. 1003—October 31, 1003).

10. John XVIII., whose merit alone had raised him to the throne of St. Peter, gave the brightest promise of a worthy succession to Sylvester II.; but these cheering hopes were blasted by a premature death, after a reign of but three months (31st of October, A. D. 1003).

§ III. Pontificate of John XIX. (March 19, A. D. 1004—July 18, 1009).

11. John XIX. was raised to the Sovereign Pontificate on the 19th of March, A. D. 1004. This period, as we have already stated, saw a generation of saints renew the examples of virtue and the good works of the first ages of the Church. The St. Anthony of the eleventh century, the illustrious Italian hermit, St. Nilus, ended at Tusculum his course of humility, solitude, and penance. When he had reached the spot where he wished to die, about twelve miles from Rome, he was visited

* This Pontiff is reckoned the eighteenth of the name, since it has become customary to number in the catalogue of Sovereign Pontiffs the antipope Philagathos (John XVII.), of whom mention was made in the pontificate of Gregory V.

by the lord of the domain, Count Gregory, of Tusculum. The ambitious aims of the count had often led him to overstep the bounds of right and justice, and he was not without reason accused of using an undue influence in the Pontifical elections. His tyranny had excited frequent outbreaks in Italy, and cost torrents of blood. On approaching the saintly hermit, the count threw himself at his feet and said: "Father, my sins have made me unworthy to receive into my dwelling a servant of God, like yourself. Yet, since you have deigned to honor my domain by your presence, here are my abode, my city, and all these lands at your command. Dispose of them as you please." The lowly religious asked but leave to pray in peace, and to spend the remainder of his life in the *Grotta Ferrata*, a small hermitage raised on the ruins of what was once the elegant villa of Cicero. Here he ended his holy career on the 26th of September, A. D. 1005, hallowing, by the memory of Christian solitude, the retreat illustrated by the eloquence and heathen philosophy of the prince of Latin orators.

12. In the preceding year (1004), France witnessed the death of another glory of the monastic life, St. Abbo, abbot of Fleury, whose zeal for ecclesiastical discipline was rewarded with the martyr's palm. He had undertaken the reform of the monastery of Riole in Gascony. We have already had occasion to point out the great difficulty of checking the license which a neglect of the canonical regulations had introduced into certain religious communities. Relaxation and disorder had reached their height in the monastery of Riole. St. Abbo first tried to secure the observance of some regulations dictated by his zeal; he also brought some religious from his monastery of Fleury, hoping that the living example of regularity and virtue would gradually improve the general spirit. But the monks, imbittered by these measures, gave way to the last excesses of violence. A struggle ensued, the holy abbot threw himself into the thickest of the fight, to check their sacrilegious fury, when one of the wretches pierced his side with a lance. St. Abbo concealed his wound, and tried to return to his cell. He had hardly reached

it, when he expired in the arms of his faithful disciple Aimo, who has given us the account of his labors and his virtues (November 12, A. D. 1004).

13. This epoch paid a rich tribute of saintliness to heaven. St. Adalbero, bishop of Metz, died on the 14th of December, A. D. 1005. He was the son of Frederick, duke of Lower Lorraine, and Beatrice, sister of Hugh Capet. His birth thus gave him access to every earthly honor; but his piety drew him to the service of the Church, and the high positions he filled in its hierarchy were illustrated by his merit. When elected bishop of Metz (A. D. 994), he diligently practised his favorite maxim: "To do good, a true pastor must begin by gaining the affection of his flock." For this he was eminently fitted both by nature and grace; his manners were affable and polite, his disposition benevolent, and he possessed the faculty of doing a favor as though he had been the person obliged. He shared the zeal of the great saints of his period for monastic reform, and spread throughout his diocese the Order of St. Benedict which brought back the religious state to its first fervor. Wishing to place his episcopate more especially under the auspices of the Apostolic See, he performed a pilgrimage *ad limina Apostolorum*. His dwelling was the refuge of the needy and wretched, whom he always kindly received, even washing their feet according to the traditions of ancient hospitality, and he deemed it a privilege thus personally to serve these representatives of Jesus Christ. A contagious disease, known as the *sacred fire*, gave occasion for a display of his heroic charity. Several provinces were afflicted by the scourge. The sufferers came in great numbers to the tomb of St. Goeric, at Mentz, for the speedy cure of the painful evil. The holy bishop received them in his dwelling, washed their loathsome sores, heedless of infection, and fed them with his own hands. To this tender love of Jesus in the persons of his poor, Adalbero joined a deep and fervent devotion toward the mysteries of the Saviour God. He always wore a hair shirt whilst celebrating the Holy Sacrifice; and he could not hold in his hands the body of Jesus Christ without

bathing it in his tears. He passed the eves of the more solemn festivals without taking any nourishment; and the better to sanctify the Lenten season by prayer and recollection, he spent it in some monastery of his diocese.

14. The year 1006 closed the career of St. Fulcran, bishop of Lodeve. Sprung from one of the noblest houses of Languedoc, Fulcran was equally remarkable for his tender piety, his pastoral watchfulness, and disinterested charity. During a season of famine which desolated southern France, he became the foster-father of all the needy. With all his liberality, he still found means to rebuild his cathedral under the invocation of St. Genesius of Arles, and to attach to it a monastery dedicated to the Saviour. After an episcopate of fifty-eight years, he went to receive the reward of his virtues (February 13, A. D. 1006). As he was about to expire, his arms were supported that he might, for the last time, bless his beloved children who had assembled in the cathedral, where the holy bishop wished to die.

Another glory of the French Church was now rising in the ecclesiastical firmament, shedding abroad the twofold lustre of episcopal virtue and literary merit. St. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, was of humble extraction, and used to say of himself that "he had been picked up from the dust to be ranked among the princes of the Church." He had studied at Rheims, under Gerbert, afterward Sylvester II. His reputation for eloquence obtained for him the direction of the monastic school of Chartres. To the discharge of this duty he brought an erudition equalled only by his modesty. Beside a knowledge of divine and human letters, he possessed medical attainments unusual at his time; and his Treatise against the Jews, proves that he was not ignorant of the Hebrew tongue. His episcopal duties did not interrupt his public teaching. A voluminous correspondence with the religious, political, and literary leaders of the age, shows that he was then looked upon as the oracle of France. His name is associated with the foundation of the cathedral of Chartres, that wonderful monument of the Christian spirit of our fathers. The multiplied duties and the honors of

the episcopate did not blind St. Fulbert to its fearful responsibility. "Sovereign Creator," he exclaimed, "my only Hope, my Salvation, and my Life, grant me strength and courage. I fear that I have rashly entered the episcopal state, and that I may prove a stumbling-block to others; and yet, when I reflect that I have risen to this throne unsupported by family or wealth, like the *poor lifted up out of the dunghill*, I cannot but see the hand of Thy Providence bringing it all to pass." It required all the efforts of St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny, to calm the scruples of the pious and humble prelate; and, yielding to his representations, Fulbert consented to exercise a ministry upon which Almighty God was pleased to heap so many blessings. His learning gives him a right to rank among the Fathers of the Church. His letters are written with grace and intelligence, in an easy and delicate style. The Treatise against the Jews shows deep thought and solid reasoning. To these gifts of a superior mind, St. Fulbert joined a firm but prudent zeal for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, which lasted throughout the whole of his episcopate (A. D. 1007–1029).

15. Such examples of virtue and holiness produced a reaction in all classes of society. The humanizing influence of religion was gradually softening the native fierceness of the youthful nations of Europe. A remarkable instance of this was given in the case of Fulk-Nerra, count of Anjou, one of the most powerful nobles in France, but, at the same time, one of the most passionate and violent of her warriors. About the year 993, he had broken into the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, by armed force, and violated its sanctuary. As a protest against this sacrilege, the religious took down all the shrines of the saints and the image of Christ crucified, and surrounded them with thorns; then closing the door of the church, they ordered that they should be opened to none but foreign pilgrims. Fulk-Nerra, struck by this mournful display, wished to atone for his fault by a solemn penance. Accompanied by the principal lords of his suite, he walked barefooted to the church, to make atonement at the tomb of St. Martin;

prostrate before the shrines of the saints and the crucifix, he promised thenceforth to respect the Church and all its property. This event had changed the views of the Count of Anjou. Terrified at the disorders of his past life, to appease the stings of a conscience harassed by so many bloody memories, he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and at his return founded the monastery of Beaulieu, near Loches. The new convent was dedicated by a legate of the Sovereign Pontiff, and the monastery of Beaulieu was exempted by papal bull from the episcopal jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Tours. Fulk-Nerra spent most of the remaining years of his life in making two other pilgrimages to Palestine, which gave rise to his surname of *Palmer*—a name derived from the palms brought back by the pilgrims from the Holy Land.

16. William V., duke of Aquitaine, by many writers styled the Great, was a prince at once more powerful, more religious and more peaceful than Fulk of Anjou. He was the champion of the poor, the father of religious, the protector of churches. He had been accustomed, from his youth, to make a yearly pilgrimage to Rome or to St. James in Galicia. This custom of renewing fervor and faith in places consecrated by some great religious memory, was beginning to prevail throughout the Christian world; though the pious practice was indeed afterward made an occasion of disorders. But abuse may creep into the very best practices; and in this age of fervent faith, when religious views regulated the pursuits of life, pilgrimages were still a source of edification, of repentance and conversion. William of Aquitaine was on friendly terms with Robert the Pious, king of France, Alphonso, king of Leon, Sancho the Great, king of Navarre, Canute, king of England and Denmark, and the Emperor St. Henry. The sound teaching of his youth had given him a lasting taste for study. He furnished his palace with a library well stocked for that age; like Charlemagne, he gathered about him a number of scholars whose society he loved, and spent the leisure hours of the long winter evenings in learned converse with them. An interest-

ing discovery made in the year 1009, drew the attention of the Catholic world upon Aquitaine. Alduin, abbot of the monastery of Saint Jean d'Angely, in Saintonge, found in the wall of his church a small stone box enclosing a silver reliquary, with the inscription: "Here rests the head of the Precursor of Christ." The authenticity of this relic was perhaps questionable; yet no one in Aquitaine ventured to express a doubt in its regard. Crowds began to flock to Saint Jean d'Angely, not only from all parts of Gaul, but even from distant lands. King Robert came with his queen Constantia, and offered a golden conch weighing thirty pounds, with other costly gifts. Sancho, king of Navarre, also came; while the Duke of Gascony, the Count of Champagne, and all the most illustrious personages of the day, sent the most precious offerings. We have mentioned this event as characteristic of the manners of the age. Many others of the same kind occurred at the same time. Writers unfriendly to religion have found in them an occasion to attack the credulous simplicity of the ages of faith; asserting that priests and monks fostered the profitable spirit of popular superstition. In justice and truth, be it said, if there was any error in the degree of veneration to be paid to certain relics, at least there was no fraud practised in any case. The priests and monks sincerely shared the belief of their time; if there were any dupes, they were sure to be the very first. As to the improprieties which might result from popular devotion to relics of an authenticity questionable to us who judge by the fuller and surer resources of modern criticism, we quote the judicious remark of a Protestant writer, Leibnitz: "In proving that it is just to honor the saints within the bounds we have prescribed, we have shown that their relics may likewise be venerated, and that before them, or in the presence of images, we may pay homage to the saints they represent. And as we are speaking now merely of pious affections, it makes little difference whether the relics believed to be true prove by chance to be supposititious."

17. The most learned theologian of the age was undoubtedly

Burchard, bishop of Worms (A. D. 1006). He was of a noble family of Hesse, and was first sent to study at Coblentz, and afterward in the monasteries of Loches and Liege. He was raised to the episcopate at an early age, but lost none of his taste for study. Having no one about his person fitted to second his studious zeal, he begged Baldric, bishop of Liege, his intimate friend, to send him a man versed in the knowledge of the Scriptures, under whose guidance he might place himself. Baldric sent him a monk called Olbert, afterward abbot of Gembloux. Burchard had undertaken an herculean task; it was nothing less than the composition of a canonical theology, by which he hoped to restore ecclesiastical discipline in his diocese. He was assisted in this voluminous compilation by Walther, bishop of Spires; by Brunicho, provost of the Church of Worms, to whom he dedicated his work; but especially by his master, Olbert. In order to digest the whole and the details in greater retirement, he used to withdraw to a hermitage, which he had built for himself, two leagues from Worms. The authorities he quotes in this great work are the Sacred Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers, St. Basil, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Benedict, and St. Isidore, the decretals of the Popes, the canons of the Apostles and of the councils; the penitentials of Rome, of St. Theodore of Canterbury, and of Ven. Bede. The work is divided into twenty books, containing the economy of all social duties in their relations with the various states of life. In Burchard's moral and judicial theology, all is consistent. The rule laid down is the Word of God interpreted and applied by His Church. Every member of the spiritual and civil hierarchy finds his proper place, from the Pope to the least cleric, from the emperor to the humblest father of a family. Modern critics have found some errors in the immense work of the saintly and learned Bishop of Worms; as, for instance, quotations not drawn from authenticated documents, but coming from other incorrect collections. A word will suffice to answer this charge. The student of the eleventh century was not favored with the splendid editions of the

Fathers and councils which we now owe to the erudition of the Benedictines and Jesuits, of a Mabillon, a Labbe, a Mansi, a Ballerini. It was then necessary to refer to manuscripts difficult of access, and hard to decipher; and if there is any cause of astonishment, it should be in the prodigious learning displayed by Burchard in an age which the world agrees in taxing with the grossest ignorance.

18. In regard to the famous collection of decretals by Isidore Mercator, from which the Bishop of Worms borrows several quotations, writers unfriendly to the Papacy tax it with undue partiality toward the Sovereign Pontiffs, and of having been drawn up by their order. They assert that this is the only document which justifies the Holy See in reserving to itself the judgment of *major ecclesiastical causes*, and the right of *appeal to the Court of Rome*. These three charges are triumphantly refuted by Monsignore Palma. "It is notorious," says the learned prelate, "that far from having ordered the compilation of Mercator's collection, the Popes have never consented to recognize the authenticity of all the decretals it contains. It has been asserted that Nicholas I. approved them: the statement is utterly false. The history of the Church, from the first ages, furnishes several monuments of the apostolical tradition, which reserved to the Holy See the cognizance of major causes. In the year 404, Innocent I. wrote to Victricius, archbishop of Rouen: '*Should any major causes arise, the decrees of the council and the ancient usage of the Church, require that they be referred to the Apostolic See, after having been tried by the bishop.*'* The council mentioned by Innocent I., is acknowledged by all authors to be the Council of Sardica. Pope St. Zosimus wrote in the same sense to the bishops of Gaul; Sixtus III. to Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica, and Leo the Great to the bishops of Illyria. Hence the custom of reserving major causes to the judgment of the

* "Si majores causæ in medium fuerint devolutæ, sicut synodus statuit, et vetus consuetudo exigit, ad sedem apostolicam, post episcopale judicium, referantur."

Holy See is not an innovation of Isidore Mercator; it is an apostolic tradition. The same defence holds for the appeals to the Court of Rome, of which we find repeated examples in the history of St. Cyprian, of St. Athanasius, and of St. Marcellus of Ancyra. Here again Isidore's decretals have brought in no innovations." *

19. Virtue and learning, so illustriously represented in France and Germany, can produce names of brightness in England and Spain. It is enough to mention St. Dunstan, St. Elphege,† archbishop of Canterbury, Sts. Alfric and Leofric, in England. St. Froilan, bishop of Leon, and St. Attilan, bishop of Zamora, were the glory of Catholic Spain still engaged in continued strife against the Moors. Robert the Pious, in France; Alphonso V., in Spain; St. Henry II., in Germany, and St. Stephen I., in Hungary, threw the weight of their influence and material power into the balance in favor of Christianity. The East, under the joint sway of Basil II. and Constantine VIII., was at peace with the Holy See. The pontificate of John XIX. flourished under these favorable auspices. This Pontiff restored the bishopric of Merseburg, and erected that of Bamberg, at the request of St. Henry II. The various councils held in France and Italy (A. D. 1005–1006) regulated all questions of canon law and discipline. St. Bruno, also called Boniface, in whose favor the see of Merseburg had lately been restored, won the palm of martyrdom in Russia, where he had been carried by his apostolic zeal, to preach the Gospel in the countries still buried in heathen darkness (February 4, A. D. 1009). Thus did the Church, ever fruitful, spread its conquests and pour out the blood of its children upon distant strands, as the seeds for new harvests of Christian souls. Before appearing at the tribunal of Almighty God, to give an account of a pontificate illustrated by so many examples of virtue, John XIX. felt the necessity of recollecting himself awhile in soli-

* *Prælectiones Historiæ ecclesiasticæ.* MGR. PALMA, t. II., cap. XIV.

† This holy prelate was afterward martyred by the Danes, in their invasion of England.

tude. He abdicated the Papacy, and entered the monastery of St. Paul at Rome. The Holy See remained vacant three months after his resignation.

20. To the period of this pontificate is assigned the important discovery of the gamut, by Guy of Arezzo, a Benedictine religious, who thus fixed the principles of the grammar of music, and foreshadowed the progress which the art was destined, in its development, to realize by the master-pieces of great composers. Guy called the six notes by the first syllables of the hymn appointed by the Church for the vespers of St. John the Baptist,—

Ut queant laxis *re*sonare fibris
*Mi*ra gestorum *fa*muli tuorum,
*Sol*ve polluti *la*bii reatum,
Sancte Joannes.

In a letter showing the advantages of his new method, the modest religious speaks thus: "I hope that those who come after us will beg of God to forgive us our sins; for, instead of ten years, which were formerly required to attain a very imperfect knowledge of ecclesiastical chant, we now train up a chanter in one year, or two, at most." The great difficulty of learning music before the invention of the scale, may be imagined. The Pope sent for Guy of Arezzo, and expressed to him the satisfaction he felt at the useful discovery. The first Mass chanted in Germany, according to Guy's method, was executed on the occasion of consecrating the cathedral of Bamberg, by Pope Benedict VIII. The ease with which the art could now be learned, which had formerly required a study of ten years, excited universal wonder.*

* The scale invented by Guy of Arezzo was at first limited to the first six notes; the seventh, which completes the principal intonations of the musical scale, was added at a later date. In our own time, a wonderful and mysterious relation has been discovered between the seven principal intonations of sound, the seven primitive colors of light, and the seven leading figures in geometry. For instance, an iron bar, if gradually heated, successively shows the seven primitive colors forming the luminous ray; if the bar be struck, during the heating process, it successively gives forth the seven sounds of the musical scale; if it be applied to a sheet of tin, or to the lid of a piano-forte, covered with a fine and light powder, the successive vibrations of the seven musical notes will form, with the

§ IV. Pontificate of Sergius IV. (October 11, A. D. 1009—July 13, 1012).

21. The pontificate of Sergius IV., who ascended the chair of St. Peter on the 11th of October, A. D. 1009, was contemporaneous with a disaster which sent a thrill through the whole body of Christendom. The Mussulmans destroyed the church of the Holy Sepulchre, in Jerusalem, which had once before been burned by the Persians in the seventh century. It was taken for granted that this last outrage was due to the Jews in France, who wrote to the Caliph Hakem that unless he destroyed the shrine which drew so many Christian pilgrims, he would soon be despoiled of his domain. The bearer of the letter was arrested at Orleans, where he was recognized by a pilgrim who had travelled with him in Palestine. He confessed his crime and was condemned to be burnt alive. The Jews, who were very numerous and wealthy in Orleans, were expelled from the city. The account of their treachery soon spread throughout the kingdom and reached all parts of the world; this determined the Christian princes to banish them altogether from their states. Every province shared the general horror at the crime. They were driven from the cities, pursued through the country like beasts of prey; some were drowned, many perished by the sword or by other instruments of torture; some were driven by despair to put an end to their own lives, while others sought baptism to escape death. The violence of national hate, inflamed by these inflictions of revenge, often reached excesses which the more civilized temper of modern times cannot but condemn. The storm of vengeance lasted through the whole period of the middle-ages, and has furnished the enemies of the Church with a new charge against her, as if she had aroused the popular indignation against the

powder, the seven leading geometrical figures: the circle, the ellipse, the cone, &c. This natural phenomenon seems to extend even much further. (Rohrbacher, Universal History of the Catholic Church; t. XIII., p. 440.)

Jews, and must therefore answer for all the blood spilt in the course of these lamentable events. History, as the disinterested witness of the truth, cannot echo these slanderous charges. It can but record the tendency of prevailing sentiments, which urged on the whole of Christendom against the Jews, that deicide and reprobated people. The wide difference between the customs of the Christians and those of the hated race, the deeply-rooted prejudice against their usurious manner of acquiring wealth, and their propensity for treating all nations as their fathers had treated the Egyptians, robbing them of their wealth, only imbittered the existing hatred which sometimes broke out in scenes of fearful violence. But these are traits of the general spirit of a whole period, and can no more be attributed to the Church in particular, than to any other institution then in existence. Every age, every successive phase of civilization, has its own particular share of good and evil. Drop by drop, the Church was imbuing the heart of the newly-formed society with principles of mildness and universal benevolence. But it cost her a long and obstinate struggle to reach the end of this noble mission. And if our own age, still far from perfection, even in this respect, thinks itself entitled to boast of having outstripped its predecessors, it may pause to pay a grateful tribute to the Church, whose ceaseless efforts alone have wrought the great improvement.

22. Soon after the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, Pope Sergius IV. was acquainted with the sad intelligence, that the Danes in England, had taken the city of Canterbury by assault, sparing neither age nor sex. The Great See was then held by St. Elphege. Trained up, in youth, to monastic austerities, then abbot of the monastery of Bath, one of his own foundation, he still sanctified his episcopal state by all his early zeal in self-denial and practices of penance. Amid the severest rigors of winter, he used to rise at midnight and pray in the open air, barefooted, and clothed only with a light tunic. So watchful and unstinted was his charity, that his efforts alone entirely removed beggary from his diocese. When the victo

rious Danes entered Canterbury, St. Elphege, breaking away from his religious, who strove to keep him in the Church, threw himself between the murderers and their victims, exclaiming: "Spare these defenceless and harmless victims which you causelessly immolate to your shame. Turn your fury against me who have snatched so many captives from your hands, and have so often upbraided you for your crimes." The savage wretches fell upon him with blows and kicks, tearing his face with their nails, and cruelly throttled him, to silence the reproachful voice. They then thrust him into a narrow prison where he spent seven months, during which period an epidemic decimated their army. The Christians who could hold any communication with the Danes, made them understand that this plague was a mark of the Divine wrath. The barbarians begged the holy prelate's forgiveness, and restored him to liberty, which however, he did not long enjoy. The Danes would have compelled him to make over to them the sums of money which his charity bestowed upon the suffering. Upon his refusal, he was again thrown into prison, after undergoing the most frightful torture. Returning to the charge, the barbarians again demanded his treasures. As he replied by representing to them the awful judgments of God, and the fearful crimes into which they were led by the worship of idols, they rushed upon him, and loading him with blows, left him half dead upon the ground. At length one of the Danes, whom he had baptized on the previous day, moved by a feeling of pity worthy of such a Christian, in order to end his sufferings, laid open his head with a blow of his axe. The saintly prelate's martyrdom occurred on the 19th of April, A. D. 1012. The Danes had been provoked to these bloody reprisals by the cruelty of King Ethelred, who, in the year 1002, had ordered a massacre of all the Danes in England. On the same day, at the same hour, throughout all the provinces, the unsuspecting victims were murdered by the people, together with their wives and children. The horror of the massacre was, in many places, heightened by all the outrages and ruthless barbarity

that national hatred could suggest. These wholesale murders left thoughts of vengeance for many years rankling in the public mind. The Danes afterward made England atone for the easy triumph of treachery; and we shall find their king, Canute the Great, in A. D. 1007, subjecting the whole of Great Britain to the Danish yoke.

23. The short pontificate of Sergius IV. closed on the 13th of July, A. D. 1012. The Pontiff's death was the signal for fresh troubles in the Roman Church.

§ V. Pontificate of Benedict VIII. (July 20, 1012—July 10, 1024).

24. An arbitrary abuse of power kept the paramount influence over the Papal elections, since the death of Sylvester II., in the hands of the Count of Tusculum. The regular forms were still observed; but this foreign influence found means to act in spite of all canonical rules to the contrary. At the death of Sergius IV., the count brought about the election of his own son, under the name of Benedict VIII. (July 20, A. D. 1012). An opposite faction, thereupon, crowned an antipope named Gregory, who commanded partisans enough to force the lawful Pontiff to quit Rome, where he could no longer have remained with any degree of safety. He fled for shelter to Polden in Saxony, where St. Henry II. was celebrating the Christmas festival. The Sovereign Pontiff appeared before the king of Germany, in the attire befitting his dignity, and gave a touching account of all the outrages he had suffered from his rebellious subjects. St. Henry promised his aid to the Vicar of Christ; and would have set out at once for Rome, had he not been detained for a time to put down a fearful revolt of the Sclaves, who, in the struggle to throw off at once the yoke of the empire and that of the Church, covered Saxony with blood and ruin. The unseasonable severity of the Saxon Duke Bernard, and of the Marquis Theodoric, their

suzerains, drove back these people, in their thirst for vengeance, to their natural instincts of barbarism. In the first outburst of their rage they carried fire and sword through all the countries north of the Elbe, burning churches and passing the ploughshare over the site of their foundations, subjecting priests and monks to the most fearful torture; in a word, leaving not a single trace of Christianity beyond the line of the river. The inhabitants of Hamburg were all either massacred or led away into bondage. At Altenburg, the most populous Christian community in Saxony, the Sclaves gathered together all the Christians, as if for an immense butchery, and murdered them all, with the exception of sixty ecclesiastics, whom they kept to be made the sport of their unparalleled cruelty. The skin was cut away from their heads in the shape of a cross, and the skull laid open, so as to leave the brain exposed; in this condition they were led about through the Sclavonian cantons, continually assailed with blows, until they fell lifeless under the torture. This sad state of things was complicated by the death of St. Libentius, archbishop of Hamburg, which deprived the desolated churches of a prelate, whose moderation and prudence were more sadly missed in proportion to their wretched state. Benedict VIII., acting in concert with St. Henry II., placed in the metropolitan see a pastor capable of restoring the wasted flock, in the person of Unvan, formerly chaplain to St. Libentius. His gentle and affable manners won him universal love and respect. The emperor then took measures to secure a lasting peace. His victorious arms checked the destructive madness of the Sclaves: having restored quiet at home, he was enabled to accompany the Pope to Italy.

25. His approach sufficed to recall the factious to their duty. Benedict VIII. returned to Rome, where his faithful subjects, now freed from the power of the antipope, received him with transports of joy. St. Henry II. likewise made his triumphal entry on the 14th of February, 1014. The Sovereign Pontiff meditated the restoration, in favor of the holy king, of the

imperial power, extinct since the death of Otho III.* Henry II. walked to St. Peter's church, wearing the royal crown; he was accompanied by his queen, St. Cunegunda, and surrounded by twelve senators. The Pope awaited him on the steps of the basilica. Before giving him admission, he asked him if he would be the defender of the Holy See, and be true in all things to the Vicars of Jesus Christ. Henry pledged himself by oath to the fulfilment of these conditions, and placed his royal diadem upon the altar of the Holy Apostles. Benedict VIII. anointed and crowned him emperor. He then presented him with a golden sphere surmounted by a cross of the same metal, and enriched with a double row of costly gems. This was an emblem of the harmony existing between the empire and religion. The emperor appreciated its significance, and said, on receiving the precious symbol: "You would teach me, Holy Father, how I should use the new authority bestowed upon me. But the cross which crowns the globe of the world can only become one who has trampled under foot the pomps of the world to bear the cross of Christ." The chronicler of this event, a monk named Glaber, closes his account with the remark: "It seems very reasonable and just, for the maintenance of peace, that no prince take the title of emperor, unless chosen by the Pope on account of his merit, and invested by him with the badge of the dignity." The new emperor confirmed all the grants made to the Church by Charlemagne and the Othos; and decreed, at the same time, that the election of

* "Bissius maintains that, at the request of Otho III., who saw no possibility of a successor from his own blood, Gregory V., in a council held in 996, the acts of which are not extant, regulated the manner of the future elections of emperors. Without entering into details on the authorities quoted by him, it is certain that the title of emperor, successively handed down by Otho I. to his son and grandson, without difficulty, in virtue of the real or supposed concession of Leo VIII., was now granted only to the prince elected and crowned or confirmed by the Pope. Henry II. was elected emperor of Germany immediately after the death of Otho II., in 1002, but received the title and badges of imperial power only in 1014, after his coronation by the Pope. The same was the case with his successor, Conrad. Hence the title of *holy empire*, given to the German realm. The exceptions that may afterward occur, can in no wise militate against the rule."—Note of M. l'abbé Pelier de la Croix, edit. of Berault-Bercastel, t. v., p. 191.

the Pontiff should be freely carried on by the Roman clergy and people, provided the consecration took place before the imperial envoys, as decreed by Eugenius IV. and Leo IV. The people were henceforth excluded from a voice in the election, which was reserved to the clergy alone. These stipulations in favor of the Pontifical elections were respected so long as the emperors remained on the spot to enforce them; for in these lawless ages a host of petty tyrants contended for power in Rome, and sought to rule by force.

26. Before parting, the Pope and St. Henry II. discussed a question of liturgy. In speaking of the discussion on the *Filioque*, we remarked that the custom of singing the Creed at Mass had not yet been introduced into the Roman Church. The emperor was accustomed to hear it chanted, since the usage had passed over from the Churches of France and Spain to those of Germany; he accordingly asked the Pope why Rome did not adopt the custom. "The Church of Rome," replied Benedict, "having never fallen into any heresy, has no need of this solemn profession of her faith." Still, the Sovereign Pontiff, after a mature examination of the question, and with a view to cement, by a lasting monument, the peace existing between the Roman and Greek Churches, ordered that the symbol of Constantinople should thenceforth be sung in Rome. Cardinal Lambertini observes on this subject, that there are four Creeds adopted by the Catholic Church: 1st, the Apostles'; 2d, the Nicene, composed in 325; 3d, the Constantinopolitan (381); 4th, the *Quicumque*, known as the Athanasian Creed, which is recited in the office of Prime. Baronius defends the authenticity of this formula, which is rejected by Natalis Alexander, Tillemont, Muratori, Papebroch, and Mabillon, on the very plausible ground that St. Athanasius would never have omitted the term *consubstantial*, that triumphant witness of Catholic faith, so fatal to the Arian error. This formula was unknown before the sixth century: Theodulf of Orleans first attributed it to St. Athanasius.

27. After his coronation the emperor set out for Germany

passing through France for the purpose of visiting St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny. St. Henry left to the monastery the golden sphere which he had received from the Pope, his imperial attire, crown and sceptre, with a massive gold crucifix. He added a gift of considerable estates in Germany, and asked, as a precious favor, to be associated to the holy community. The emperor was accompanied in this journey by St. Meinwerc, whom he had singled out from among the lords of the court for his modest virtue, and raised to the see of Paderborn. Meinwerc was related to the late emperor, and enjoyed a fortune proportionate to his noble birth, which he devoted to the foundation of pious and useful institutions in his diocese. He rebuilt the cathedral which had been destroyed by the barbarians, and established a school at Paderborn, where, beside the liberal arts, properly so called, were also taught poetry, history, the art of writing, so useful for the reproduction of manuscripts, and even painting. This school soon became one of the most flourishing of the age. Meinwerc resolved to perfect his foundation by the addition of a monastery of the Order of Cluny, which he deemed an indispensable adjunct; and obtained from St. Odilo some of his religious to found the monastery in his diocese.

28. St. Henry seconded St. Meinwerc's endeavors to establish religious discipline. The emperor held frequent intercourse with Blessed Richard, abbot of St. Vannes of Verdun, one of the holiest religious of his day. In one of his visits to the cloister of St. Vannes, he exclaimed: "This is my rest for ever and ever; here will I dwell, for I have chosen it!" He then begged the holy abbot to receive him among the religious of his monastery. Richard knew that Henry's vocation was not to the life of a poor and retired monk; he found an expedient, however, to satisfy the prince's piety without harm to the state. Assembling the community, he requested the emperor to express his desire before all the religious. Henry protested that he had determined to quit the vanities of the world, and consecrate himself to God in this monastery. "Are you ready,"

asked the abbot, "to obey even unto death, according to the rule and example of Jesus Christ?" "I am," replied Henry. "And I," said the abbot, "receive you from this moment into the number of my religious; I take upon myself to answer for the salvation of your soul, if you promise to fulfil, in our Lord, all that I enjoin you." "I swear faithful obedience to all your commands," repeated the imperial postulant. "Then," said Richard, "it is my will and the order of holy obedience, that you resume the government of the empire intrusted to your care by Divine Providence. I enjoin you to use every means to further the salvation of your subjects, by your watchfulness and firmness in the administration of justice." On hearing this unexpected order, the astounded emperor doubtless regretted that he could not throw off the yoke that weighed upon his shoulders; he nevertheless submitted, and continued to illustrate the throne by the virtues he would have wished to bury in solitude. Antiquity can offer few scenes of more imposing majesty and more august simplicity.

29. Italy soon felt the necessity of such a hand as Henry's to guide the destinies of the empire. The Saracens, emboldened by the emperor's absence, made a descent by sea upon Tuscany, and seized a considerable tract of territory (1016). Pope Benedict VIII. gave proofs of heroic valor on this occasion. The crisis called for an able and resolute leader. Such a leader was Benedict; and once again did Christendom owe its safety to the Sovereign Pontiff. With unparalleled activity he quickly gathered all the forces that Italy could furnish for the sacred cause, and led them in person against the foe; sending, in the mean time, a countless fleet of boats to cut off the retreat of the infidels. The emir, foreseeing the end of these skilful measures, and fearing to fall into the hands of the Pontifical army, fled with a slight escort, leaving his troops without guide or commander. Their rout was complete, and they were destroyed almost to a man, victims of the emir's base treachery.* After this brilliant victory, Pope Bene-

* It is said that the Saracen emir, enraged at his defeat, sent an enormous sack of chest-

dict returned to Rome in triumph. His energies were soon called into requisition by other enemies.

30. The Greek empire still held some cities in Lower Italy, ruled by a governor. This functionary laid certain claims to the States of the Holy See, devastated the province of Apulia, and avowed his intention of restoring the Byzantine rule over the whole Peninsula. The Pope sent against him Raoul, prince of Normandy, who attacked and defeated the Greeks, driving them back from the soil of Apulia. This first step made by the Normans upon Italian ground entailed serious results, as we shall yet have occasion to see. Still the Pope did not deem the success of Raoul a sufficient guarantee against the future inroads of the Greeks. He determined to visit St. Henry, and to acquaint him with his position. The interview took place on the 14th of April, 1020, in the city of Bamberg, where Benedict took this occasion to consecrate the cathedral. To commemorate the solemn event, Henry bestowed the city and bishopric of Bamberg upon the Holy See, in consideration of the yearly tribute of a white horse and a hundred silver marks. Questions of the highest religious and political import were discussed by the two august visitors. The abuses which had crept in among the clergy, the neglect of the canonical observance of clerical celibacy, and its consequent disorders, were met with efficacious measures by the Pope and the emperor. The council of Pavia, held in 1020, confirmed the regulations resulting from the joint deliberation of the spiritual and temporal authorities. The canons of Nice, the decretals of St. Sericius and of St. Leo, relative to the continence of clerics, were cited, and temporal punishments decreed against all transgressors.

31. In accordance with promises made to the Pope, St.

nuts to the Pope, with the message that in the following summer he would meet him with as many thousand soldiers. The Pontiff answered the insulting bravado by sending to the Mussulman a bag of millet-seed, telling him that if he was not satisfied with his first expedition, he might come a second time, but that he would meet an equal or even a greater number of avengers.

Henry, in 1022, led a considerable army against the Greeks, who threatened the independence of Rome and of all Italy. Beneventum and all the cities which still acknowledged the Eastern rule were speedily subjected; Pandulf, prince of Capua, one of the chiefs of the Ultramarine party, surrendered upon the promise that his life should be spared. Troy, in Apulia, alone refused to open its gates, trusting to the Emperor Basil's promise of speedy succor; but after a siege of three months, the inhabitants, finding themselves left to their own unaided strength, resolved to throw themselves upon St. Henry's mercy. They sent, as the most moving deputation, all the children of the city, who threw themselves at the emperor's feet, uttering the Greek petition: Κύριε ἐλεησον (*Lord, have mercy upon us!*) Policy at first outweighed compassion in the heart of the sovereign, who replied: "The fathers of these poor children have, by their obstinacy, brought this calamity upon themselves." But the repeated prayers of the innocent petitioners moved St. Henry's heart; bursting into tears, he exclaimed: "Yes, tell your fathers that I spare this people!" The revolted city capitulated, and peace reigned throughout the Italian Peninsula. The Pope and the emperor met once more, at the monastery of Monte-Cassino, and together perfected the regulations established for the political welfare of the West; after which they parted, never to meet again upon earth.

32. On his return to his states, the holy emperor caused a council to be convoked at Selingstadt: some of its canons are interesting, as they furnish some curious details on the ecclesiastical manners and discipline of the eleventh century. Priests are forbidden to *celebrate more than three Masses a day.* Some were led by devotion to multiply the offering of the Holy Sacrifice as far as they could. The present discipline was fixed at a later period. *Should a priest have taken any food or drink during the night, after the crowing of the cock, if it be in summer, he shall not celebrate Mass on the next day; if in winter, he may celebrate only in case of necessity.* Since there were, as

yet, no clocks that struck the hours at night, the cock-crow was supposed to mark the hour of midnight in summer, but in the longer nights of winter the hour was not so surely relied upon. *It is forbidden to wear a sword in church, except only the badge of royalty.* In an age of ceaseless wars, when every man was armed, this prohibition prevented the sacrilegious conflicts which might sometimes have occurred in the very churches. *It is forbidden to throw a corporal into the flames to extinguish a conflagration.* This canon referred to a practice due to the exaggerated and superstitious faith of the century, against which the Church very wisely protested by the voice of her bishops. In fine, the council declares that *the pilgrimage to Rome can by no means free public sinners from the performance of the canonical penance imposed upon them.* The abuse of a pious practice, like that of pilgrimages, was thus checked, at the very outset, by the ever-watchful care of the Church to ward off disorders, and to keep her children within the sphere of a prudent and mutual edification.

33. The same year was also marked by a council held at Orleans, to crush in its cradle an abominable sect springing into existence in the very heart of France. There were, in Orleans, two priests, Stephen and Lisay, of high repute for learning and holiness, known and much esteemed by King Robert the Pious. They allowed themselves to be led astray by an Italian female, who hid under the veil of pretended piety the practices of the Manicheans and ancient Gnostics. A corrupt heart soon sends its infection to the mind. The contagion rapidly spread among the principal members of the clergy of Orleans. The doctrine of the new sectaries was in keeping with their morality. They taught their votaries that the heavens and the earth, being eternal in their nature, had neither cause nor beginning; that the gospel was but a pious fable intended to mislead the minds of men; that the invocation of saints was a useless custom; that the works of Christian faith and devotion were lost labor, fruitless of reward; and that no punishment need be dreaded for the most unbridled excesses of licentious passion. Their nocturnal

meetings revived the monstrous orgies of the early Gnostics. This sect was an outpouring of the spirit of sin and darkness upon the face of the earth. On learning this fearful disorder, King Robert came to Orleans with a number of bishops. All the sectaries were arrested and arraigned for trial. The civil laws punished such offences by fire. When questioned, Stephen and Lisay laid aside all reserve; in the presence of the judges they styled our most sacred mysteries human inventions, childish fables, "which may be written," said they, "upon the skins of beasts [such was the parchment then in use], but can never enter into our minds, on which God has himself imprinted His true law." When urged to forsake their errors, they replied that since efforts were made, not to lead them toward the truth, but rather into error, it was time to cease such vain endeavors; that they were ready to undergo whatever might be inflicted upon them. "You shall suffer by fire," they were told; "unless you quickly renounce your error, you shall be burnt alive; the king can no longer refuse to the public weal the execution of this just sentence." They remained unshaken, and were burned, to the number of fifteen. The rigor displayed by Robert against innovations equally dangerous to the public welfare and to religion, preserved his states from the contagion. It crept into some portions of Aquitaine, but met with the same prompt energy on the part of William V., son of William of the Iron-Arm. The heretics were so vigorously followed up throughout his domain, that they were compelled to fly to other provinces, where they put on an appearance less calculated to inspire general horror. This was the first germ of the Albigensian heresy in the south of France.

34. But the Church, ever fruitful, was putting forth another branch of sanctification and religious life. St. Romuald established the Order of the Camaldoli in Italy, in a picturesque vale of the Apennines, called Campo-Maldoli, in the diocese of Arezzo. St. Romuald belonged to an illustrious house allied to the family of the dukes of Ravenna, and had early forsaken the bright prospects held out by the world, to devote himself

in solitude to the service of God. His reputation for holiness and virtue soon drew around him a number of disciples. Princes, nobles, and people consulted him as an oracle. The Order of the Camaldoli, which he founded, is given to contemplation, joining together the eremitic, cenobitic, and solitary modes of life. The rule is that of St. Benedict, with some particular observances. The Orders of St. Benedict and of Camaldoli have given to the Church, in our own day, two great Pontiffs: the former, Pius VII., of holy and glorious memory; the second, Gregory XVI.

35. The Emperor St. Henry II. and Pope Benedict VIII. died in the course of the same year (1024). The Empress St. Cunegunda, who had, as well as her saintly spouse, observed perfect continence in the married state, retired to the monastery of Kaffungen, which she had founded near Cassel, in the diocese of Paderborn. She lived nine years a simple religious, undistinguished from the least of her sisters, fearing ostentation even in works of humility, engaging in manual labor as though reduced to it by necessity. She died at length, worn out by watchings and austerities, in the year 1038. The eleventh century was thus inaugurated by a pontificate glorious for the Church, and by the edifying spectacle of those virtues which hallowed the glory of a throne.

CHAPTER II.

§ I. Pontificate of John XX. (July 19, A. D. 1024—November 6, 1033).

1. Conrad II., duke of Franconia, raised to the throne of Germany.—2. Election of John XX.—3. Embassy from the Greeks, requesting for the Patriarchs of Constantinople the title of Ecumenical Patriarch. Refusal of the Pope.—4. Zeal displayed by Gerard, bishop of Cambray, against innovators. —5. Conrad II. crowned by the Pope emperor of Germany.—6. Canute the Great. His virtues.—7. Olaus II., *the Saint*.—8. Decline of the Church of Constantinople.—9. Disorders among the regular and secular clergy in the East.—10. Succession of the Greek emperors.—11. Famine and plague in France.—12. The *Truce of God*.—13. The Apostolate of St. Martial.—14. Chivalry.—15. Death of John XX.

§ II. Pontificate of Benedict IX. (December 9, A. D. 1033—May, 1044). *First Period.*

16. Scandals in the See of St. Peter.—17. Election of Benedict IX.—18. Vices of the Pope.—19. St. Gerard, bishop of Chonad, in Hungary.—20. Casimir I., called the Peaceful, king of Poland.—21. *Mal des ardents*.—22. Last acts and death of St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny.—23. Revolutions in Constantinople.—24. Antipope Sylvester III. Benedict IX. abdicates the Papacy for the first time.

§ III. Pontificate of Gregory VI. (April 28, A. D. 1045—December 17, 1046).

25. Election of Gregory VI.—26. St. Peter Damian.—27. Abdication of Gregory VI.

§ IV. Pontificate of Clement II. (December 25, A. D. 1046—October 9, 1047).

28. Election of Clement II.—29. Modesty of St. Peter Damian.—30. Death of Clement II.

§ V. Pontificate of Benedict IX. (November, A. D. 1047—July 17, 1048). *Second Period.*

31. Benedict IX. again ascends the pontifical throne. His final abdication.

§ VI. Pontificate of Damasus II. (July 17, A. D. 1048—August 8, 1048).

32. Election and death of Damasus II.

§ 1. Pontificate of John XX. (July 19, A. D. 1024—November 6, 1033).

1. Conrad II., duke of Franconia, was elected king of Germany by a solemn diet, and crowned at Mentz (September 8, A. D. 1024). "As he was on his way to the cathedral for the coronation ceremony," says a contemporary biographer, "he was met by three unfortunate wretches: a serf of the Church of Mentz, a forsaken widow, and a poor orphan. The newly elected king stopped to hear their tale of sorrow, when one of the lords of his train reminded him that the divine service was about to begin. 'What then?' answered Conrad; 'the bishops have taught me that not they who only hear the Word shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven, but they who practise its teachings.' When the poor suppliants had ended their petitions, he sent them away consoled." Happy people, whose king was more eager to do an act of justice than to receive the royal crown and the homage of his subjects! The whole of Conrad's reign was worthy of this happy beginning. He was to receive the full heritage left by St. Henry II., and we shall soon see him honored with the imperial crown at the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff. The popular opinion of Italy was unfavorable to this course; the German yoke was galling to that light and fickle people. At the death of St. Henry II., they destroyed the imperial palace in Pavia, and offered the throne of Italy, first to the eldest son of Robert the Pious, then to William, duke of Aquitaine, who both rejected the offer. The geographical position of Italy, surrounded on three sides by the sea, enclosed and defended on the fourth by a chain of lofty mountains, would seem, at the first glance, to have marked it for a united and powerful monarchy. This view has indeed been cherished by its inhabitants, in every stage of modern history, but always without results. The settled plan of Divine

Providence seems to oppose its accomplishment. Were all the power of Italy—a power which is immense, because capable of an ever-increasing development—gathered into the hands of a single sovereign, neither Rome nor the Head of the Church would be more free. Therefore has every attempt of the kind, since the fall of the Ostrogoth power, constantly failed, and Italy has never again risen to political unity.

2. Benedict VIII. was succeeded by his brother, the second son of Gregory, count of Tusculum, who took the title of John XX. (July 9, A. D. 1024). The religious chronicler, Glaber, says that he was still a layman at the time of his election, which was the work of simony. The truth of the statement is probable enough, from the known preponderance assumed by the Count of Tusculum over the pontifical elections, and the absence of an emperor who could enforce the last stipulations agreed upon between St. Henry II. and Benedict VIII., to secure the freedom of the elections. But Glaber is sometimes too ready to follow popular rumors. A circumstance which could throw a doubt upon his charge, is the witness of a letter, written shortly after the promotion of John XX., by St. Fulbert, in which the illustrious Bishop of Chartres thus congratulates the new Pontiff in terms of the deepest and most heartfelt reverence: "I give thanks to Almighty God, who has raised you to the height of the apostolic dignity. The whole world now turns its eyes upon you, and all men proclaim you blessed. The saints behold your elevation, and rejoice that you are made their living image, by reviving all their virtues in your own person." Besides, whatever may have been the circumstances attending the election of John XX., the Pontiff proved himself worthy of his lofty station, by the courage with which he resisted the ambitious claims of the Patriarchs of Constantinople.

3. During the first year of his pontificate, Rome was visited by a solemn embassy from the two Byzantine emperors and the Patriarch Eustathius, with rich presents for the Pope and the chief officers of the pontifical court. The object of this

mission was to obtain the Pope's consent that the Bishops of Constantinople should assume the title of general Patriarchs for the East. The gold of Basil II. and of the Patriarch succeeded in corrupting most of the prelates of the Roman court; but the Pope's unyielding firmness effectually thwarted the intrigue. He suggested and favorably received the protestations of the principal Western Churches against the new attempt of the Greeks. St. William, abbot of St. Benignus, at Lyons, thus wrote to the Pope on the subject: "It is reported that the Greeks have obtained what vanity alone could have led them to ask of one who, notwithstanding the partition of the Roman empire among several sovereigns, still holds the primitive power of binding and loosing. You should know that the scandalous report has deeply grieved all who still lay any claim to virtue." But things had not reached the pitch in Rome, that was feared in France. The Pope neither had granted, nor would grant, any thing to the Greeks. His decision was conformable to the tradition followed from time immemorial, in such cases, by the Holy See.

4. Meanwhile the negligence of some prelates had opened an easy entrance to the deadly errors of certain sectaries similar to those punished in Orleans. One bishop, as we learn from Gerard of Cambray, was satisfied with examining and then absolving them, because they had not avowed their impious belief. "By such a course," wrote Gerard to the easy prelate, "you have shut up the wolf in the sheepfold, and placed the false teachers in a position to do more harm than ever. You should have made them profess and subscribe the truths contrary to the impious abominations of which they are accused." From the acts of the synod held at Arras (1025), it is evident that Gerard, who was bishop of that see as well as of Cambray, was both more watchful and more happy; and he succeeded, by the force of his arguments, in bringing back many of those wretches to the true faith. In a discourse pronounced before all his people, to set forth the Catholic doctrine and refute the calumnies brought against it, Gerard lays down the

nature and properties of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, with theological precision. "When the bread and the wine mingled with water," says the prelate, "are consecrated upon the altar, in an ineffable manner, by the sign of the cross and in virtue of the words of the Lord, they become the true and real body, the true and real blood of Jesus Christ, though they appear otherwise to the senses. We see but material bread, and it is nevertheless truly the body of Jesus Christ, as the Sovereign Truth teaches in express terms: *This is my body, etc.* But how is the body of the Saviour present in so many churches at once, daily distributed to so many persons, and yet always remaining the same? To answer this objection, I ask how the Son of God was whole in the bosom of the Eternal Father, and at the same time whole in the womb of His Virgin Mother? It was not more impossible to Him who went to the Father, with whom He abideth forever, and yet remained with His disciples; it was no harder for Him to preserve His glorified body in heaven, and to impart to us on earth the Sacrament of the same body." These words are a splendid monument of the faith of the eleventh century on the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament of our altars, even before Berengarius had troubled the Church on the subject.

5. John XX., since his accession to the chair of St. Peter, was meditating the restoration of the imperial power in favor of Conrad, king of Germany, whose virtue and military talents fully qualified him to wear the crown of Henry II. In the year 1027, Conrad came to Rome, accompanied by Rodolphus, king of Burgundy, and received the imperial diadem on Easter-Day. The alliance of the empire and the Papacy was once more ratified. It was soon made evident, however, by sad experience, that the wise and prudent policy of the Church's Head was not the wish of the popular heart of Italy. It is too true that the spirit of opposition seems to be an essential element in the nature of the multitude, and that it is enough to start some really useful measure, in order to see it exposed to the outcries of the masses. The festivities attending

the coronation of Conrad and his empress Gisela,* ended in a bloody battle between the Romans and the Germans. Some insignificant pretext had given occasion to this outburst of national hatred, which betrayed the deep antipathy existing between the two nations.

6. Among the witnesses of Conrad's coronation was an illustrious pilgrim, who had come to Rome, according to the custom of the age, with scrip and staff. A few days after the ceremony, the stranger wrote a letter in these terms: "Canute, king of all Denmark, of England, Norway, and part of Sweden, to Egelnoth, metropolitan, to the Archbishop Alfric, to all the bishops and primates, to the whole English nation, nobles and people, greeting. I hereby make known to you that in fulfilment of a long-standing vow, I have come to Rome for the remission of my sins and for the welfare of the kingdoms and subjects under my government. A great number of illustrious persons were gathered together here during the Paschal solemnity, to attend the coronation of the Emperor Conrad. I discussed, with the Pope and the emperor, the wants of my kingdoms of England and Denmark. I obtained a guarantee of more justice and safety for my people in their journeys to Rome. They will no longer be delayed by so many barriers, nor subjected to unjust tolls. The emperor granted all my requests, as did also Rodolphus, who holds the principal passes of the Alps." The king who thus came to Rome to attend personally to the wants of his subjects, was Canute, son of Swein III., king of Denmark. Prudent, bold, undaunted by reverses, and ready in resources to retrieve them, he had avenged, by the conquest of all Great Britain (1007), the massacre of the Danes in 1002. In his contest with Edmund Ironside, the last king of the Anglian race, he showed himself naturally religious,

* Gisela, who was related to Conrad within the degrees then forbidden by ecclesiastical discipline, had been united to him before his election to the German throne. When the electors, at the diet of Mentz, required Conrad to forsake his spouse, he replied: "I prefer to give up the crown." The objection was waived for the time, and the marriage was afterward made regular by special dispensations.

just, and humane. If the chances of war sometimes called forth a flash of Danish fire, it was less a natural impulse than the unfortunate result of passing events and provocations. While in peaceful possession of all England, he made it the most flourishing of kingdoms, by developing the commercial enterprise natural to its people, and by establishing the reign of justice, plenty, and peace. The moderation of his rule counteracted the odium of a foreign yoke and the national antipathies arising from subjection. He repaired all the monasteries injured by the disasters of war. At Rome he had been equally admired for his pious liberality and for the edification of his unfeigned piety. His bounty reached even foreign lands, and St. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, received from him large sums of money toward the erection of his cathedral. Canute was one day standing on the sea-shore, at Winchester, with some of his courtiers, when a certain lord, making use of one of the flattering hyperboles so unscrupulously lavished even in the most Christian courts, addressed him by the lofty title of king of kings and lord of the seas. The monarch silently folded his cloak, laid it down upon the strand, where the tide was rising, and seated himself upon it. As the foaming waves rolled up nearer at every surge, the king thus addressed them: "You are subject to my orders; I command you to respect your master, nor dare to touch his royal person." The courtiers listened in astonishment; and when the unheeding breakers at length dashed their foam about the monarch's feet, he turned to them and said: "You see how the sea obeys its master. Learn from this the power of earthly kings. The only King of kings is the great God Who made and rules the heavens, the earth, and all the elements." After this noble rebuke, Canute arose, and, followed by all his courtiers, entered the church of Winchester; and there, placing his diadem upon the crucified image of the Redeemer, protested that He alone deserved the crown, to Whom all creatures owe submission. Canute died soon after this event, so worthy to close a reign which had been but an uninterrupted series of good works (A.D. 1036). His

two sons, Harold and Canute II., successively followed their father on the throne of Great Britain, after which the crown returned to its former possessors (1042), and was illustrated by St. Edward, brother of Edmund Ironside.

7. While Canute was edifying England and Denmark, the wild regions of Norway were ruled by a prince equally virtuous, Olaus II., whose heroic death has sometimes procured him the title of martyr. These two monarchs, so worthy of mutual friendship, were nevertheless engaged, during most of their reign, in fierce wars for the common end of bestowing upon one ruler the two crowns of Norway and Denmark, which, notwithstanding the sea that separated them, have thus seemed in all times destined to be subject to the same crown. Olaus made every effort to purge his kingdom of the soothsayers and magicians who everywhere perpetuated the most senseless superstitions of paganism. His severity in this regard stirred up a revolt, which Canute, his rival, skilfully turned to account, to have himself acknowledged king of Norway. But the time for the union of the two states was not yet, and Olaus succeeded in thwarting the endeavors of his rival, and reconquered the independence of his kingdom. He used his authority for the conversion of his subjects to the Christian faith; his pious zeal aroused the hatred of the heathens, who were still many in his states, and cost him his life (A. D. 1028). A suitable monument was erected to his memory at Drontheim, the capital of the kingdom, where the miracles wrought by his intercession have won him a wide-spread veneration. His son-in-law and successor, of the same name, established Christianity in Sweden, and followed in the footsteps of his pious predecessor.

8. In proportion as the light of faith shone more brightly on the chill and icy wastes of Sarmatia and Scandinavia, it was waning in the beautiful provinces of Greece and that favored part of Asia upon which it had shed its first bright beams. The council called the Σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα, held at Constantinople in the year 1027, under the Patriarch Alexius,

shows to what a wretched state that Church was now fallen. The princes, whose weak arms were powerless to uphold the tottering colossus of the empire, tried to prop it up by every support, sacred or profane; the bishops and clergy of their states were weighed down by contributions and taxes. The bishops, in order to evade the taxes for which the metropolitans were personally accountable, absented themselves from their churches, embezzled their revenues, farmed out their lands, and gave themselves up to the temporal administration of their property. They no longer heeded the bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, infringed upon each other's rights, and unscrupulously ordained strange clerics. The clerics, in turn, passed, without leave, from one province to another; they especially abounded in Constantinople, where it was not unusual to see deposed clerics, or persons wearing the ecclesiastical dress, though never yet ordained, all discharging the functions of the sacred ministry with sacrilegious impunity.

9. The monastic state, once so flourishing in the East, the land of its birth, but now long enervated by the spirit of schism, error, and discord, was hurrying on, even more recklessly than the clerical order, to irretrievable ruin. The emperors were accustomed, especially since the time of the Iconoclastic heresy, to bestow the government of monasteries and hospitals upon laymen of power and authority. This kind of commendam was intended to furnish those institutions with protectors and benefactors, and for the re-establishment of those which had been destroyed in such numbers by the impious Copronymus. But they soon began to fall into the hands of every class of persons, women, and even heathens, who looked upon them as their own property. These grants were made for life. Monasteries of men were given in charge to women, and nunneries to men; the consequent disorders may readily be imagined. The council of Constantinople made an effort to remedy the most crying abuses. It forbade that any monastic community should be intrusted to persons of the other sex—that church property thus held in trust should be made an object of profane traffic,

or its funds alienated, without leave of the Patriarch or metropolitan.

10. The throne was in no higher esteem than the Church. The Emperor Constantine died three years after his brother Basil (A. D. 1028), and was succeeded by the patrician Romanus Argyrus. Constantine had dishonored the throne by a life of complete idleness. His time was given to buffoons and adventurers, whose talent for pleasing was rewarded with the highest offices of state. The only branch of knowledge for which he showed the least taste or aptness, related to horses; this was his highest acquirement. He had three daughters—Eudoxia, Theodora, and Zoe. The dying emperor named his general, Romanus Argyrus, as his successor. Romanus was united to the virtuous Helena; but with the empire, Constantine required him to take the hand of Theodora. To this order the general refused obedience, alleging the laws of the Church, which forbade his divorce. "Unless you fulfil my order," said the expiring monarch, "you lose your eyes before the close of day." When informed of her husband's position, Helena hastened to his presence, and threw herself at his feet, entreating him to accept the empire and the hand of the princess. Romanus yielded; Helena entered a monastery, consoling herself with the reflection: "If I save my husband's sight, and, perhaps, his life, what care I for the empire?" Theodora, on learning this heroic deed of self-devotion, exclaimed: "Noble Helena! No, I will not marry a man who thus sacrifices such a spouse!" Zoe, less generous and more ambitious than her sister, received the hand of Romanus and the title of Augusta. Eudoxia had already taken the veil. The Greek Patriarch displayed neither the conscientiousness of Romanus, nor the noble delicacy of Theodora, but purely and simply ratified the divorce; and, to prove more clearly the hypocritical nature of Byzantine piety, in passing so easily over the crime of adultery, a question was raised upon some slight degree of kindred between the two parties. This secondary question was seriously discussed, and decided in favor of the second

marriage, by the Patriarch Alexius and his clergy Romanus III., a weak and untalented prince, reigned ingloriously, and was at length poisoned by his wife (A. D. 1034).

11. The last few years had been unhappy for France. The pious Robert died at Melun (July 20, 1031). The most glorious, touching, and undeniable panegyric of his goodness toward his subjects, was afforded by the tears of all, but chiefly of the poor, who looked up to him as to their common father. "Why, O Lord," was their complaint, "hast Thou deprived us of so good a father? He was the friend of the people, the light of justice, the strength of the good. The happy reign has passed in which we glided smoothly on through life, unassailed by danger or misfortune." The natural goodness of Robert's heart found vent in a thousand generous deeds. Twelve members of his court had plotted against his life. The king sent for the guilty wretches, already condemned to death, led them to have recourse to the sacraments of penance and the Holy Eucharist, and then set them at liberty, with the words: "It would be hard to put to death those whom Jesus Christ has so lately admitted to His table." Such was Robert the Pious. His noblest eulogy is comprised in these words of a contemporary writer: "He was the ruler of his passions as well as of his people." The general mourning caused by his death was still further deepened by the agonies of the most cruel famine recorded in history. An unprecedented derangement in the seasons, almost incessant rains during three successive years, from 1030, prevented the grain and other productions of the earth from reaching a state of ripeness. "A peck of wheat," says a contemporary writer, "could not be obtained for less than sixty gold crowns." After exhausting the supply that could be furnished by the grass of the fields and the roots of trees, the fearful expedient was then resorted to of digging up and devouring dead bodies; and hunger at last drove the famished sufferers to kill the living for food, that all might not perish. The misery seems to have been at its height in the ancient kingdom of Burgundy. An innkeeper of the

neighborhood of Macon was arrested and convicted of having murdered and served up forty-eight travellers, whose heads were all found on the premises. Otho, count of Burgundy, condemned him to be burned alive. This act of severity did not hinder a butcher from publicly exposing human flesh for sale in the market-place of Tournus; he was also punished at the stake, and the traces of his horrible traffic were quickly buried. A famished wretch even contended with the worms for this disgusting nourishment, upon which he lived for some days. He was likewise committed to the flames. So great was the mortality caused by the famine, that the living were too few to bury the dead. The streets and roads were strewn with dead bodies, which remained in the very spots where they had fallen through mere weakness; it became necessary to provide immense repositories, called, in the energetic language of the time, charnel-houses, into which the victims were indiscriminately thrown. The twofold scourge of dearth and famine which had passed on from the East, successively desolating Greece, Italy, Gaul, and England, at length came to an end in 1033, in which year the harvest was more abundant than those of five ordinary seasons. These evils gave occasion to Christian charity to display examples of heroic virtue. Blessed Richard of Verdun, St. William, abbot of St. Benignus, and St. Odilo of Cluny were remarkable above all others for their inexhaustible liberality. The bishops and abbots of all the provinces showed a rivalry of zeal in struggling against the scourge. The Church now bestowed upon the poor what she had before received from the rich. The altars were stripped and the sacred vessels sold, to feed the suffering members of Jesus Christ. The prelates gave proofs of a laudable foresight in providing first for the wants of the husbandmen, that the fields might not remain untilled, and the hopes of a crop be not blighted through the death of those whose care it was to raise it.

12. Returning plenty was hailed as a direct blessing from Heaven; and the general gratitude was proportioned to the

greatness of the change. The bishops, seconded by all the good, availed themselves of these happy dispositions to remedy past disorders, and especially to put an end to the strifes of petty princes, the inveterate habits of highway robbery, continual pillage, the profanation of holy places, with all the scenes of violence and sacrilege which necessarily resulted from them. Several councils held in the provinces of Aquitaine, Burgundy, Arles, and Lyons (A. D. 1030–1033), decreed that during the days consecrated to commemorating the mysteries of religion, that is, from Wednesday night of each week till the following Monday morning, there should be a general suspension of arms among all the citizens, whatever might be the subject of their quarrels. This was called the Truce of God. From that period, war was waged more in accordance with the laws of humanity, honor, and religion. A species of military legislation was published by different councils, and a militia was established, under the name of *paçata* (*pezade*), whose duty it was to check all insubordination. This was a victory of the gospel morality over the still barbarous legislation and manners of the age. The people received these measures with enthusiasm, and while the bishops raised their croziers toward heaven, in token of approval, the multitude exclaimed with uplifted hands: "Peace! Peace!" and thus confirmed the lasting pledge made to one another and to God. A solemn engagement was entered into by all, to meet at the end of every five years, and inquire into the fidelity with which the truce had been observed, and, if necessary, to concert measures for making it more firm. The Council of Limoges (A. D. 1031) excommunicated all soldiers who refused to conform to the wise and useful regulation. All the bishops present held lighted tapers in their hands during the reading of the following maledictions: "We excommunicate all soldiers who refuse their bishops peace and justice. Let them be accursed, with those who help them to do evil! Accursed be their arms and their horses! Let their abode be with the fratricide Cain, with the traitor Judas, with Dathan and Abiron, swallowed up

alive into hell! And as these tapers are extinguished before our eyes, so let their joy be extinguished before the holy angels, unless they make atonement before death, and submit to a just penance." At these last words, the bishops threw down their tapers and extinguished them at their feet.

13. This Council of Limoges decreed, moreover, that St. Martial should be numbered among the apostles; he was, in fact, the apostle of that country. John XX. ratified the decision. But the faithful of Limoges demanded, besides, that St. Martial should be acknowledged as one of the seventy-two disciples sent by our Lord Himself, which demand was discussed at length by the councils of that period, but never definitely decided.

14. At about this time appeared a new institution, which materially helped the general tendency to give a more humane aspect to the art of war: it was the institution of chivalry, which took its rise in France, under the reigns of Robert and his successor Henry I. Christian chivalry, in its origin, was a religious consecration of the noble warrior to the defence of the Church and of the poor. The warrior who desired to receive this military consecration, presented himself to the bishop, who first blessed his sword, that it might be used in the service of the Church, of widows, and of orphans; that it might be their strong defence against the cruelty of pagans and heretics. The bishop made the following prayer: "As Thou didst grant to Thy servant David to overcome Goliath, and to Judas Maccabeus to triumph over nations that called not upon Thy name; in like manner, O Lord! to Thy servant who here bows his head to the yoke of Thy holy militia, grant strength and courage for the defence of justice and faith;" after which he girded on the sword of the new knight, who rose, vigorously brandished it, wiped it upon his left arm, and then sheathed it. After giving him the kiss of peace, the prelate, taking the naked sword in his right hand, laid it thrice upon the shoulder of the knight, with these words: "Be a pacific, valiant, faithful, and devoted soldier of God." This dignity was bestowed only

upon men of noble blood and inured to military service, who were prepared for it by a kind of novitiate; the youthful aspirant remained for some time under the orders of a knight, before pretending to become one himself. The castles of the nobility thus became so many knightly nurseries. The court of the king of France was looked upon as the highest school of courtesy for the whole kingdom. This order of chivalric education, while it humanized and softened the manners of the age, also recalled the order of political subordination, and placed royalty as the crowning of the social edifice.

15. The Emperor Conrad made his profession as knight-defender of the rights of the Holy See, by coming to the assistance of Pope John XX., against a conspiracy formed in the very heart of Rome. The Pontiff hardly escaped the death with which the revolters threatened him. He was obliged to fly (A. D. 1033), in order to allow the angry passions of the parties to cool. The odium of the German yoke was the moving principle of this outbreak on the part of a faction of malcontents. Conrad hurried to Rome, where his presence quelled all disorder, and the Pope was enabled to return to the Eternal City. But his stay was short, for he died on the 6th of November, of the same year, after a pontificate which had not been without glory, and the prosperous course of which dispelled all the suspicions that might have been excited by its doubtful opening.

§ II. Pontificate of Benedict IX. (First Period), (December 9, A. D. 1033—May, 1044).

16. The Papacy is now entering one of those phases of degradation, over which the historian would fain throw the veil of oblivion. To mere human judgments, it might seem that the possession of the highest spiritual authority ever intrusted to the sway of mortal man, should clothe its agent with a superior moral power, and shelter him from the taint of certain charges too often used by malignant hate as a weapon against

the institution itself. It is doubtless a part of the divine scheme which guides the destinies of the world, that the Church should more clearly prove the divinity of its foundation and preservation through all ages, by meeting at times the deadliest shocks, by resisting even the unworthiness of its head.

17. Alberic, count of Tusculum, had a son ten or twelve years old, a nephew of John XX. He conceived the fatal idea of placing the boy upon the chair of St. Peter. In spite of the canons, which were express in the matter, notwithstanding the sacrilegious nature of such an attempt, he bought the accomplishment of his criminal design at the price of gold; and the youthful Theophylactus was elected Pope under the name of Benedict IX. (December 9, A. D. 1033). In virtue of the repeatedly stipulated right of the German emperor to confirm the pontifical elections, Conrad should have opposed this uncanonical promotion. But he did not interfere. He had lately been falling away by degrees from the virtuous beginnings of his reign, and now unscrupulously sold ecclesiastical benefices himself. There are seasons when the world seems stricken with an utter forgetfulness of all moral law; then is the hour when triumphant iniquity meets neither opposition nor rebuke. The scandalous example of a Pope and an emperor, countenanced the spread of simony like a deadly contagion throughout all Christendom. It now clearly appeared how important it is that the Papal elections should be untrammelled by family ambition. In more than one province, not only priests, but even bishops contracted matrimonial alliances, and left their benefices as an inheritance to their children.

18. Benedict IX., in his personal conduct, yielded to all the passions of youth. In a secular prince of his age and rank, these faults would too easily have been cloaked by the indulgence of a corrupt and flattering world. In a Pope, his very youth, instead of excusing, only made the scandal greater. The possession of supreme power was but a means of gratifying every passion. Despite the perversity of his depraved

nature, history finds no subject of reproach against Benedict IX. in the doctrinal and spiritual government of the Church. His authority was acknowledged and respected by all Christendom. The voice of St. Peter was respected even on the lips of his unworthy successor. It is worthy of particular notice that, under sinful or simoniacal Popes, the Church enjoyed seasons of peace which were not vouchsafed her under the reign of the most prudent Pontiffs; so watchful is the eye of God to follow the fortunes of Peter's bark! If He at times allows the helm to pass into unworthy hands, He then takes its guidance to Himself.

19. Benedict IX. conferred the pallium upon three successive archbishops of Hamburg: Hermann, Bezelin, and Adalbert. Germany was consoled, in this period of disorder, by a succession of virtuous prelates and saintly religious. St. Bardo, archbishop of Mentz, illustrated his see by his learning and piety. St. Poppo, abbot of Stavelo, in the diocese of Liege, and afterward of the monastery of St. Vedast, in Flanders, recalled the glorious days of St. Anthony and St. Benedict. St. Ambrose seemed to live again in the holy bishop of Chonad, in Hungary—St. Gerard. On the festival of Easter (A. D. 1041), the tyrant Aba, who stained the throne of Hungary by his bloody deeds of cruelty, came to the church to assist at the religious solemnity. St. Gerard ascended the ambo and thus addressed him: "The Lenten season was established to obtain pardon for sinners, and the reward of the just. You have profaned it by murder. In slaying my children you take away my title of father. You have, then, no right to share the rejoicings of the faithful on this day. As I am ready to die for Christ, I do not hesitate to speak severely. Know, then, that within three years the sword of vengeance shall smite you, and you shall lose at once both your life and the throne acquired by fraud and violence." The enraged tyrant would have ordered the immediate death of the holy prelate, but he feared the vengeance of the people. Gerard's prediction was verified. In 1044, Aba lost his head, and Peter, the lawful successor of

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St. Stephen, ascended the throne of Hungary. The Hungarians, dissatisfied at the alliance which Peter had contracted with Germany, recalled some banished nobles headed by Andrew, a distant relation of St. Stephen, and set on foot a formidable revolt. Their hatred toward the German name soon included likewise that of Christian in general. They massacred the Catholics without distinction, and burned a great number of churches. They seized St. Gerard at Pesth, and beat him to death with clubs, while he uttered the prayer of our Lord: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (1047). The pagan reaction in Hungary was short lived. No sooner had Andrew been placed upon the throne of Hungary, than he hastened to take effective steps for the protection of the religion of Jesus Christ, which he openly professed. Since the reign of that prince, Hungary has remained Christian and Catholic.

20. The violence of discord was almost as fatal to Poland as heathen madness had proved in Hungary. The death of Micislas, the last king of Poland (1034), left his son Casimir too young to reign; and as Queen Rixa, his mother, had incurred general odium, the country remained in a state of anarchy for seven years, during which the several lords gave themselves up to plunder and the most lawless deeds of violence. The property of churches and monasteries was not spared. Bretislas, duke of Bohemia, took advantage of the interregnum to advance into the heart of Poland, captured the principal cities, and entered Gnesen, which was then its capital. He stripped the churches of all their wealth, ornaments, sacred vessels, shrines of saints, silver, funds, and revenues. The Polish bishops complained to Rome. But the Holy See was then occupied by Benedict IX., and the cardinals who commanded his confidence made many fair promises to the wretched Poles, and found in the gifts of the Bohemians amply convincing motives for absolving the guilty (1039). Weary of this fatal state of anarchy, the Poles at length resolved to crown the son of their late sovereign An embassy was sent to the

young Prince Casimir, who wore the religious habit at Cluny, under the direction of St. Odilo. "We come," said the envoys, addressing the prince, "on behalf of the lords and all the nobility of Poland, to entreat that you would pity the lamentable state of the kingdom, and put an end to the excess of its wretchedness." Casimir replied that he was no longer his own master; that he so entirely depended upon his abbot, as they had just seen, that he could not speak to them without his permission. St. Odilo, on his part, told them that their request far surpassed his power; that the Pope alone could free a monk already professed, and even bound by the order of deaconship. The deputies went on to Rome (1040). They placed before the court of Benedict a touching picture of the calamities of Poland, and of its crying need of Casimir for the preservation of religion and the kingdom. The case was a new one, and the dispensation without a precedent in the Church. Yet after consulting the wisest authorities, the Pope, in virtue of the *power of loosing* intrusted to him, without limitation, by Jesus Christ himself, granted the request. Not only was the monk Casimir allowed to return to the world, but also to marry, and, in acknowledgment, each Polish lord was held to a yearly tribute of one penny to the Holy See. Casimir went back to his native land, was acknowledged king, and married Mary, the sister of Jaroslaf, prince of Russia. After so unlooked-for and wonderful a restoration, the new king, having secured peace both at home and abroad, endeavored to cultivate in his realm a taste for science and sacred literature. He sent splendid presents to Cluny, where he had passed the days of his exile in retirement and pious practices, and induced St. Odilo to send him twelve religious, who founded two celebrated monasteries in Poland. Their establishment continued to raise the standard of morals, and brought back to religion the dignity and propriety which had been lost in the whirlwind of civil wars.

21. The virtues which spread their good odor so far abroad to draw august proselytes and royal bounty to the order of

Cluny, were not concentrated within the narrow compass of a cloister's walls. St. Odilo and Blessed Richard of St. Vannes were able instruments in the hands of God to bring back the many nations of the kingdom of France to that mild civilization as favorable to society as it is glorious to the gospel, and which has become an object of emulation to all enlightened nations. It was their zeal that secured the adoption and maintenance of the Truce of God by a restless and warlike people, whose nobles knew no other glory than that of arms. The two holy religious used all the influence of their piety and great intellect to restore both social and Christian virtues. The troubles excited in Normandy by the ministry of its Duke William, afterward called the Conqueror, had made away with the Truce. Richard used his eloquence there with little success; but Heaven seemed to have undertaken the duty of avenging the preacher for their indocility. The whole province was afflicted by a pestilential disease called *des Ardents*, which seemed to consume the entrails of its victims. The scourge extended its ravages and made many victims in Paris, where the piety of the faithful sought protection at the feet of St. Genevieve, the patroness of France (A. D. 1041). The Neustrians, stricken by the plague, knew no other remedy than recourse to him whose words they had at first despised. He received them with mildness, made them swear to observe the Truce of God, and administered some wine which he had blessed. He thus cured a great number of the sufferers, not only in Normandy, but in several other provinces visited by the contagion. The renown of Blessed Richard soon spread far and wide, and at the death of Rambert, bishop of Verdun, the emperor wished to bestow upon him the vacant see; but the humble religious steadily refused the dignity, and died, as he had lived, a holy monk (1045), at a very advanced age.

22. His friend, St. Odilo, had also, in the year 1025, refused the archbishopric of Lyons, to which see John XX. had wished to raise him. Neither the tears of that Church, coveted

by so many unworthy aspirants, nor the entreaties of the faithful, nor even the threats of the Sovereign Pontiff, whom, in all other matters, it was his happiness to obey as a dutiful and reverent son, could overcome his humility. Patience and gentleness were the characteristic virtues of St. Odilo; he was severe toward irregular monks alone, who sow the seeds of discord and insubordination in religious communities. When he met with any such characters he expelled them without pity; but to any other fault he was ever ready to show indulgence. He used to say that if he must be reproved by the Sovereign Judge, he much preferred that it should be for excessive goodness than for extreme severity. Yet he insisted upon a punctual observance of the rule; taking care to make its obligation sweet, and using rather the goodness of a father, or even the tenderness of a mother, than the authority of an abbot. He seemed to have been formed by grace to make virtue amiable to all. An unaffected simplicity, a straightforward course of action, his ingenuous manner of conversation, noble bearing, venerable white locks, and eyes full of life and animation, lent to his instructions and to his very conversation, a semblance of inspiration. The saintly abbot ended his days in the practice of indefatigable zeal, at the monastery of Souvigny (A. D. 1049), after fifty-five years of religious government. The commemoration of All Souls is a feast of his institution. The circumstances which gave rise to the solemnity are thus related. A French pilgrim, returning from Jerusalem, was cast, by a storm, upon the coast of Sicily. A solitary, who dwelt amid the rocks of the sea-shore, asked him if he knew the monastery of Cluny and the Abbot Odilo. "Often," said the hermit, "I hear the spirits of darkness uttering blasphemous curses against those pious persons, whose prayers and alms free the souls that suffer in the other world; but they are particularly bitter against Odilo and his religious. I, therefore, earnestly entreat you, in the name of God, when you reach your native land, to urge the holy abbot and his monks to redouble their prayers for the suffering souls in pur-

gatory." The pilgrim delivered the request, and Odilo directed that in all the monasteries of his order, a yearly commemoration of all the faithful departed should be made on the day following the feast of All Saints. The monastery of Cluny still preserves the decree which was drawn up both for its own observance and for that of all the monasteries of its dependency. The pious practice was gradually adopted by other churches, and soon became of general observance throughout the Catholic world.

23. While the manners and morals of the West were daily improving under the rule of the gospel and the simplicity of the faith, the Greeks, engaged in bloody strife, even upon the throne itself, seemed to have made a mere pastime of morality and piety, of the state and religion. Romanus Argyrus thought only of enjoying a power which was the fruit of adultery, when it was suddenly snatched from him by a similar crime, aggravated by the guilt of parricide. The Empress Zoe, for whom he had forsaken a virtuous spouse, had him smothered in a bath (A. D. 1034), and his death was instantly followed by the marriage and accession of a Paphlagonian named Michael, whose original occupation had been that of a money-changer. Michael IV., thus unexpectedly led to the summit of fortune by the way of infamy, at first showed some courage against the Bulgarians; but his soul was wrung by remorse, which caused his death (1041). Dying without issue, he left the purple to his nephew Michael, called Calaphates, from the occupation which he had followed in his youth. Michael V. sat but for a year upon the throne, of which his ignorance and cowardice made him unworthy. The indignant people of Constantinople expelled him from his palace and from the capital. The Princess Theodora was recalled from her cloister, and associated in the government to her sister Zoe. The two princesses forgot their old antipathy, and the empire breathed a while under their prudent and enlightened administration. But the agreement of two such opposite characters could not be of long duration: Theodora

soon began to upbraid Zoe for her irregular conduct, and, at length, unable to bear the atmosphere of so corrupt a court, she returned to her convent. Zoe contracted a third alliance with Constantine Monomachus, and consented that her husband should live in open concubinage, and even bestow upon his adulterous partner the title of Augusta. Adultery was raised to a dignity, and the palace of the Cæsars became an abode of infamy. The inhabitants of Constantinople, who had at first felt some indignation at such a disgrace, now adopted the plan of habituating themselves to its continuance. Chariot races and the bloody sports of the amphitheatre had always been the delight of Constantinople, and the emperor now indulged this popular passion with a splendor and magnificence hitherto unknown, even in that luxurious capital. The subjects were satisfied. The tidings that forty thousand Greek troops had been massacred by the Servians, in a defile on the frontiers of Bulgaria, in 1042, hardly cast a shadow upon the pleasures of this degraded people; and this moral degradation was opening the way for the approach of the great Eastern schism.

24. In a moral point of view, Rome at the same period presented a spectacle by no means calculated to console the Catholic heart. Benedict continued to outrage all virtuous minds by his disorders. Yet he did for a moment stay his vicious career while preparing for the ceremony of canonizing St. Simeon, a Benedictine monk of Syracuse (A. D. 1042). This is the second canonization which was certainly asked of the Holy See; that of St. Udalric was the first. The unworthy Pontiff soon relapsed into his usual irregularity; but the public contempt and indignation had reached such a degree that, in the year 1038, notwithstanding the influence and authority of his father, the Count of Tusculum, the Romans expelled him from the See. He was restored in the course of the same year by the Emperor Conrad, who had come to quiet the troubles which rent Italy at all points. This was Conrad's last imperial act; he died suddenly at Utrecht (1039). The laws and ordinances published by him in Germany, justify the belief

that he was the author of the written feudal law Conrad was succeeded by his son, Henry III., called the Black, who was crowned a year before his father's death. Benedict had again drawn upon himself the public odium by his excesses and deeds of violence, and was once more expelled toward the beginning of the year 1044. The party that dethroned Benedict placed in his stead, John, bishop of Sabinum, under the title of Sylvester III. But an expulsion is not a deposition, and Sylvester III. was evidently an antipope. His intrusion lasted but three months, when Benedict again returned to disgrace the Papal Chair. Supported by the house of Tusculum, he publicly insulted the Romans, who groaned under the hated yoke. Wearied, at length, by the constant marks of contempt with which he was everywhere received, he agreed to withdraw, that he might, without restraint, indulge his vicious passions; in consideration of a yearly pension of fifteen hundred pounds, Benedict yielded the Holy See to John Gratian, a respected priest of the Roman clergy. Thus ended the first period of his pontificate.

§ III. Pontificate of Gregory VI. (April 28, A. D. 1045—December 17, 1046).

25. Pope Benedict IX., having thus voluntarily abdicated, withdrew to his estate without the city, and John Gratian was elected Sovereign Pontiff, on the 28th of April, 1045. "His good reputation," says Glaber, "repaired the scandal given by his predecessor." Hermann Contract, a contemporary writer, and Otho of Freisingen, bear the same witness in this Pontiff's favor. We may gather from the testimony of these various writers, that the agreement entered upon by Benedict IX. and Gregory VI., to obtain the resignation of the former, was by no means simoniacal, as some writers have asserted. The moderate pension of fifteen hundred pounds cannot be regarded as a simony, for several councils, held in the early ages of the Church, assigned as much to bishops deposed by

them. Such, at least, was the opinion of a competent judge, St. Peter Damian, abbot of Fonte-Avellano, and one of the most distinguished writers of his age. The saint thus wrote to Pope Gregory VI., on learning his accession: "I was thirsting for the conviction that any thing good could come to us from the Apostolic See, when the tidings of your promotion came, at length, to refresh my weary soul. It is truly the hand of God which changes the face of the times and transfers kingdoms. Now, let the dove return to the ark, and, bearing the green olive branch, gladden the earth at the return of peace! You are our hope for the restoration of the world." This letter may serve to show what view St. Peter Damian, and with him, all the Christian world, now took of the reign of Gregory VI.

26. Peter Damian was born at Ravenna, in the year 1007, of a poor and numerous family. His earlier years were passed in a state of such complete neglect that his mother often forgot to give him his necessary nourishment. For this she was one day bitterly upbraided by a servant-maid. "The savage beasts of the forest," said the indignant girl, "do not, like you, leave their young to die of hunger. This child may not be the least of his family." The prediction of the humble woman was verified beyond any thing that she herself could have imagined. One day, while tending his brother's swine, he found a piece of money—a real fortune for the poor boy. He began to deliberate upon the use to which he should put the new-found treasure; but, at length, he said within himself: "The pleasure it could procure me would soon pass away; I had better give it to a priest, that he may offer up the Holy Sacrifice for my father's soul." He did so; and God blessed the pious thought. One of his brothers, who had become arch-priest of Ravenna, took charge of Peter's education. Damian studied first at Faenza, then at Parma, under the celebrated Doctor Ivo. So rapid was his progress in humanities, that he was soon able to teach them; and his reputation drew a great number of disciples from all parts. Though rich

in wealth and honors, he did not yield to the temptations of vanity and pleasure, which might have proved the shoals of his youth. "Why bind myself to these perishable goods?" he said within himself. "If I must one day quit them, why not now make the sacrifice of them to God?" Convinced by his own reasoning, he hastened at once to Fonte-Avellano, a solitary spot in the diocese of Eugubio, in Umbria, where St. Romuald had for some time made his abode. The regular, fervent, and austere life of Peter Damian drew upon him the suffrages of the religious, and he became their abbot. The letters of the holy and learned monk afford the most curious collection we have, on the manners and history of the eleventh century. They breathe something of the vigor of St. Jerome, softened by a touch of Salvian's melancholy. As a religious he sighed over the vices which he lashed as a writer. Such was St. Peter Damian, who hailed the accession of Gregory VI. as the harbinger of an epoch of moral renaissance.

27. The wise Pontiff, whose glory it had been to free the Church from a disgraceful yoke, proved himself worthy of the sovereign power, as much by the zeal with which he wielded, as by the noble disinterestedness with which he resigned it. He found the temporal domains of the Church so far diminished that they hardly furnished the Pope with the means of an honorable maintenance. As guardian of the rights of the Church, he hurled an excommunication against the usurpers. The infuriated plunderers marched upon Rome with an armed force. The Pope also raised troops, took possession of St. Peter's church, drove out the wretches who stole the offerings laid upon the tombs of the Apostles, took back several estates belonging to the domain of the Church, and secured the safety of the roads, upon which pilgrims no longer ventured to travel except in caravans. This policy displeased the Romans, who had now become habituated to plunder. Their complaints induced Henry III., king of Germany, to hurry to Italy, and to summon a council at Sutri, during the Christmas festival, to inquire whether the election of Gregory should be regarded as

simoniacal. The Pope and the clergy entertained the sincere conviction that they were justified in bringing about, even by means of money, the abdication of the unworthy Benedict, thus to end the scandal which so foully disgraced the Holy See. As opinions were divided on this point, Gregory VI., to set all doubts at rest, stripped himself, with his own hands, of the Pontifical vestments, and gave up to the bishops his pastoral staff. Having given to the world this noble example of self-denial, Gregory withdrew to the monastery of Cluny, bearing with him the consciousness of a great duty done. He died in that holy solitude in the odor of sanctity.

§ IV. Pontificate of Clement II. (December 25, A. D. 1046—October 9, 1047.)

28. The see left vacant by the magnanimous humility of Gregory VI., was bestowed, by general consent, upon Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, whom King Henry had brought with him to Rome. The new Pope, whose elevation was due only to universally known and acknowledged virtues, took the name of Clement II., and was crowned on Christmas-Day (A. D. 1046); in the same solemnity he bestowed the imperial title and crown upon Henry III., and his queen, Agnes, daughter of William, duke of Aquitaine. Shortly after his promotion, the Pope held a council at Rome, to settle the question of precedence between the sees of Ravenna and Milan. The decision was given in favor of Ravenna. The council also discussed the statutes relative to simony, which was openly practised throughout the West. Among other decrees, it was decided that any cleric consenting to receive orders from a bishop known to be guilty of simony, should not exercise ecclesiastical functions until he had atoned by a penance of forty days.

29. The Emperor Henry, during his sojourn in Rome, sent for St. Peter Damian to assist the Pope by his counsels. The illustrious religious thus wrote to the Pontiff, in excuse for not complying: "Notwithstanding the emperor's request, so

expressive of his benevolence in my regard, I cannot devote to journeys the time which I have promised to consecrate to God in solitude. I send the imperial letter, in order that your Holiness may decide, if it become necessary. My soul is weighed down with grief when I see the churches of our provinces plunged into shameful confusion through the fault of bad bishops and abbots. What does it profit us to learn that the Holy See has been brought out from darkness into the light, if we still remain buried in the same gloom of ignominy? But we hope that you are destined to be the savior of Israel. Labor then, Most Holy Father, once more to raise up the kingdom of justice, and use the vigor of discipline to humble the wicked and to raise the courage of the good."

30. On his return to Germany, Henry took the Pope with him. The city of Beneventum refused to open its gates to the Sovereign Pontiff, who, at the emperor's request, pronounced against it a sentence of excommunication. Clement made but a short visit to his native land, and hastened back to Rome. His apostolic zeal led him to visit, in person, the churches of Umbria, the deplorable condition of which he had learned from the letter of St. Peter Damian. On reaching the monastery of St. Thomas of Aposello, he was seized with a mortal disease, before having accomplished the object of his journey. His last thought was for his beloved church of Bamberg, to which he sent, from his dying couch, a confirmation of all its former privileges, assuring it, in the most touching terms, of his unchanging affection. Clement II. died on the 9th of October, 1047, and his remains were taken to Bamberg, in obedience to the dearest wish of his heart.

§ V. Pontificate of Benedict IX. (Second Period), (November, A. D. 1047—July 17, 1048).

31. On Christmas-Day, 1047, Henry III. was at Polden, in Saxony, celebrating the anniversary of his coronation and of the exaltation of his friend, Clement II., when deputies

arrived with the tidings of the Pontiff's death. What a striking lesson on the brevity of all earthly greatness, given in the midst of festal rejoicings! The envoys also begged that the vacant see might be given to Halinard, archbishop of Lyons, a prelate of distinguished worth, who would have made the happiness of the world, and the glory of the Holy See, but that his unyielding humility steadily refused the great dignity thus pressed upon him. The Romans thus showed themselves true to the engagement made with the emperor in the preceding year, to hold no Pontifical election without his permission. But while these negotiations were carried on in Germany, events had taken a new turn at Rome. Benedict IX. was tired of his solitary and retired life. Ambition again took in his heart the place so long filled by other and even more shameful passions. The power which had first raised him to the Pontifical Chair was still strong enough to restore him to it again; and, to the consternation of the Christian world, he whom Peter Damian had styled "the poisonous viper of the Church," "another Simon," a "new Giezi," once more appeared upon the Chair of St. Peter (November 8, A. D. 1047). He held it eight months; but yielding, at length, to repentance, and opening his heart to divine grace, he called for Bartholomew, the saintly abbot of the monastery of Grotta Ferrata, made a full confession of all his sins, and asked the holy religious to point out the path by which he might find rest to his soul. Faithful to his high calling, Bartholomew spoke to him the words of truth. He assured him that it was no longer allowed him to exercise even the duties of the priesthood, and persuaded him to give up at once all the ambitious aims which had ruined his life, in order to devote himself entirely to seeking a reconciliation with God by sincere penance. Benedict, great at length, because he had learned humility, followed the advice, voluntarily abdicated the Pontifical dignity, and embraced the monastic life, under the guidance of the holy abbot who had just placed him in the way of salvation: he died, a lowly religious, in the convent of Grotta Ferrata.

§ VI. Pontificate of Damasus II. (July 17, A. D. 1048—August 8, 1048).

32. On the very day of Benedict's final abdication, the Pontifical tiara was bestowed upon Poppo, bishop of Brixen, whom the emperor had offered to the Roman suffrage, as a distinguished and virtuous prelate. He was elected under the name of Damasus II., and did little more than take his seat upon the chair of St. Peter; dying at Prœneste, twenty-three days after his promotion (August 8, A. D. 1048). The heritage of Damasus was to fall into able and prudent hands, destined to repair the ravages of past storms, and to prepare the way for great deeds to come.

CHAPTER III.

§ I. Pontificate of St. Leo IX. (February 11, A. D. 1049—April 19, 1054).

1. Election of Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the Sovereign Pontificate.—2. Council of Rome.—3. Council of Pavia. St. John Gualbert founds the Monastery of Vallis Umbrosa.—4. Council of Rheims.—5. Council of Mentz.—6. Berengarius. Lanfranc.—7. Heresy of Berengarius.—8. His condemnation.—9. Michael Cerularius. Eastern schism.—10. Closing acts of the life of St. Leo.

§ II. Pontificate of Victor II. (April 13, A. D. 1055—July 28, 1057).

11. Election of Pope Victor II.—12. Question of *Investitures*.—13. Zeal and humility of Pope Victor II.—14. Councils of Lyons and of Tours.—15. State of the Catholic world.—16. Death of the Emperor Henry III. Death of Pope Victor II.

§ III. Pontificate of Stephen X. (August 2, A. D. 1057—March 20, 1058).

17. Election of Stephen X.—18. His zeal for ecclesiastical reform.—19. St. Peter Damian a Cardinal.—20. Death of Stephen X.

§ IV. Schism of Benedict X. (April 5, A. D. 1058—January, 1059).

21. Schismatical election of Benedict X. Protest of St. Peter Damian.—22. Deposition of Benedict X. Election of Nicholas II.

§ V. Pontificate of Nicholas II. (January 31, A. D. 1059—June 24, 1061).

23. Council of Rome. The election of Popes reserved to the Cardinals. The right of confirmation assigned to the Emperors of Germany.—24. Council of Amalfi. Treaty between Nicholas II. and Robert Guiscard.—25. Heresy of the Nicholaites. St. Peter Damian legate to Milan.—26. Mission of St. Hugh, abbot of Cluny, and of Cardinal Etienne, to France.—27. Relations of Nicholas II. with the various Christian powers.—28. Disorders in the court of Henry IV. Death of Nicholas II.

§ VI. Pontificate of Alexander II. (September 30, 1061—April 20, 1073).

29. Election of Alexander II. Cadalous, bishop of Parma, antipope, under the name of Honorius II.—30. Struggle between the lawful Pontiff and the antipope. Deposition of Cadalous.—31. Heresy of the Incestuous.—

32. St. Peter Igneus.—33. Attempt of Henry IV. to repudiate his lawful wife. Legation of Peter Damian to the emperor.—34. Death of St. Peter Damian. His works.—35. Conquest of England by William, duke of Normandy.—36. Illustrious saints under the Pontificate of Alexander II.—37. Discipline, or self-flagellation.—38. Death of Alexander II.

§ I. Pontificate of St. Leo IX. (February 11, A. D. 1049—April 19, 1054).

1. When the unexpected news of the death of Damasus II. reached Germany, the Emperor Henry III. was holding a diet, or general assembly of the nobles and prelates, at Worms. Among the dignitaries of the Church, present on the occasion, was a holy bishop of illustrious birth. It was Bruno, bishop of Toul, count of Hapsburg, a relative of Conrad the Salic, and cousin of Gerard of Alsace, duke of Upper Lorraine, to whom the present house of Lorraine traces its pedigree. His ecclesiastical preferment was, however, rather due to his personal worth than to his noble alliances; and he had already worn the mitre twenty-two years. During this long administration, he gave particular attention to the reform of monasteries; and later, he had acted as mediator between Rodolph, king of Burgundy, and Robert, king of France. Repeated journeys to Rome had made him thoroughly acquainted with the actual needs of the Church, and the best remedies to be applied. The emperor and the whole diet pointed him out to the suffrages of the Romans. His earnest resistance was forced to yield to the general wish and entreaty. He started from Toul on foot, and in a pilgrim's dress, to take his seat upon the first throne in the world. As he drew near to Rome, the whole city came forth to welcome him with songs of gladness. After paying his devotions to the tomb of the apostles, he announced to the clergy and people the choice which the emperor had made of him, begging them freely to make known their will, whatever it might be, that the election might be carried on in accordance with the canonical rule. "We came in spite of ourself," he added, "and shall be happy to return if our elec-

tion does not meet with unanimous approval." The multitude replied to these humble protestations by bearing the new Pope in triumph to the palace of St. John Lateran, and St. Leo IX. was thus enthroned by acclamation, on the 12th of February, A. D. 1049. Bruno was accompanied by a youthful and saintly religious of noble and lofty character, endowed with a quick and penetrating mind and of exemplary regularity, who was to illustrate the name of Hildebrand. The monk for whom such a high destiny was in store, was a native of Rome. In returning him to his native land, Leo bestowed upon the Romans a splendid gift in return for the crown he had just received at their hands.

2. On the very day following his instalment the holy and laborious Pontiff began the work of reforming the many abuses under which the Church was groaning. He openly announced his intention of dealing severely with simony, and of suspending from ecclesiastical functions all whom he found tainted with the sin. This evil was so prevalent that the declaration at once drew protests from all the Italian bishops, who assured the Pope that if the measure were carried into execution, the pastoral ministry must, by the very fact, cease in most churches. This was but a fresh incentive to the Pontiff's zeal. Taking but the time necessary to assemble the Italian bishops in Rome, he opened a council twenty-six days after his enthronement. The crime of simony, which he was resolved to pursue in all its forms and by all the means in his power, was anathematized in a series of disciplinary canons. Leo had first shown a determination to cut off the evil at the root, by suspending those who had wittingly been ordained by a simoniacal prelate; but at the prayer of the bishops, he contented himself with renewing the sentence of his predecessor, Clement II., admitting the offenders to the functions of the sacred ministry after the performance of public penance.

3. As, of old, St. Peter visited the churches of Judea, to confirm them in the spirit of faith and fervor, so St. Leo IX. would visit the various churches of the West, to restore the

discipline so long in a state of desuetude, and to combat the spirit of disorder and darkness which ruled without restraint. His Pontificate was one continued journey, undertaken for the good and edification of the Church. We first find him in Pavia, at the head of a council, promulgating for Upper Italy the laws which he had just decreed against simony and clerical incontinence. In the course of his journey he visits Vallis Umbrosa, an already well-known monastery, lately founded under somewhat remarkable circumstances, by a noble Florentine, St. John Gualbert (A. D. 1039). Gualbert's brother had been murdered by a gentleman of the country, with whom he was on unfriendly terms. It happened, on Good Friday, that John, attended by his men-at-arms, met his brother's murderer. The sight of the guilty man inflamed in his heart the desire of vengeance, and, drawing his sword, he was about to kill him. The murderer fell upon his knees, and, holding his arms in the form of a cross, besought him by the Passion of Jesus Christ, who suffered on that day, to spare his life. The young nobleman, deeply affected by the appeal, held out his hand to the murderer of his brother, and meekly said to him, "I cannot refuse what is asked in the name of Jesus Christ. I give you not only your life, but my friendship forever. Beg of God that He may pardon me my sin." John Gualbert was a new man. His only ambition now was to devote himself entirely to the service of God. After a novitiate of some years in the monastery of San Miniato, in Florence, he withdrew to a lonely valley, deeply shaded by willows (Vallis Umbrosa), where he founded a convent under the reformed rule of St. Benedict, and even more austere than the congregation of Cluny. St. John Gualbert was the first, except choir religious, who received into his order converts, or *lay*-brothers, for the discharge of external offices.

4. Such were the man and the institution distinguished by St. Leo with especial honor. It was part of his plan of universal restoration to surround himself with all the elements that could secure the triumph of his reforms. Immediately after the close of the Council of Pavia, the Pope visited Cologne,

to confer with Henry III. on the most effectual means to rid his empire of simony and clerical incontinence, those two plague-spots which he had undertaken to remove from the body of the Church. He then signified his intention of visiting France, to preside over a national council, and to provide for the wants of that country by promulgating the wise decrees he was striving to enforce in Italy and Germany. This report alarmed the simoniacal prelates, and the nobles who were in possession of unjustly acquired church property. The king of France, Henry I., was beset with base intrigues, to deter him from lending the weight of his authority to the convocation of the council mentioned by Leo IX. It was represented to him that the honor and prerogatives of his crown were at stake if the Pope performed any such act of jurisdiction within his kingdom. The weak monarch yielded to the false reasoning. He informed the Sovereign Pontiff that being at that moment deeply engaged with some military movements, he should be unable to meet him at Rheims, and he therefore begged him to defer his intended visit. The leading principle of St. Leo's heroic zeal was to face all difficulties at the outset. He thus answered the French envoys: "We cannot break our engagement with St. Remigius; we shall go to dedicate his church; we rely upon the piety of the French nation; and if we find at Rheims any prelates whose souls are more obedient to the call of religion than to fear of the monarch, with them will we hold the intended council." The Pope accordingly appeared in Rheims on the 2d of October, A. D. 1049. He had not miscalculated the love and veneration of the people of France for the head of the Church. He was met by an immense multitude of the faithful, gathered together from all the surrounding provinces. In their presence he proceeded to the solemn authentication of the relics of St. Remigius, which he wished to bear in person to the new church, just raised in honor of the holy Apostle of the Franks, after which he gave his attention to the chief object of his journey—the holding of a national council. The decrees of Rome and Pavia, against simony and relaxation of

discipline, were solemnly promulgated. The Pope deposed several scandalous prelates, received others to penance, and showed the most merciful indulgence toward those who gave signs of sincere repentance. The Council of Rheims (1049) was peculiar in this, that all the sessions were opened by the singing of the VENI CREATOR. This is the first witness we find of the antiquity of this hymn, of which the author is unknown.

5. Having thus attended to the wants of religion in France, the tireless Pontiff returned to Germany, where he held a second council, at Mentz, in November, A. D. 1049. The emperor, the bishops, and the leading members of the German nobility were present. The council, like that held in France, was chiefly concerned in rooting out the evils caused in the country by simony and the sacrilegious marriages of priests. It was on this occasion that the Pope made the archbishops of Cologne arch-chancellors of the Roman Church and cardinal-priests of the title of *St.-John-before-the-Latin-Gate*. Both these dignities have now passed into disuse, and the archbishops of Cologne derive from them only the privilege of wearing the red dress of the cardinals. Leo returned to Italy immediately after the close of the council. On his way through Lorraine he took with him Humbert, abbot of Moyen-Moutier, whom he made bishop and cardinal, and who soon after became one of the most illustrious prelates of his age, both by his learning and by his valuable services to the Church. At Siponto, at the foot of Monte Gargano, the Pope held another council, which deposed two simoniacal archbishops (A. D. 1050). A few months later a general council of the Italian bishops was convoked, at Rome, to condemn the heresy of Berengarius.

6. The lessons of St. Fulbert of Chartres had given a powerful impulse to the study of theology. Among the many disciples who thronged to hear his eloquent teachings, he had marked one of those proud, rash spirits, unsatisfied by truth, seemingly governed by some hidden affinity for error and paradox, ever the sport of a wild and unbridled imagination. The youth was Berengarius. After some years spent in the school

of St. Fulbert, he returned to Tours, his native city, and opened public conferences, at first with great success. His address was animated and brilliant; he displayed a remarkable erudition for his day, and possessed the faculty of pleasing the masses. But he showed more wit than deep learning, more brilliancy than solidity, and his success was due rather to a bold and new style than to the true offspring of genius—great and deep thought. Still his doctrine had hitherto been as unimpeachable as his life was regular; there was nothing as yet in the young and brilliant professor that could foreshadow the future heresiarch. Wounded self-love was the stumbling-block which caused his fall. He heard one day that a learned stranger had come from Pavia, where he had successfully studied theology and profane literature, and was now bringing to France the treasures of science gathered beyond the mountains. It was, indeed, Lanfranc, a learned Italian, on his way to the monastery lately founded by St. Herluin, at Bec, and which his name was destined to clothe with glory. Berengarius wished to hold a disputation with the stranger, whom his vanity represented to him as a rival. These literary jousts, in which science tilted with the arms of courtesy, were much practised at this period. Berengarius was worsted, and his pride could not brook the defeat. Lanfranc was soon afterward named écolâtre (*scholasticus*) or professor, at the monastery of Bec, and his lectures were attended by all the youth of France. The school of Tours was soon emptied by his reputation. Berengarius, hoping to win by novelties what he had lost by a crushing comparison with a superior rival, became a sectary.

7. Taking up the discussion raised in the ninth century, on the mystery of the Eucharist, he publicly taught that our Lord Jesus Christ is not really and substantially present in the adorable Sacrament of the altar, but in a figurative manner, and by impanation, as was afterward held by Luther, the leader of Protestantism.* Scotus Erigena had said the same a hun-

* It may be useful to remark that the Lutherans and Calvinists have tried to establish a kind of historical tradition of their errors on the dogma of the real presence by quoting

dred years before, when Paschasius Radbertus eloquently vindicated the Catholic doctrine. Still Berengarius had followers. He must also found a school; but in the course of his reasoning he did not long hold the same opinions. In short, his was the lot of all heresiarchs, who are ever doomed to wander more widely in proportion as they recede from the centre of unity. Berengarius affected to cloak his errors with the name of Scotus Erigena. Lanfranc did not hesitate to enter the lists even on that ground; he defended Paschasius Radbertus and the Catholic belief in the real presence. Meanwhile the new heresy was progressing. Hugh, bishop of Langres, took the field against it. Such was the position of affairs when St. Leo IX. called the case before his tribunal, in the Council of Rome, held in 1050. The new doctrine was condemned, and its author summoned to defend himself, in person, before a more numerous council, convoked in the same year at Vercelli.

8. Instead of answering the summons, Berengarius was busy spreading his error in Normandy. Duke William called together, at Brionne, the most learned bishops and abbots of his states, to confer with the heresiarch. Berengarius was covered with confusion. Returning to Chartres, he wrote to the clergy of that church a letter full of insults against the Pope and the Roman Church. In speaking of Leo he styles him not *pontifex*, but *pompifex;* the Roman Church is no longer *Catholic*, but *Satanic*. This is a foretaste of Luther's style of address toward Leo X. The Council of Vercelli, nevertheless, prosecuted the matter. The work of Scotus Erigena was solemnly condemned and consigned to the flames. The first sentence of Rome against Berengarius was renewed; and "he who wished," says Lanfranc, "to deprive the Church of the communion of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, was himself cast out from the bosom of the Church." The new error had taken rise in the heart of France; and all France rose up against it, and

the authority of the heretics of the ninth and eleventh centuries, as though Berengarius, who was condemned in 1050 by the Pope and councils, could be deemed a faithful representative of the belief of his age

against its author. Bishops, nobles, abbots, the most learned members of the clergy, hastened from all parts of the land to meet in Paris; and there, in the presence of King Henry I., their unanimous voice was raised in condemnation of Berengarius and his followers, and they declared that unless the heretics retracted, "the army of France, led by the clergy in ecclesiastical dress, would hunt them out of every lurking-place, and force them to submit, with the alternative of death if they refused." Berengarius still held out against this overwhelming unanimity of opposition, and continued in his errors until the Pontificate of St. Gregory VII., when he sincerely abjured them in a council held at Rome (A. D. 1078), and withdrew to the monastery of St. Cosmo, near Tours, where he died, after a course of sincere penance.

9. The grief experienced by St. Leo, on seeing the broken chain of heresies taken up again by Berengarius in the West, was greatly increased by the tidings of the revolt of the Byzantine Greeks against the Roman Church. The Patriarchs of Constantinople had long aimed at spiritual supremacy in the East, and made every effort to obtain from the Popes the confirmation of the presumptuous title of Ecumenical Patriarch, which they had arrogated to themselves on their own authority. The dogma of the Roman primacy, on the other hand, was so unquestionable, that the Patriarchs dared not generally attack or openly disavow it. Hence arose a hard struggle between conscience and passion, submission and revolt. The struggle had its crises; and we have at last reached the decisive one. Michael Cerularius, who had once been banished for his share in a political conspiracy, afterward embraced a religious life and was taken from his monastery by Constantine Monomachus to sit upon the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople. The character of the new Patriarch was about equally compounded of ambition, pride, a love of display, an anxious and restless spirit. To him the Apostolic sovereignty of the Roman Church was but a hateful superiority, which it was his aim to overthrow. Resuming all the charges brought against the Latins

by Photius, he added some of his own to the list, such as not chanting the ALLELUIA in Lent; eating the flesh of animals that had been strangled; conferring baptism by a single immersion; consecrating unleavened bread (upon which point he dwelt with special emphasis); not honoring the relics and images of saints; shaving the beard, etc. With the assistance of Leo of Acrida, metropolitan of Bulgaria, and Nicetas, a monk of Studium, he drew up a synodal letter, setting forth all these grounds of complaint, and excommunicated the Roman Church, in the name of the Greeks, *the faithful guardians of the evangelic faith.* Michael began the work of separation by closing all the churches and monasteries of the Latins throughout his jurisdiction, until they should conform to the Greek rite. He excommunicated all who had recourse to the Holy See, and rebaptized all the faithful who had received the sacrament according to the Roman rite. St. Leo answered Michael Cerularius by a long letter, in which he vindicated the Roman Church with equal erudition and mildness. He showed, in their true light, all the points of dogma, or of mere discipline, assailed by the Greeks; he dwelt upon the procession of the Holy Ghost, the custom of consecrating unleavened bread, etc. The letter was sent to Constantinople in charge of three legates, among whom was the learned Cardinal Humbert. The Roman envoys easily confuted the empty quibbles of Cerularius and his adherents. But as it formed no part of the Patriarch's desire to clear up particular points of doctrine, but only to throw off the supremacy of the Roman See, he gave but little heed to the unanswerable demonstrations of the legates. For him the question was removed from the sphere of theology; it was resumed in this one point: "The seat of the empire having been transferred by Constantine to the shores of Asia, the spiritual sovereignty was no longer due to Rome, but to Constantinople." Hence theological proofs and arguments carried no conviction to his mind. The Pope's legates then did the only thing that could have been of any possible use. They went to the church of St. Sophia, on the 16th of July, A. D. 1054,

and, in the presence of the whole people, solemnly laid upon the altar a sentence of excommunication against Michael Cerularius and his adherents. In leaving the Basilica, they shook the dust from their feet, exclaiming: "May God behold and judge!" And then the ambassadors of the Holy See returned to Rome. Photius did not hesitate to use a lie when the triumph of his cause was at stake. Cerularius was true to this traditional faithlessness. He translated the sentence of excommunication into Greek, falsifying its leading clauses, and, thus altered, it was read to the people. The crafty prelate gave himself the satisfaction of excommunicating, in turn, the Sovereign Pontiff, and of erasing his name from the sacred diptychs. He wrote to the three Eastern Patriarchs, urging all the arguments that pride and hatred could suggest, to withdraw them from the communion of the Roman Church. The effect produced by these letters upon the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem is not known. The prelate of Antioch answered by vindicating the Latins from some of the charges, blaming them on others, but not to an extent that could warrant a separation. Michael Cerularius, disregarding these considerations, continued his unceasing efforts to spread and strengthen the schism, during the short reigns of Theodora and Michael Stratonicus, who successively held the imperial sceptre after the death of Constantine Monomachus (A. D. 1054–1057). He became yet bolder under Isaac Comnenus, whose usurpation he had helped; but his rashness caused his fall. Comnenus, unable to bear with his presumption, banished him to the island of Proconnesus (1059), where he died the same year. The schism did not expire with its author, nor yet was it irretrievably consummated. Nothing was yet formally decided against the Roman primacy; but if the Greek Church was not entirely separated, it was still full of schismatics and reduced to a desperate condition. Deprived of its divine life-giving principle and reduced to a purely political existence, it enjoyed from that moment, and only at intervals, a semblance of unity and life. The Eastern empire was falling back into a state of greater

weakness than ever. The divided strength of the Arabs gave rise to a new power, which was beginning to insult the Greek frontiers. This new element (the Turkish) was of Tartar origin; its seat of power, the shores of the Caspian Sea. Some of these people dwelt in cities and had fixed abodes, others lived a roving life, under leaders of their own choice. The bravest and most successful of these chiefs was Seljuk, who seized upon Khorassan, embraced Islamism, and founded the Seljukian dynasty. His son, Togrul-Beg, having lent the support of his arms to Cayem, caliph of Bagdad, received the dignity of Emir-al-Omrah, with the exercise of unlimited power. He possessed himself of the greater part of Persia, and was the first sultan of his dynasty. His sword passed into the hands of his nephew, Alp-Arslan (1062), who carried its conquering sway to the bounds of the Greek empire. Such was the power which was to succeed the exhausted strength of the Arabs, and renew the struggle of Islamism against Christianity. The Seljukian Turks reached this degree of power at the time when Michael Cerularius was drawing the Greek Church deeper into schism, under Constantine Monomachus.

10. The course of events in the East has drawn us beyond our chronological position. True to his projected course of reform, St. Leo, after the Council of Vercelli, once more set out for Germany; reconciled the emperor to Andrew, king of Hungary, and obtained his help against the Normans in Italy. These strangers, who had settled in the kingdom of Naples, under the Pontificate of Benedict VIII., had taken Apulia from the Greeks and were now harassing the principality of Beneventum, long since incorporated in the estates of the Holy See. The Germans were defeated in the bloody battle of Dragonara (A. D. 1053), and the Pope, who awaited the issue of the contest in a neighboring city, also remained in the power of the Normans. The conquerors prostrated themselves at his feet, offered him the homage of their victories over the Greeks, and received in advance a sort of investiture for what they might yet acquire. Nor was it in vain. The two illustrious

brothers, Robert and Roger Guiscard, during the latter half of this century completed the conquest of all the possessions held by the Greeks. To this they added Sicily, which they wrested from the Saracens, thus forming the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. All these acquisitions they presented in homage to the Popes. Shortly before this expedition, Leo IX. had decided the African primacy in favor of the bishop of Carthage. The wretched hierarchy of the once flourishing church of Africa was now reduced to five bishops, and they were divided on a question of precedence.

After the defeat at Dragonara, the Pope returned to Rome. He was but fifty years old, and promised still to console the Church by many glorious deeds; but death cut short the course of his projects and immense labors of restoration and reform (April 19, A. D. 1054). He had met with many obstacles to his work from the clergy of Lombardy and Germany. These obstacles, simony and incontinence, will increase through the support received from the secular power. The successors of Leo IX., in their rapid passage, will want time to confirm so necessary and so difficult a reform. But it shall be accomplished; for the treasures of divine mercy have in store the genius of Hildebrand, appointed to raise up society, tottering upon the brink of the abyss.

§ II. Pontificate of Victor II. (April 13, 1055—July 28, 1057).

11. At the time of Leo's death, Hildebrand was as yet but sub-deacon of the Roman Church; yet such was the general confidence in his intelligence and virtue, that the Roman clergy sent him at the head of an embassy to the Emperor Henry III., to ask that he would himself name the candidate he deemed most worthy of the chair of St. Peter. An important modification had lately been effected in the manner of the Pontifical elections, which were thenceforward to be exclusively reserved to the cardinals (A. D. 1054). These dignitaries understood the necessity of maintaining, between the Church and

the empire, the union which constituted the mutual strength of the two powers; and they thought it fitting, under the circumstances, to appeal to the wisdom of Henry III. The correctness of his views had already been tested, and the glorious Pontificate of St. Leo IX. had just given to the world a splendid proof that the emperor knew how to appreciate men. Moreover, Hildebrand was intrusted with the management of the delicate negotiation, and his tact was to remove or prevent all the difficulties that might arise. Henry called a general diet of the empire at Mentz, and then at Augsburg, to decide this important matter, and left the choice of the future Pontiff to the judgment of Hildebrand, who named Gebhardt, bishop of Eichstadt and chancellor of the empire. Gebhardt made a most honorable resistance to the dignity thus forced upon him. He carried his humility to an excess, of which the intention is beyond all praise, even spreading reports unfavorable to himself, in order to escape a burden which he so much dreaded. For six months he steadily held out in his refusal, and only yielded at length to the emperor's entreaties that he would sacrifice his personal modesty to the good of the whole Church. "Since you require it," said he, "though deeply conscious of my utter unworthiness, I obey your orders, and devote myself without reserve to the service of St. Peter; but you must also promise to give to St. Peter what of right belongs to him." This remark applied to the ecclesiastical estates which Henry III., like most of his contemporaries, unjustly retained without a scruple.

12. At this period the great question which was soon to disturb all the West, under the name of *the war of investiture*, was just arising between the Popes and the emperors. "To appreciate its nature and importance," says Monsignore Palma, "it must be borne in mind that, under the feudal system, bishops and abbots, especially in Germany, held not only lands and forests, but even castles and cities, as fiefs of the empire. According to the laws then in force, the vassals of the crown could enter into the possession of a fief only after an oath of

fealty and homage, made to the emperor. The law was, in all justice, as binding upon the ecclesiastical lords as upon the other great vassals. But the way too easily led to abuse." By a usurpation of power, princes, failing to distinguish between the domanial and spiritual authority, claimed to confer both by investiture. They ordered that the pastoral staff and ring of a deceased prelate or abbot, should be placed in their hands; and these badges of the spiritual power they assumed the right of bestowing at pleasure: this was called the *investiture by the ring and crosier*. Thus, in defiance of all canonical rules, the choice of bishops was taken out of the hands of the diocesan clergy and of the metropolitan, and that of the abbots from the religious of their community. The emperor, who bestowed the badges of authority, was supposed to confer the authority itself; and the line of demarcation between the spiritual and the temporal power was thus ignored. What the episcopal or abbatial elections could be, when in the hands of irreligious or even of simply avaricious princes, may readily be imagined. Ecclesiastical trusts and dignities became marketable commodities, and at once there arose a great traffic in bishoprics and abbacies. Viewed in this light, the question of investitures is no longer what it has been represented by hostile writers—a question of *self-love—a bloody war about mere trifles;* it is the Church's struggle for the freedom of her ministry, for the right which she has ever claimed, in every age and under every form of government, of saving souls and preaching the truths of the gospel.

13. The flame did not, however, break forth in the Pontificate of Gebhardt, who ascended the Papal throne under the name of Victor II. (April 13, 1055). As chancellor of the empire he had opposed all his influence to the call for help against the Normans, addressed by his predecessor, Leo IX., to the Emperor Henry III. Now that he found himself face to face with that warlike people, whose arms were continually invading some new province of the Holy See, he fully understood the critical situation. He remembered now that the bloody defeat of Dragonara was, to a certain extent, due to

him, since he had dissuaded the emperor from sending a stronger auxiliary force to Italy; and he bitterly exclaimed: *Quod fecit Saulus, Paulum pati necesse est!* "It is just that Paul should atone for the fault which Saul committed." The holy Pontiff studiously endeavored to walk in the footsteps of his predecessor. In the year 1055 he held a great council in Florence, at which the emperor was present. Here Victor solemnly confirmed all the decrees of Leo IX. against the alienation of Church property, against simony and incontinence in clerics, and, in fine, against the heresy of Berengarius. The Pontiff's severity greatly incensed the guilty. His life was even attempted by a sub-deacon, who threw poison into the chalice which Victor used in celebrating the Holy Sacrifice. The intended crime was discovered and thwarted by a miraculous interposition of Providence.

14. While the Sovereign Pontiff presided in person at the Council of Florence, his legate, Hildebrand, held one in Lyons, to check the ravages made by simony in the churches of Burgundy. The Archbishop of Embrun was convicted of having bought the episcopal dignity. He acknowledged his guilt and was deposed. Lipert of Gap underwent a similar punishment, and his see was given to a holy monk, named Arnoul (A. D. 1055). Hildebrand convoked another council at Tours. Berengarius appeared in person, and found himself in the presence of his learned adversary Lanfranc. The heretic resorted to all the subtleties, all the artifices of logic, to support his error; but, overcome at length by the superiority and powerful reasoning of Lanfranc, he acknowledged himself defeated, placed a formal retractation in the hands of the legate, and promised thenceforth to hold no other belief, on the Sacrament of the Eucharist, than that of the Catholic Church. This pledge also was soon to be broken.

The Emperor Henry III. sent deputies to the Council of Tours, to complain that Ferdinand I., king of Castile, had assumed the imperial dignity, and to request the Pope's legate to forbid him, under pain of excommunication, any further usurpa-

tion of a title to which he had no claim. The fathers of the council and the Pope, who were consulted on the subject, pronounced Henry's complaints well-founded, and bishops were delegated to King Ferdinand to request that he would lay aside his pretensions. The king, after having taken the advice of the bishops and nobles of his realm, answered that he submitted to the decree of the Apostolic See, and that he would no longer assume the imperial title. This fact proves once more that the tribunal of the Sovereign Pontiff was regarded, in the middle-ages, as supreme arbiter of the great political questions arising between sovereigns or nations. This was no usurpation of power. The law of nations, then in force, had, so to speak, raised up in the midst of the European governments a neutral power, which should, in cases of extreme necessity, judge the other powers. The propriety or seasonableness of such an institution may be questioned. It is a matter of history left to individual appreciation. But it would be an act of the deepest injustice to tax the Popes with ambition and abuse of power in the exercise of their ministry as mediators of pacification, with which they had been clothed by common consent.

15. The impulse had been given: councils were held in all the provinces for the extirpation of simony and clerical incontinence—for the restoration of discipline and the general reformation of morals. The decrees of Narbonne (A. D. 1054), Barcelona (in the same year), Toulouse (1056), brought into southern France and the north of Spain the blessing of a firmer and more exact discipline. In Germany, Henry III. gave all his care to the choice of zealous and worthy bishops. The zeal, vigilance, and apostolic firmness of St. Anno, whom he had lately called to the see of Cologne (1055), recalled the brightest days of the primitive Church. In England, St. Edward III., who has compelled the praise even of Protestant historians, "ruled his people with wisdom and mildness, lessened the taxes, made good laws, and effected important improvements in the kingdom." * In Spain, Ferdinand I., called the Great, who

* History of England, by LARREY.

had lately given so noble an example of submission to the Holy See, was raising the united kingdoms of Castile and Navarre, to a height of greatness and glory hitherto unparalleled. He swept the Moors from the soil of Castile, and seated justice and religion upon his throne.

16. The death of the Emperor Henry III. interrupted the reign of peace and prosperity which was opening with such bright promise for the West. The emperor had invited Victor to meet him at Goslar (A. D. 1056). There he secured the recognition of his son Henry IV., a child hardly five years old, as king. To fix upon the brow of this too well-beloved boy the weighty honor of the royal crown, he intrusted him to the guardianship of the Pope and the Holy See. Victor II. accepted this legacy of a dying father. The royal ward found, in the coöperation of the Papacy, an efficient means of successfully coping with Baldwin of Flanders and Godfrey of Lorraine, two vassals whose power often made their German suzerains tremble. The tenderness of a father was certainly in this case an evil counsellor. To give to federate Germany a child of five years as chief, was an enormous political blunder. Henry would have done well to recall the noble example of the aged Otho of Saxony, who, from his death-bed, sent the crown to his rival, Conrad of Franconia. The welfare of the empire should take precedence of all considerations of personal interest. Besides, Henry IV. proved unworthy of the benefits of the Holy See; and on attaining his majority he left nothing undone that could make the Popes repent of the services they had done him in childhood.

Pope Victor II. did not outlive the emperor; he died in Tuscany, while returning from Germany (July 28, A. D. 1057). He was a Pontiff worthy to govern the Church for a longer period. A remarkable bull of this Pope has been lately discovered, reserving to the archbishop of Hamburg and of Bremen, the ecclesiastical ordinations for all the countries of northern Europe —Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, and Greenland— now numbered among the Christian lands. As Greenland forms

a kind of link with the New World, we can readily account for the traces and altered traditions of Christianity found among the native tribes of America, at the time of the immortal discovery of Christopher Columbus.

§ III. Pontificate of Stephen X. (August 2, A. D. 1057—March 29, 1058).

17. At the death of Victor II., the Roman clergy applied for the choice of a successor to Cardinal Frederick, a prelate of the ducal house of Lorraine, and one of the three legates sent by St. Leo IX. to Constantinople at the time of the schism of Michael Cerularius. On his return from this embassy, he renounced the honors of the world and took the religious habit in the monastery of Monte Cassino. He pointed out to their suffrages Cardinal Humbert and the Subdeacon Hildebrand, as most worthy to fill the chair of St. Peter. His modesty did not once admit the idea that their thoughts might turn to his own promotion, and his surprise was only equalled by his grief when he found himself borne amid general acclamations to the church of St. Peter, *in vincoli*, and saluted Pope under the name of Stephen X. (August 2, A. D. 1057). As there was then no emperor, no confirmation was to be awaited. The king of Germany, as such, had no more rights over the Pontifical elections than the kings of France, Scotland, Spain, or Hungary. The Holy Empire, created by the Sovereign Pontiffs, with the mission of guarding the interests of the Holy See, could alone, on that title, have claimed a right of protection and of assent.

18. Stephen X. inaugurated his Pontificate by the convocation of several councils, to act against unworthy priests, who, notwithstanding the wise regulations of St. Leo IX., still continued to dishonor the holiness of their ministry by a scandalous depravity. All ecclesiastics who were convicted of having violated the laws of clerical celibacy were deposed from their functions. The Pope obliged them to break off their criminal

relations, subjected them to public penance, and pronounced them incapable of celebrating the Sacred Mysteries. The spirit of St. Leo IX. thus descended to his successors, for the greater good of the Church. The ideas of reform passed from the head, from the chief, to the members. When they pass upward, from the members to the head, as in the time of Luther, the result is anarchy, disorder, and schism.

19. Stephen X. had marked and appreciated the eminent merit of Peter Damian; he created him cardinal-archbishop of Ostia, the highest dignity in the Sacred College. The consent of the humble religious to wear the gaudy yoke was only forced by a threat of excommunication. The Pope was obliged to seize his hand to put him in possession of the pastoral staff and ring. The new cardinal thus addressed his colleagues in a letter which is preserved as a monument of eloquence and zeal: "The sentries standing guard about a camp, or on the battlements of a city, in the darkness of night now and then interchange a word of warning to guard against the neighboring foe. Stationed, in spite of myself, among the sentinels posted before the camp of the Church, I raise my voice to you, venerable Fathers. You see the world tottering to ruin; the discipline of the Church is almost entirely disregarded; bishops receive not the reverence due to their sacred dignity; the canons are trampled upon, and men work only to satisfy their covetous desires. In the universal wreck, amid so many whirling eddies of perdition, but one harbor is left open: the Roman Church, the bark of the poor fisherman, ready to snatch from the fury of the storms and billows all those who seek it with sincerity, and to bear them safely to the shore of salvation and lasting rest."

20. Stephen wished likewise to use the talents and virtues of the Abbot Didier for the benefit of the Church at large. Didier was one of the greatest and holiest men of his time. Though a member of the illustrious and princely house of Beneventum, he had embraced the monastic life; his virtues raised him to the abbacy of Monte Cassino. The Pope, who watched the

course of the Eastern Church with unceasing solicitude, hoped that the disgrace of Michael Cerularius, and the accession of Constantine Ducas to the empire, would open a way more favorable to negotiations with the Holy See. He called upon Didier to act as ambassador to Constantinople. The abbot immediately repaired to Bari, to await an opportunity of setting out. But the premature death of Stephen X. (March 29, A. D. 1058) put an end to his hopes and plans, and Didier returned to Monte Cassino. The Pope had gone to Florence, for the purpose of holding other councils and of establishing ecclesiastical discipline in Tuscany, when he was snatched away by a sudden and violent disease. His loss was doubly felt by the Church, which was thus deprived of a holy and zealous pastor, and left at the mercy of factions and simony, against which the Papacy had been so desperately struggling since the time of St. Leo IX.

§ IV. Schism of Benedict X.* (April 5, A. D. 1058—January, 1059).

21. So well established was the reputation of Hildebrand, though still but a subdeacon, that Stephen X. ordered, on his death-bed, that no election should be begun until his return. Hildebrand had just been sent as Apostolic legate to the court of Agnes, widow of Henry III., and regent of the kingdom of Germany for her son, Henry IV. He who, as Gregory VII., was afterward to struggle so heroically against the imperial power of Henry IV., was now devoting himself, with unwearied energy, to smooth the way to the throne for the royal ward of the Holy See. He was sowing benefits to reap ingratitude. The factions by which Rome was rent showed little respect for the wishes of Stephen X. Gregory, count of Tusculum,

* According to the most probable opinion, Benedict X. was an antipope; but, since his name appears in the *Diario Romano*, and as his successors of the same name have styled themselves Benedict XI., Benedict XII., &c., we have also given him his chronological rank.

too true to the traditions of violence and injustice handed down from his ancestors, ordered his troops, under cover of night, to convey to the palace of St. John Lateran the Bishop of Velletri, who took the name of Benedict X. Abundant largesses were distributed among the people, and the intrusion was consummated. The utter incapacity of the antipope was so notorious, that the spontaneous award of the Romans bestowed upon him the surname of *mincio* (stupid). Meanwhile Hildebrand, on learning the tidings of Stephen's death, had at once set out for Rome. He halted at Florence, where he received the united protest of every honest heart in Rome, against the violence of the Count of Tusculum and the intrusion of Benedict. Hildebrand was not the man to quail before the difficulties of a situation even so delicate as this. He sought the counsel of the most enlightened cardinals, and heard their unanimous expression of indignation and contempt against the antipope. The reply of Peter Damian was marked by an admirable frankness and energy: "He who now sits in the Holy See," said the cardinal, "is a simoniac; nothing can palliate the gravity of his crime. Regardless of our protestations and of the anathemas pronounced by the cardinals intrusted with the elections, he was installed, under favor of darkness and tumult, by a troop of armed men. The people were corrupted by a plentiful distribution of money; the treasury of St. Peter was drained for the disciples of Simon. Besides, if he can but explain a single line, I do not say of a psalm, but of the simplest homily, I am willing to acknowledge him as lawful and true Pope. You ask me to communicate my sentiments privately, to avoid all personal risk. God forbid that on such an occasion my heart should feel the slightest dread. I rather beg of you to make this letter public, that every one may know on which side to stand in the common danger."

22. Strong in the credit of this letter, and the fullest depositions of the Roman nobles to the same purpose, Hildebrand convoked a council at Sienna, where Gerard, bishop of Florence, was chosen Sovereign Pontiff, under the name of

Nicholas II. (January 31, A.D. 1059). Were any consideration capable of adding to the immortal glory of Hildebrand, it would be the spirit of self-denial with which he directed the tiara to those whom he thought worthy of it, without ever drawing a look upon himself, or profiting of his boundless influence to raise himself to the honors of the Sovereign Pontificate. As soon as his election was confirmed, Nicholas II. called a council at Sutri, and summoned the antipope to appear in person before it. But Benedict, moved by remorse, did not await his condemnation; he retired of his own accord into private life. The Sovereign Pontiff went to Rome and took possession of his see. The antipope threw himself at his feet, protesting that he had suffered violence, and accusing himself, with sincere humility, of treason and perjury. Nicholas was moved to tears and released the penitent from the excommunication pronounced against him, on condition that he should be deposed from the sacred ministry, and withdraw to St. Mary-Major. Benedict X., now truly great in his repentance, accepted the terms, and thus ended the schism, which had lasted nearly six months.

§ V. Pontificate of Nicholas II. (January 31, A. D. 1059—June 24, 1061).

23. Nicholas II. brought to the chair of St. Peter an activity and a zeal which have ranked his brief Pontificate among the most useful to the Church. This Pontiff was a native of Burgundy, and France may well be proud of her illustrious son. In the month of April (1059) he held a council of one hundred and thirteen bishops at Rome. "You are aware, my brethren," said he to the assembled prelates, "of the disorders which followed the death of my predecessor, Stephen X. The Holy See became the prey of unworthy simoniacs, and the Church herself seemed for a moment in danger. To prevent any similar abuse, in future, we decree, according to the authority of the Fathers, that, at the death of the Pope, the

cardinal-bishops shall first treat of the election; after which the cardinal-priests may be called in, and it shall finally be submitted to the consent of the other clergy and of the people. The choice shall be made from within the bosom of the Roman Church, if a worthy subject be found; if not, he may be taken from another Church. We wish, however, to reserve the honor due to our beloved son, Henry, who is now king, and will soon, if it please God, be emperor. The same honor will be paid to his successors, to whom the Holy See may grant the same right." This solemn decree was signed by all the bishops present. It clearly defined two points of considerable importance, which had hitherto remained vague and undecided; the exclusive reservation of the Pontifical elections to the College of Cardinals, and the right of confirmation that could be exercised by the emperors. The preponderance given to the cardinals, as already established by St. Leo IX., rescued the elections from the multiplied influences which might bear upon the clergy, from popular outbreaks, and from the interference of secular princes. The cardinals thus constituted a great and powerful institution, which secured the dignity and independence of the Papal power. Like most other institutions, it rose from a weak and obscure beginning. The name of cardinal (*cardo*, a hinge or pivot) was once common to all bishops, priests, and titulary deacons. In the beginning of the ninth century, the seven bishops nearest to Rome, or *suburbicarii*, received the title of cardinals, in a more particular manner, as *assessors* or counsellors of the Holy See. The decree of Nicholas II. definitively assigned them the high rank they now occupy. The clause relating to the right of confirmation possessed by the German emperors over the elections of the Sovereign Pontiffs, is not less remarkable. It evidently views the right as a free concession of the Holy See, and requiring its consent before taking any effect whatever. History does, indeed, bear witness that the decree of Eugenius II., regulating this matter, was a free and spontaneous act. The right assumed by Theodoric, king of the Goths, and by the Emperor

Justinian, could establish neither precedent nor prescriptive right, since it had ever been studiously contested or eluded by the Romans. Afterward, the establishment of the Holy Empire, as an armed protector of the Holy See, an establishment wholly due to the influence of the Papacy, imposed upon the emperors, as an indispensable corollary, the obligation and privilege of guarding the freedom and canonical purity of the Pontifical elections. This is the import of Nicholas's decree. After these two capital ordinances, the Council of Rome renewed the sentences and ecclesiastical penalties already decreed against simoniacal and irregular clerics. Berengarius, whose ever-anxious and restless spirit wandered back and forth between faith and heresy, once more appeared before the Pope and the assembled prelates. He again signed a profession of Catholic faith, and bound himself by oath to adhere to it; with his own hands he committed his writings to the flames, and a few months later perjured himself again.

24. Immediately after the Council of Rome, the Pope held another at Amalfi, for the purpose of putting a peaceful end to the struggle which the Papacy had sustained against the Normans in Italy since the Pontificate of St. Leo IX. This people had gained so firm a footing in the Neapolitan provinces, that there could be no hope of expelling them by force. Nicholas II. saw the expediency of treating with them, to check their ravages by voluntary concessions. They were themselves desirous of putting their conquests under the patronage of the Pontifical authority. Richard and Robert Guiscard, their most powerful chiefs, had even opened negotiations for this purpose with the Holy See. The Pope granted their desire, solemnly received their submission, in the Council of Amalfi, and consequently absolved them from the excommunication they had before incurred. The Normans gave up those portions of the domain of St. Peter which they had seized, and received the investiture of Apulia and Calabria, with the exception of Beneventum. Richard obtained the principality of Capua. Robert Guiscard was confirmed in the possession of

Apulia and Calabria, still holding his claims on Sicily. In return, Richard promised to the Pope and his successors a yearly tribute of twelve denarii of Pavia for every pair of oxen, to be paid in perpetuity, on the festival of Easter; he, moreover, acknowledged himself a vassal of the Holy See, and swore fealty as such. The treaty of Amalfi gave rise to the kingdom of Naples. It was fruitful in great results to the Roman Church. The Normans declared war against the Italian nobles in arms against the authority of the Pope. They ravaged the territory of Præneste and of Nomento, and curbed the pride of the counts of Tusculum, whose name and power had so often been used to oppress the Holy See. Rome was thus rid of the petty tyrants against whose covetous ambition the neglect of the German emperors had not always afforded a sufficient protection.

25. Though beset with so many political occupations, Nicholas II. never lost sight of the spiritual interests of Christendom, of which he was the supreme pastor. He had sent, as Apostolic legate to Milan, Cardinal St. Peter Damian, to further the reformation of morals and the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline. These evils had taken deep root in that city and throughout the whole province of Lombardy. The archbishop was notoriously simoniacal; it was hard to find a single priest or ecclesiastic among his clergy who had not bought his office or dignity. Two men, however, St. Ariald, a deacon of Milan, who was martyred, and St. Herlembald, a layman, had the courage to declare themselves openly against the archbishop and his unworthy abettors. The scandal had obtained so firm a footing that the clergy, far from blushing at their disorders, openly preached against the law of ecclesiastical celibacy, thus renewing the ancient error of the Nicholaites. "This name," said St. Peter Damian, "is given to scandalous clerics, who seek a warrant for their infamous disorders in the Scripture and the Fathers; for vice becomes a heresy when supported by a distorted dogma." At the risk of his life, the heroic legate succeeded in utterly rooting out the two evils

which ravaged this desolated church. The archbishop humbled himself before the representative of the Holy See, confessed his crimes, and deserved, by the humility of his avowal and the sincerity of his repentance, to retain his pastoral charge. The guilty clerics were subjected to various canonical penances. St. Peter Damian, terrified at the sight of the vices which ruled the age, now earnestly entreated the Pope to set him at liberty, that he might throw off the Roman purple, and return once more to his beloved retreat in the holy shades of Monte Cassino. But the Church too sadly felt the dearth of upright hearts and strong minds to give up the help of so powerful an auxiliary.

26. Hildebrand was the confidential adviser of Nicholas II. While practising, under the various Pontiffs, the exercise of the sovereign authority, his influence stamped all their acts with that vastness and grandeur which characterized his own great mind. Through his care, two other legates, St. Hugh of Cluny and Cardinal Etienne, were sent to France to propagate and enforce the decrees of the Roman Council for the reform of the clergy. St. Hugh was especially charged with the legation to Aquitaine. He held a council at Avignon (A. D. 1059), which deposed several simoniacal bishops. Etienne, whose mission embraced all the remaining provinces of France, convoked a council at Tours (1060), where severe measures were decreed against simony, clerical incontinence, incestuous marriages, the plurality of benefices, and religious defections. In the preceding year (1059), the two legates were present, in Rheims, at the coronation of Philip I., a child of six years, whom his father, Henry I., wished to see anointed before closing his eyes in death, hoping thus to render the authority of the young prince more sacred in the eyes of his future subjects. The precaution was wise, for Henry died in the course of the following year (1060). Gervasius, archbishop of Rheims and high-chancellor of the kingdom, thus wrote, on the occasion, to Nicholas II.: "The indocility of the French people gives me reason to dread the troubles inseparably attendant

upon a minority. To ward off the evils which threaten us, deign, most Holy Father, to grant us the help of your wise counsels. You owe your zeal to this kingdom, as every great heart owes itself to its native land. France is illustrated by your holiness and Apostolical dignity; and it was from our midst that Rome sought you out to make you its head and the head of the world."

27. The Pope had entertained the design of visiting France in person, to labor more effectually for the public peace and the spiritual interests of that kingdom. But circumstances obliged him to abandon the projected journey into the country which gloried in numbering him among its sons. His time was too completely taken up by his relations with every country of the Catholic world. He sent legates to England, to restore order in the church of Worcester, corrupted by a simoniacal prelate; the see was given to St. Wulstan, who soon brought back ecclesiastical discipline to its state of primitive purity (A. D. 1062). The Pontiff's letters carried new courage and strength to Ferdinand the Great, king of Spain, and to the renowned warrior Roderick, so well known by the heroic appellation of the *Cid*, in the wars against the Mahometans. He exercised a fatherly care over the churches established among the Sclaves, in the north of Europe, by Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg and legate of the Holy See. The newly-erected bishoprics of Mechlenburg, Altenburg, and Ratzeburg were intrusted to prelates of known piety and zeal. Thus was the beneficent action of the Roman Church and of its Head, exercised at once in all lands, from the southern shores of Spain and Italy to the ice-bound coasts of northern Europe. Had the German emperors, true to the traditions bequeathed by the Christian genius of Charlemagne, better understood their part and providential appointment, had they kept inviolate the league between the empire and the Holy See, Catholicity would have triumphed over Islamism, ever threatening in Spain, and covering Christian civilization with shame by its growing proportions in the East. But the emperors of Germany were

guided by narrow and personal views of policy. In the affair of the investitures we shall find them obstinately bent upon stifling the freedom of the spiritual authority under the weight of brute force. During two centuries the Church must struggle for her independence against the Teutonic Cæsars; and not only will she maintain her freedom against their efforts, but in the very hottest of the giant struggle she will raise up Christian Europe to hurl it upon Mahometan Asia, and there found an empire upon the very sepulchre of Jesus Christ.

28. The minority of Henry IV. was a time of anarchy and disorder in Germany. The young king was left in the hands of the great vassals, who contended for his person in order to exercise a tyrannical power under cover of his name. A young noble named Werner, a favorite of the royal child, carried on a sacrilegious traffic in bishoprics, abbacies, and other offices of trust. With a view to check the flagrant disorder, Pope Nicholas turned to the man who wielded a paramount influence for good in Germany: this was St. Anno, archbishop of Cologne. He wrote to him in pressing terms, urging him to make use of his power, and to put an end to the simony which disgraced the churches of his country. This Apostolic reproof only embittered the froward spirit. The nobles and bishops, assembled in a great diet of the empire, forbade the name of Nicholas II. to be mentioned in the canon of the Mass, and even dared to send him a sentence of excommunication. The account of this incredible enormity threw a gloom over the last days of the holy Pontiff, who was overtaken by an untimely death while in Florence (June 6, A. D. 1061). Nicholas II. bequeathed to the Papacy and to the world the memory of the greatest deeds accomplished in a Pontificate which lasted but two years. His piety and charity were a subject of edification to his very enemies. "So true and reverent," says St. Peter Damian, "was his affection for the indigent members of Jesus Christ, that he never passed a day without washing the feet of twelve poor men brought from the different quarters of Rome." His death threw a veil of mourning over the whole Church.

§ VI. Pontificate of Alexander II. (September 30, A. D. 1061—April 20, 1073).

29. Cardinal Etienne was immediately deputed to the court of Germany, in accordance with the decree of Nicholas II., to consult with the young prince about the election of a Pope. But the courtiers allowed him no access to the monarch; and, after several fruitless efforts, the cardinal was obliged to return to Rome. The factions were in a state of the greatest excitement. The imperial chancellor, Guibert of Parma, who ruled Italy in the name of Henry IV., sold abbacies and bishoprics, and favored the disorder of morals, in order to swell his profits. He openly announced that he desired the election of a Pope disposed to absolve simoniacal and irregular ecclesiastics; and that the severity of Nicholas II. had imposed upon the clergy a galling yoke, which they were no longer willing to bear. Meanwhile the Archdeacon Hildebrand, the life of the Church in those calamitous days, assembled the cardinals and Roman lords in Rome. Under his influence, Anselm, bishop of Lucca, was canonically elected to succeed Nicholas II., and took the name of Alexander II. It was hoped that the choice would prove acceptable to the court of Germany, where the new Pope was personally known, as he had once held some offices within its limits. In refusing to receive the envoy of the Apostolic College, Henry IV. had doubtless acted under the impulse of resentment at the rebuke administered by Pope Nicholas II. No doubt was felt that he would return to a more friendly state of feeling; and least of all could it have been reasonably expected that he should complain that the Pontifical election was carried on without his concurrence, since he had refused to receive the communications of Etienne on the subject. Yet such was the case. He showed the most violent anger that the election of Alexander II. should have been carried on without his consent. Considering as null all that had been done without his coöperation, he proceeded to nominate an antipope.

Cadaloüs, bishop of Parma, had the mean ambition to accept this disgraceful part. He was consecrated by the two bishops of Vercelli and Placenza (October 28, A. D. 1061), and took the name of Honorius II.

30. Cadaloüs had dishonored the episcopate by notorious simony and flagrant irregularities. The very thought of placing such a man upon the chair of St. Peter was a subject of scandal: the report of his intrusion aroused the indignation of every Catholic. Peter Damian, ever ready to spring to the breach when the honor of the Church was at stake, addressed a spirited letter to the antipope, upbraiding him with his crimes, and administering a scathing rebuke to the miserable vanity which could sacrifice the good of the whole Church to his personal interest. "Hitherto," wrote the indignant cardinal, "your criminal traffic in prebends and churches, your yet more infamous deeds, were known only to a small city. Now the whole world beholds and blushes with indignation. Your enthronement, should it ever take place, would be the triumph of the wicked; every heart that loves justice would feel it as the ruin of the whole Church." Unmoved by this energetic rebuke, Cadaloüs raised an army, and appeared before the walls of Rome (A. D. 1062). He was encouraged at first by some slight successes, but the arrival of Godfrey, duke of Tuscany, changed the face of affairs; the antipope was vigorously repulsed, and only succeeded in effecting his escape by means of gold. Still, in his retirement at Parma, he did not abandon his fatal enterprise. Peter Damian then wrote to Henry IV., entreating the youthful monarch to put an end to the evils now desolating the Church. He thus speaks of the union which should exist between the Papacy and the empire: "As the two powers of priest and king are united in Jesus Christ, the same mutual union should exist among the Christian people. They stand in need of each other; the priesthood is shared by royalty, and royalty leans upon the holiness of the priesthood: the king bears the sword to wield it against the Church's foes; the Pontiff watches and prays to call down

the blessings of God upon kings and subjects. The king must settle worldly difficulties by justice; the Pontiff feed a famished people with food from heaven. The king is empowered to check the wicked by the authority of the laws; the Pontiff is intrusted with the keys, to use either the rigor of the canons or the indulgence of the Church." These wise considerations would doubtless have produced but little fruit in the heart of Henry IV.; but the fear of seeing Italy throw off his yoke, should he persist in supporting the antipope, was a more powerful motive in the councils of the German court. A motive of personal interest easily changed the course of policy. St. Anno, archbishop of Cologne, was sent to end the troubles in Italy. The holy archbishop held a council at Mantua, where the election of Alexander II. was solemnly confirmed; Cadaloüs was formally condemned, and deposed from the episcopate. Still he would not yield. By a skilful manœuvre he gained possession of the Leonine city and the church of St. John Lateran. The indignant people drove him out. Shutting himself up, with a few soldiers, in the castle of St. Angelo, he stood a siege of two years against the troops of Alexander II. Reduced, at last, to the direst want, he succeeded in escaping, and went to die in an isolated spot, covered with the public contempt, but still persisting to the last in usurping the Pontifical functions.

31. Freed from the repeated attacks of Cadaloüs, the Pope turned his attention to the suppression of an error then spreading through the provinces of Tuscany, and called the heresy of the *Incestuous*. This name was given to those who, wishing to favor marriages contracted within the degrees of kindred forbidden by the canons, refused to measure the degrees according to the law of the Church, but followed the custom of the Roman law, which placed brother and sister in the second degree. "We are justified," says St. Peter Damian, "in calling them Incestuous, since, by their loose teaching, they authorize unlawful unions, real incests anathematized by the Church." In a council held at Rome (A. D. 1065), Alexander

II. decided that the degrees of kindred, relative to marriage, must be regulated according to the canons, which place brothers and sisters in the first degree, and not, according to the Roman law, in the second.

32. The attention of the same council was, however, called to a far more serious matter. The metropolitical see of Florence was filled by a notoriously simoniacal prelate, Peter of Pavia, who openly sold ecclesiastical dignities and profaned the holiness of his ministry by the most infamous conduct. His accusers in the Council of Rome offered to prove the truth of their charges, according to the manners of the age, by the judgment of God, known as the ordeal of fire. The Pope refused to receive such proofs, and withheld judgment in the case until he should have obtained more ample information. The delay was productive of fatal results. Minds were embittered. The bishop, instead of profiting of the delay to reform his life and morals, redoubled his acts of injustice and violence. His revolted subjects drove him out of the episcopal city. Negotiations were then opened between Peter of Pavia and the Florentines. In contempt of the earnest prohibition of the Sovereign Pontiff, they mutually agreed to settle the question by the ordeal of fire. Two immense piles were raised in the public square of Florence, two feet apart. A holy monk named Peter, afterward celebrated under the name of Peter Igneus, was chosen by the bishop's accusers to undergo the formidable test, and thus prove the truth of their complaints. The piles were kindled, and, when they were wrapped in a sheet of flame, Peter Igneus, robed in priestly vestments, appeared in the midst of the crowd. "Almighty God," he exclaimed, "help me in this fearful trial! If Peter of Pavia has simoniacally usurped the see of Florence, save me from the power of these flames as Thou didst bring forth the three children safe and unhurt from the fiery furnace." Having finished his prayer, Peter made the sign of the cross, and then calmly advanced into the midst of the flames, treading the burning fagots under his naked feet. The combined influence of the

wind and the flames played in his hair, raised his alb, swayed his stole, and bore away his maniple into the midst of one of the piles of burning embers. The heroic witness of the Lord quietly goes to pick it up, continues his course, and finally comes forth from the flames, which had left not the least impression upon his person or his dress. He was preparing to retrace his steps; but the multitude withheld him, all eagerly pressing forward to kiss his hands and feet, lavishing upon him every mark of veneration, and striving at least to touch his garments, so miraculously preserved. The account of this wonderful event, witnessed by the whole city of Florence, was sent to Pope Alexander, who saw in it the finger of God; he deposed the Bishop of Florence, and made St. Peter Igneus cardinal-bishop of Albano. The incredulous minds of later days pretend to class this prodigious event among the legends of the middle-ages. The divine gift of miracles belonged to the Catholic Church in the eleventh century as truly as it does in the present. The whole population of Florence witnessed one—public, manifest, splendid. It would seem to us more in the nature of a miracle that all the inhabitants of a great city should at one and the same time have been deceived by the same illusion, than that a saint should safely pass between two burning piles of fagots.

33. The Emperor of Germany, Henry IV., the unworthy and ungrateful ward of the Holy See, though but eighteen years of age, already showed a most unbridled wickedness. His shameless licentiousness respected neither virginal purity nor conjugal fidelity. His heartless debauchery spared nothing that could feed his passions. He immolated the husbands whose beds he could not otherwise defile; the same doom repaid the accomplice or confidant, seldom his equals in depravity, whose tone or gesture seemed to deprecate such excesses. First united to the Princess Bertha, daughter of Otho, margrave of Italy, who had brought him, as a dowry, the virtues and pure inclinations of a young girl of fifteen, Henry repudiated her after a year of marriage. The brutal

act revolted the whole of Germany. The Archbishop of Mentz wrote to the Pope on the subject, asking to have the affair judged by legates. Alexander II. intrusted the mission to St. Peter Damian, who had just made a tour of all the French provinces to restore morality and discipline. The appointment of a man whose austerity and apostolic vigor were known to the whole world, was particularly disagreeable to Henry IV.; yet he dared not slight the juridical examination of the legate of the Holy See. Peter Damian, after making strict inquiries into the matter, declared to the king that his course was unworthy not only of a prince, but of a Christian. "If you despise the authority of the holy canons," said the legate, "have some regard at least for your reputation. If you resist this advice, dictated by reason and faith, the Sovereign Pontiff will find himself compelled to use the thunders of the Church against you, and will never consent to crown you emperor." Henry dared not persist, and yielded, with the expression that "he would bear the burden which he could not throw off." Still his morality and general conduct remained unchanged. St. Anno, archbishop of Cologne, quitted the court where crowned scandal reigned, and ceased to offer his counsels to a prince who would hear none but those of passion. The Empress Agnes, foreseeing that her son would prove the plague of the world, retired into Italy, where she placed herself under the direction of St. Peter Damian, and ended in retirement and the performance of good works a life begun amid the intrigues and disorders of a court. The hand of God was forever withdrawn from Henry IV.

34. Peter Damian, after his legation in Germany, once more entreated the Sovereign Pontiff to release him from the eminent post he held in the Church, that he might end his days in the solitude of study, silence, and prayer. Hildebrand, who commanded the confidence of Alexander II., as he had done that of his predecessors, always opposed the wish of his friend. Damian's petitions daily grew more earnest. He thus wrote to Hildebrand on the subject: "In all your struggles, in

all your triumphs, I have ever plunged into the thickest of the fray; to serve you I have borrowed the rapidity of the lightning's flash. Your name has never passed my lips unaccompanied by blessings and praise; and God alone can fathom my love for you. But now I would hasten to recollect myself at the close of my career, and to give to the service of God the last hours of my life." The generous athlete of Jesus Christ was denied the rest he so ardently desired. He died while fulfilling a mission, on which he had been sent by the Pope, to the Archbishop of Ravenna (February 22, A. D. 1072). The works of St. Peter Damian have been collected into four volumes, and are worthy of attention from the variety of subjects treated, the number of valuable observations on dogma, moral, clerical, and monastic discipline, and on the history of the Church. His style, always noble and pure, often full of vehemence, and rich in powerful figures, recalls the best days of Christian literature. His letters show a refined, delicate taste, and great practical sagacity. Eloquent in lashing the vices of his age, he is still tender of the persons of the guilty, in order to lead them more surely to the path of virtue. No less distinguished in poetry than elegant in prose, St. Peter Damian certainly possessed one of the most cultivated minds and upright hearts, that redeemed the reigning ignorance and depravity of the age (A. D. 1072).

35. England had just witnessed an event which was to prove most fruitful in great results. On the death of Edward the Confessor, the throne was disputed by two powerful rivals, representatives of the two hostile races, Saxon and Norman: Harold, the Saxon, based his claims upon nearer kindred to the family of the last monarch; William the Bastard,* duke of Normandy, alleged the testament by which Edward bequeathed the crown to him. William sought to obtain the support of the Sovereign Pontiff, and thus wrote to Alexander II.: "Should God grant me success, it will be my glory to hold

* William was the son of Robert, duke of Normandy, surnamed *the Devil*, and Herleva the Laundress, daughter of a currier of Falaise.

the English sceptre directly from Him and from St. Peter, His Vicar." After mature deliberation, the Pope decided in favo of William, and, as a mark of his sympathy, sent him a stand ard blessed by his own hand. Meanwhile, the Duke of Nor mandy had neglected nothing that could insure the success of his enterprise. He published a proclamation of war in his own states and throughout the neighboring provinces, promising liberal pay and the plunder of England to "every man of tall stature and able body who should enlist in his service." He soon found himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, among whom were one hundred and four knights. The noblest houses in France were represented in this brilliant expedition. On the 29th of September, A. D. 1066, William set out from the mouth of the Somme with a numerous fleet, and land ed, ere the close of the same day, on the coast of Sussex Harold awaited him there on the field of Hastings. William proposed to him, either to abdicate in his favor, or to refer the question to the arbitration of the Pope, or to settle the dispute by a single combat. These alternatives were all rejected, and both parties prepared for battle. On the eve of the contest the Normans spent the night in prayer; the Saxons feasted and filled the air with their national songs. In the morning, the Bishop of Bayeux, William's brother, offered up the Holy Sacrifice and blessed the troops. The Duke of Normandy wore precious relics suspended about his neck, and kept the Pope's standard close beside him. Thus protected by these ensigns of religion, a Catholic army was to win the soil of England. The struggle was fierce and murderous. Both Saxons and Normans performed prodigies of valor; but at length Harold fell, his army was routed and fled. The battle of Hastings gave the throne to William of Normandy (1066). On the very hill where Old England had fallen with the last Saxon king, William raised a rich and splendid abbey, called the Abbey of the Battle (*de bello*), in fulfilment of a vow to St. Martin, patron of the troops of Gaul.* The names of the conquerors

* The following trait will afford an illustration of the manners of the time and the

were engraved upon tablets in the monastery, where they were still legible at a very recent date: this was the *Golden Book* of the English nobility. The fallen Saxon king was buried by the monks on this hill, opposite the sea. "He guarded the coast while he was alive," said the Conqueror; "let him guard it after death." While gradually introducing into his newly-conquered realm the more polished manners of France, William solemnly confirmed the ancient laws of the land (1069). Those which related to the church in England were comprised in twenty-two articles, drawn up in the Latin tongue. They secured the right of pious pilgrimages and the safety of travellers, and confirmed the payment of the Rome-scot, a part of which went to the support of the church and school *of the English*, in Rome. Three legates, sent by Pope Alexander II., crowned William the Conqueror king of England (A. D. 1070).

36. The Church was still consoled by examples of virtue and holiness, even amid the scandals against which the Papacy was continually battling with determined energy. The Pontificate of Alexander II. was illustrated by St. Dominic Loricatus, that holy friend of St. Peter Damian, who, through a spirit of penance, always wore an iron corselet next to his skin; by St. Rodolphus, bishop of Eugubio; St. Theobald of Provins, a member of the house of Champagne, who lived in holy solitude near Vicenza, in Italy; St. Hugh, abbot of Cluny; St. Robert, founder of the monastery of *Chaise-Dieu* in Languedoc; Blessed Evrard, count of Breteuil, a monk of Marmontier; St. Walter, abbot of Lesterp in Limousin; St. Anno, archbishop of Cologne; St. Altmann, bishop of Passau; St. Gebhard, archbishop of Saltzburg; St. Benno, bishop of Misnia and apostle of Sclavonia; the martyr-king Gothescalc, a Saxon prince, whose heroic virtues, displayed in the cloister,

character of the Conqueror: When the foundations of the monastery were laid, the architects observed to William that there was a want of water in the site chosen for the building. "Go on with the work," replied the king; "if God gives me life, there shall be more wine in the Monastery of the Battle, than there is water in the best convent in Christendom."

in solitude, in the midst of episcopal honors, and even upon the throne, loudly protested against the general disorder and moral relaxation. The faith was making precious conquests in the north of Europe, under the influence and by the united efforts of Swein, king of Denmark, and of Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen. Adam, a canon of Bremen, was at the same time engaged in compiling his Ecclesiastical History, beginning with the rise of the northern churches, and comprising the succession of the bishops of Hamburg and Bremen from the first appearance of St. Willibrord in Saxony to the death of Archbishop Adalbert, a period of nearly three hundred years. Adam of Bremen carefully collected every piece of writing, all the letters of princes and Popes, as well as the oral traditions that bore upon his subject, which renders his work very valuable.

37. The discipline of the Church was now undergoing an important modification. The application of public penance was becoming almost impossible amid the crimes and disorders of society at this period. They were supplied by the frequent use of the *discipline*, or voluntary flagellation, a practice to the promotion of which St. Peter Damian greatly contributed by writings, by word, and example. The austerities of St. Dominic of the Iron Cuirass, whose wonderful history has been left us by his friend and admirer, Damian, also favored the change. The Church then began to admit commutations for canonical penances, thus suiting itself to the social requirements and necessities of the times. Self-flagellation, long pilgrimages, liberal alms were adopted as means of compensation. They were found admirably suited to tame half-savage spirits, to effect the reparation of so many deeds of plunder, or to punish simoniacal avarice. A year of canonical penance was satisfied by a certain number of stripes, by a sum of money given to the poor or to some church or monastery, or by a pilgrimage. This system allowed the imposition of long years of penance which might be performed by means of the compensations. Thus St. Peter Damian imposed a penance of a hundred years

upon Guy, the notoriously simoniacal archbishop of Milan, whom we have already had occasion to mention. Some critics have attacked the practice of voluntary scourging or the discipline. It is but the application of St. Paul's own words: "Castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo."* The Church has given a sufficient warrant for the practice by canonizing the illustrious penitents it has sanctified; but she has always shown a truly motherly care to prevent or condemn its abuse.

38. This species of mitigation applied to the ancient canonical discipline was perfectly in keeping with the gentleness and moderation of Alexander II. He used his authority to shield the Jews against the persecutions to which they were subjected in the various states of Christian Europe, and expressly ordered that they should not be put to death. His Pontificate, so happy for the Church, was always guided by the genius of Hildebrand, whom he had raised to the dignity of chancellor of the Roman Church, and who was to succeed him with so much glory. Alexander II. died on the 21st of April, A. D. 1073. He is supposed to have issued the ordinance which regulates the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, limiting it to once a day for each priest.

* "I chastise my body, and bring it into subjection."—1 Cor. ix. 27.

CHAPTER IV.

§ I. Pontificate of St. Gregory VII. (April 22, A. D. 1073—May 25, 1085).

1 Antecedents of St. Gregory VII. His election.—2. Confirmation of his election by Henry IV., king of Germany.—3. Political state of the Christian world at the accession of St. Gregory VII.—4. Matilda, countess of Tuscany.—5. Fatal consequences accruing to the Church from the usurpation of the right of investiture by the emperors.—6. Doctrine of St. Gregory's predecessors on this subject.—7. First decree of St. Gregory VII. against disorderly or simoniacal clerics.—8. Decree of the Council of Rome against the investitures.—9. Henry IV. subdues the rebellious Saxons.—10. Conspiracy of Cencius against the Pope.—11. A sentence of deposition pronounced against St. Gregory by the pseudo Council of Worms.—12. State of public opinion in the Middle-Ages concerning the right of the Sovereign Pontiff to depose kings and princes.—13. Henry IV. is deposed by St. Gregory in the Council of Rome, and his subjects released from their oath of allegiance.—14. Diet of Tribur.—15. Meeting of St. Gregory VII. and Henry IV. at Canossa. Reconciliation.—16. Rudolph, duke of Suabia, elected King of Germany at the Diet of Forcheim.—17. Rudolph and Henry IV. appeal to the arbitration of St. Gregory.—18. Hostilities between the two kings.—19. Rudolph recognized as King of Germany by St. Gregory. Sentence of deposition again pronounced against Henry IV.—20. The false Council of Brixen elects an antipope in the person of Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who assumes the name of Clement III. Death of Rudolph.—21. Hermann, count of Luxemburg, elected King of Germany by the Diet of Goslar.—22. Departure of St. Gregory from Rome, which falls into the hands of Henry IV. and the antipope.—23. Robert Guiscard comes to the Pope's relief. Death of St. Gregory VII.—24. Progress of the Turks in the East, under the Pontificate of St. Gregory VII.—25. Labors of St. Gregory VII. in the northern States of Europe.—26. Holy personages and religious foundations under the Pontificate of St. Gregory.—27. Was the law of ecclesiastical celibacy an innovation of St. Gregory VII.?

§ II. Pontificate of Victor III. (April 24, A. D. 1086—September 16, 1087).

28. Victor III. elected, in spite of his own resistance, to the Sovereign Pontificate.—29. The Countess Matilda drives the Antipope Guibert from Rome.—30. Council of Beneventum against investitures. Death of Victor III.

§ I. Pontificate of St. Gregory VII. (April 22, A. D. 1073—May 25, 1085).

1. The Pontificate of St. Gregory VII. opens a great era in the history of the Church: "Great, not precisely in new and extraordinary events, in terrible and startling scenes, but in the achievement of an immense and long-concerted plan; great in the general commotion caused in Europe, and throughout the whole world, by the genius of a single man, giving a new life and impulse to every affair; great, because the will of a Pope changes the face of the earth, gives birth to new laws, new institutions, from the north of Europe, from England to the deserts of Africa, from the Atlantic to Palestine; great, because a monk, coming forth from the solitary shades of a cloister, conceives the project of establishing a universal monarchy in the midst of Christendom, that the sun of Rome might dart its beams upon all the nations of the earth."* The name which should be forever linked with this undying achievement, does not date from the day which saw it inscribed on the roll of Pontiffs. For twenty years before he had wielded a paramount influence in the ecclesiastical affairs of the age. We have followed Hildebrand as he fought his way through a thousand opposing forces, toward the establishment of a hard-labored reform which was to save modern society. To use his own words: "No man becomes great all at once, and lofty buildings are raised by degrees." Son of a carpenter of Rome, then a monk at Cluny, the extraordinary merit of Hildebrand recommended him to Henry III. as a fit preceptor for his young son Henry IV. (A. D. 1046–1047). It was a singular destiny that brought together, in the sweet relation of guide and disciple, two individualities destined, in after days, to embody the fiercest struggle between the Papacy and the empire! The tribute of gratitude to his former master is paid by the royal pupil with hostile arms, and the thunders of Gregory VII. fall

* Voigt, History of St. Gregory VII., t. i., ch. i.

upon the ungrateful disciple of Hildebrand. Writers hostile to the Papacy have studiously ignored this shameful position of Henry IV. in his bitter war upon the monk whose devoted care had guided the studies of his early years. Brought to his native city, Rome, by St. Leo IX., Hildebrand's influence steadily increased day by day; as chancellor of the Roman Church under Alexander II., repeatedly intrusted with the management of the Pontifical elections, he had enthroned Popes, but would not wear the tiara himself. His hour had come. During the funeral obsequies of Alexander II., the cardinals, bishops, priests, and monks were gathered together in the basilica of St. Peter. The vast edifice and its every approach were thronged by a countless multitude. When Hildebrand appeared, every eye was fixed upon him. A sudden impulse seized upon the crowd; one spontaneous, unanimous cry burst forth from every breast, which shook the solid arches of the sacred building: "Hildebrand! Hildebrand! St. Peter chooses Hildebrand for his successor!" It may lawfully be presumed that in the course of his long and laborious career, Hildebrand doubtless cast at times a look upon the sceptre which would place within his power the accomplishment of his mighty schemes. What man of surpassing genius has not felt urged to seize the power, when some great thought stirred up his soul within him? But at this solemn moment he felt his heart sink. When the enthusiastic shouts had died away, Hildebrand ascended the ambo, and entreated the clergy and people to turn their thoughts upon another subject. But Cardinal Hugo Candidus immediately rose, and appealed to all present: "You all see to what a degree of prosperity the holy archdeacon has raised the Church. We shall find no one so well qualified to undertake the government and defence of this city; all of us, cardinals and bishops, together with you, choose him as the sovereign pastor of our souls." These words drew forth new transports of joy. Hildebrand was forced to yield to the unanimous voice of the faithful. He was invested with the purple and the tiara, and raised to the chair of St. Peter

(April 22, A. D. 1073), under the ever-illustrious name of Gregory VII.

2. Hildebrand's modesty was overcome, but he had yet one hope left. The last regulations made by the Sovereign Pontiff left to Henry IV. the right of confirming the Pontifical election.* Gregory, under the title of *Pope-elect*, sent a deputation to beg the emperor that he would refuse to sanction the election of the Romans. "Should you approve the choice made in my person," he wrote, "I must warn you that I shall not pass over the scandalous disorders of which all good men accuse you." The king needed not these threatening words to urge his refusal; in his view, an election held without his co-operation, was null by the very fact. On the other hand, the German bishops, who dreaded the firmness of Hildebrand, advised the king to withhold his consent. But the fear of arousing all Italy by this act of hostility against a lawful choice, unanimously approved by every honest heart, led him, in this case, to sacrifice his own inclination. He purely and simply confirmed the election of Gregory VII., and sent the Bishop of Vercelli to assist, in his name, at the instalment of the new Pope (June 30, A. D. 1073).

3. Before entering upon the active career of St. Gregory VII., it will be well to cast a rapid glance over the political state of the Catholic world at the time of his accession to the Papal chair. In Germany, as we have already said, a youthful, inexperienced king, Henry IV., given up to the guidance of his courtiers, and those even worse counsellors, his passions, finds himself at war with the Saxons, whose national pride re-

* According to the custom and the common law of Germany, the election of a king by the nobles of the realm did not properly confer upon him the imperial title, which he could only assume when recognized and crowned by the Pope. This formality never took place in regard to Henry IV., since he was never crowned by a lawful Pope, but only by the Antipope Guibert (calling himself Clement III.). He was not, then, properly speaking, *emperor*, but only *king of Germany and emperor-elect.* (*Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen-âge*, by M. GOSSELIN.) For want of a clear view of this point of history, a great number of writers have failed in a just appreciation of the acts of St. Gregory's Pontificate relative to Henry IV.

volts against his injustice. He will soon draw down upon his devoted head the thunders of the Holy See, by striving to support his claim to the abusive right of investitures. The throne of France still holds the race of Hugh the Great, in the person of Philip I. (1060). This prince, equal in age to Henry IV., but far superior to him in wisdom, and under better guidance, is endeavoring to strengthen existing institutions, to clothe royalty with greater splendor, and win for it deeper reverence. The nobles, divided, hostile to each other, rally about the throne; the system of enfeoffment has here kept the Church in the hands of the royal power, which is daily becoming more centralized in France, while it tends to division in Germany. Spain, ever worthy of its title of *Catholic*, is still, as it has ever been since the Moorish invasion, a perpetual battle-field. Alphonso VI. occupied the throne of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre; the Caliph Mahomet II. reigned in Seville. England was shaping itself to the results of the conquest. William proved as skilful in the cabinet as he was valiant in the field. The clergy, obedient to the voice of the Popes, were not political tools in the hands of the king. The abuse of investitures had not yet reached the English church from France and Germany. Under Sweyne III., Denmark showed the same filial attachment and reverence to the Holy See. The Swedish crown had passed into the hands of the new family of the Steukilsch. The faith of Christ was still obliged to struggle here against the heathen gods; the kings were sometimes for the one, sometimes for the other. Norway was ruled by Olaus III., the Peaceful, whose talents and virtues won him the deserved affection of his subjects; he studied to foster the growth of agriculture, arts, and commerce, and stood to the clergy in the happy relation of defender and benefactor. Poland prospered under the sceptre of Casimir I., the former monk of Cluny. Saxony and Bohemia, under the respective sway of Boleslas and Wratislas II., were engaged in a fierce and bloody struggle. There was, in general, no lasting institution among the Sclavonic people; they were severally

attacked and subdued by the Germans. Missionary zeal was gradually infusing the light of Christian civilization among the various tribes. Russia had not yet come forth from the elementary chaos. An ill-regulated system of succession to the throne was the occasion of repeated and bloody contests. Hungary was hardly more quiet. Its sceptre was disputed by several princes; its king was a vassal to the emperor. The influence of Henry IV. placed Solomon upon the throne; but his short and unquiet reign followed the shifting fortunes of his protector. The East, now wasted by Islamism, presented a mournful sight. The imperial sceptre of Constantinople passed from hand to hand in quick and inglorious succession. This unsettled state of affairs gave rise to fearful disorders and endless wars. The empire, after a long struggle against the countless hordes of the Hungarians, Russians, Bulgarians, Persians, and Arabs, fell, at last (A. D. 1063), into the hands of the Seljukian tribe, which successively seized the various provinces until 1071, when the Emperor Romanus IV. himself, by a still more fearful disaster, fell into their power. The throne, left vacant by this catastrophe, was occupied by Michael VIII., who allowed Soliman to fix the residence of the Seljukians at Nice. The deadliest foes of the Christian name thus pushed their advanced posts to the very boundaries of eastern Europe, threatening at once both religion and civilization. Such was the situation of the world at the accession of St. Gregory VII. It is evident that no power was then firm; the restoration of broken unity called for a powerful arm to build up society by checking abuses and giving back its lost strength to political power.

4. In the achievement of this twofold labor, the genius of St. Gregory VII. was ably seconded by a noble and generous soul, worthy and capable of understanding and of sharing lofty aspirations. This was the Countess Matilda Contemporary writers style her a *second Deborah*, as she seemed to have inherited the fearless courage of the heroine of Israel. She was the daughter of Boniface II., marquis of Tuscany, and widow

of Godfrey the Hunchback, duke of Lorraine. Having inherited her father's kingdom, she found herself, at the death of her mother, Beatrice (A. D. 1076), sole sovereign of Tuscany and part of Lombardy. While kings and princes thus afflicted the Church of God by a useless or scandalous life, by their sacrilegious traffic in ecclesiastical dignities, Matilda, during a reign of more than fifty years, remained ever true, ever devoted to the Church and to its head; always ready to second the Sovereign Pontiff's endeavors to restore ecclesiastical discipline and morality; always sword in hand to defend him against the most formidable enemies; never allowing herself to be won by promises, cowed by threats, or discouraged by mischance. St. Gregory VII. found her a fearless ally in his crusade against all abuses. She had put herself under his spiritual direction; and it was wonderful to see this great Pope, in the midst of political embarrassments and fierce struggles with the powers of earth, writing to the Countess Matilda in strains of the most affectionate and tender piety. He thus speaks to her in one of his letters: "I am desirous, beloved daughter of St. Peter, to send you a few words of edification, which may increase your faith and lead you to strengthen your soul by a daily participation of the sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is the treasure, these are the gifts a thousand times more precious than gold and gems, by which the Church enriches her children. And of Blessed Mary, the Mother of the Saviour, to whose protection I have always commended you, and to whom I shall ever continue to present you in my prayers—what more can I say of her? In proportion as she is high in glory, she is mild and merciful as our mother." How beautiful, in the giant intellect which, at a single glance, swept all the kingdoms of the world, all the good and evil of humanity, are these outpourings of piety and ardent devotion toward the Blessed Virgin! The lively faith and exemplary life of the countess well repaid the care of St. Gregory VII. She had appointed as her almoner St. Anselm, bishop of Lucca, whose life was one continued act of charity and disinterestedness

He would never consent to receive a present from any one whom he had obliged. "If what they ask be unjust," he used to say, "I should become a party to their injustice; if just, it would be mere robbery to make them buy what is due to them." The filial piety of Matilda sought to console St. Gregory for the rebellion of so many faithless children, by proofs of her own devotedness; she bestowed upon the Roman Church all her own states (A. D. 1077), only keeping the use of them during life; and thus did the Holy See acquire a right of sovereignty over Tuscany and Lombardy. The Countess Matilda outlived Gregory many years, and died only in 1115. But her devotedness to the Holy See did not fail the successors of the great Pontiff; in 1102 she confirmed her first donation, which was executed according to her pious wishes.

5. We have already pointed out the great evil which rent the bosom of the Church by the abuse of investitures, introduced into France and Germany by the feudal system. On this subject Monsignore Palma very judiciously remarks: "The freedom of the ecclesiastical ministry was utterly annihilated, when the choice of bishops and abbots was left to the will of secular princes." Kings unscrupulously auctioned the dignities of the Church, to replenish their treasure or to meet the drain of ceaseless wars. St. Anselm thus speaks of Henry IV.: "This prince sells bishoprics without the least scruple. He has promulgated a decree annulling the episcopal elections held, according to the holy canons, by the clergy or the people, without the intervention of royalty; as though he were charged to open the door to the lawful pastors. No one is now raised to that dignity unless he open the way with bribes, or prostitute his eloquence and his hand to the service of the master." The public opinion of the times looked upon the bestowal of the ring and crosier as the conferring of the spiritual authority. It is thus stated by the learned Cardinal Humbert: "How are these laymen so bold as to assume the right of bestowing upon bishops the badges of the Apostolic authority? The crosier is the emblem of the pastoral charge of souls intrusted to them.

The ring is, so to speak, the seal of the heavenly mysteries, which the sacred orators are commissioned to dispense." Investitures thus constituted a real usurpation of the secular power upon ecclesiastical ground. Another equally lamentable result was the disorder of scandalous priests, who, under the name of Nicholaïtes, opposed, in teaching as shamefully as in practice, the Apostolic doctrine of clerical celibacy. Men whose days had been wasted in the license of the camp or the corruption of courts were suddenly raised, by the whim of princes or their own simoniacal cupidity, to the dignities of the Church, presented with benefices involving a care of souls, or placed at the head of monasteries. To the discharge of these new duties they brought all their former habits of immorality. Evil is naturally contagious, and it soon spread with fearful rapidity; priests were publicly married and lived in a state of incontinence; there were whole dioceses in which not a single minister of the altar could have been found worthy of his holy calling. This lamentable state of things was the result of lay investiture.

6. Fearful as the task of such a reform must have seemed, even to himself, St. Gregory VII. did not quail before it. He did, indeed, lay open the anguish of his heart, on the very second day of his Pontificate, in a letter to Didier, abbot of Monte Cassino: "The death of Pope Alexander has fallen with heavy weight upon me; and I can say with the prophet: *Veni in altitudinem maris et tempestas demersit me.** I entreat you to procure for me the prayers of your brethren, that they may save me from the danger which they could not utterly avert." The reform which St. Gregory was about to undertake was no new or unprecedented idea in the Church. All the efforts of his predecessors, from St. Leo IX., had been constantly directed toward its accomplishment. "In the Council of Rheims (A. D. 1040)," says Monsignore Palma, "Leo IX. pub-

* "I am come into the depth of the sea, and a tempest hath overwhelmed me."—Ps. lxviii. 3.

lished the following decree: 'Let no one be raised to the government of the churches without the election of the clergy and people.' Alexander II. likewise decreed, in the Council of Rome (A. D. 1062): 'No cleric or priest shall be promoted to the episcopate, whether gratuitously or for a pecuniary consideration, by any secular authority.' And Nicholas II. was no less explicit in a letter written to Gervasius, archbishop of Rheims: 'Reprove, entreat, warn your illustrious monarch not to interfere in the episcopal elections.' Henry I. had lately named a bishop for the see of Macon, without the coöperation of either clergy or faithful." These facts are proof abundant that the right of investiture had not, as some writers assert, acquired the force of prescriptive right in favor of the emperors and secular rulers, by the silence of the Popes. St. Gregory VII., in asserting the independence of the Church, the freedom of elections, the repression of simony, and the observance of the ecclesiastical law of celibacy, was no innovator. He but took his stand in the breach where his predecessors had fruitlessly struggled before him; he invented no new system; he simply carried out one already introduced, but brought to its achievement the help of his personal energy and mighty intellect.

7. The first act of the new Pontiff was directed against the scandals in the priesthood. In 1074, after a full council, which nobly seconded the endeavors of St. Gregory VII., a withering decree was published against those priests who had bought their holy office for gold, or who profaned it by their loose morality. All those who refused to forsake their scandalous manner of life and return to a state of continence, were to be at once deposed, to be deprived of all their powers; and the faithful were forbidden to assist at the masses or offices celebrated by these rebel priests, or to receive the sacraments at their hands. The immensity of the evil thus attacked was made fearfully evident by the general uprising against St. Gregory VII. on the publication of this decree. Theologians were found so lost as to maintain that continence was a virtue of impossible practice to human nature, and they even claimed

to support their teaching by the authority of Holy Writ. Others again pleaded prescription, as if crime could ever establish a prescriptive claim against law; and they appealed to the disorders of the lamentable period through which they had just passed, as a justification for their own. Finally, there were many who, without touching the grounds of the doctrine, sought to weaken the authority of the decree by intrinsic considerations. They maintained that it was very dangerous to forbid the faithful to receive the sacraments from the hands of scandalous priests; since this would make laymen the judges of ecclesiastical questions, and, besides, it seemed to place the efficiency of the sacraments in the holiness of the minister. This line of argument was more particularly adopted by the bishops of Italy, France, and Germany. Blinded by the passions and prejudices of the hour, they could not see the sophism which would deprive the ecclesiastical authority of the right of ever deposing an unworthy priest. In proportion as the protestations became more numerous, pressing, and energetic, the resolution of Gregory VII. became more fixed and irrevocable. He sent copies of the decree to the various Catholic sovereigns of Europe, together with urgent letters to arouse their zeal in carrying it into effect. His legates were favorably received by the King of Germany, but the German bishops rejected all the measures proposed to them, and the mission of the Papal envoys failed in this quarter. They met with no better success in France. In England, William the Conqueror showed more energy in carrying out St. Gregory's views. With the coöperation of Lanfranc, lately transferred from the abbey of Bec to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, he enforced the Pope's decrees throughout the whole extent of his kingdom.

8. By the reception given to his first measures, St. Gregory VII. could judge of the precarious nature of his position. He now resolved to sap the very foundation of the evil; and, in a council held at Rome (A. D. 1075), he issued a second decree, "forbidding any layman, of what rank soever, whether emperor,

marquis, prince, or king, to confer the investiture; and any cleric, priest, or bishop to receive it for benefices, abbacies, bishoprics, and ecclesiastical dignities, of whatsoever nature. No one may keep the government of a church bought for money by a simoniacal traffic. Incontinent clerics are suspended from the exercise of all ecclesiastical functions. No priest shall contract a matrimonial alliance. He who already has a wife shall put her away, under pain of deposition. No one can be raised to the priesthood unless he first promise to observe perpetual continence. The faithful should not assist at the offices celebrated by a cleric whom they see trampling upon the Apostolic decrees." The simplest notions of theology will suffice to show, at a glance, the justice of such measures, and the canonical law upon which they were grounded. No unbiassed critic of the present day, examining them in good faith, will pronounce them at variance with the rules and the constant practice of the Church. Most of the Italian princes present at the Roman council in which they were promulgated, applauded their wisdom. But it was otherwise in Germany; they were met by an explosion of anger and hatred against the Holy Pontiff. The bishops themselves were loudest in the opposition. In several cities, the publication of the obnoxious canons was followed by popular tumult and seditions. The great soul of Gregory VII. stood undaunted amid the storm. It only gave deeper root to his resolve of bearing yet more energetically upon Germany, which was the central point of the opposition.

9. A formidable insurrection had lately broken out among the Saxons. The senseless rule of the youthful Henry IV. revolted the old sense of honor in the hearts of the people. Saxony and Thuringia were ground down by enormous taxes destined to meet the mad extravagance of the court. The wretched people, unable to satisfy these exorbitant demands, were doomed to see their fields wasted by the troops, their dwellings plundered, their wives and children snatched from their arms. The nobles were no better off. Henry consigned

them to dungeons, and obliged them to buy back their freedom at the price of gold. The victims suffered for a time in silence, but the long-continued course of oppression at length wore out their patience, and the patriotism of the warrior race broke forth in one spontaneous impulse: sixty thousand Saxons appeared before the walls of Goslar, resolved to free their country or to bury themselves beneath its ruins. The Diets of Gerstungen, Mentz, and Corvey dispelled the last hopes of peace which Henry IV. might still have cherished, and the Saxon nobles offered the imperial crown to Rudolph, duke of Suabia, a young prince whose high qualifications of mind and heart were enhanced by those exterior accomplishments which exercise so powerful a sway over the multitude. But these negotiations had given time to Henry IV. to collect an imposing force. Saxony and Thuringia alone were unable to cope with the united power of all the other provinces; the Saxon princes and bishops offered to make submission in any terms dictated by the king, provided only the conditions were not too harsh; but Henry was inflexible. A Pontifical legation, bearing an offer of pacific mediation from Gregory VII., met with no better success. The king was stung to madness by the Pope's decree against investitures, and only awaited the victorious issue of the Saxon war to turn his arms against his old preceptor. St. Gregory foresaw the danger, and his soul was whelmed in the bitterest anguish. "I would," he wrote to Hugh of Cluny, "that I could convey to you the full extent of the tribulations which prey upon me; of the endless labors which overwhelm and crush me under their heavy weight. My heart is filled with unspeakable grief and sadness when I behold the Eastern Church torn from the true fold by the spirit of darkness. Whether I turn to the west, to the south, or to the north, I see scarce a single bishop who has reached the episcopate by canonical means, and who governs his flock in a spirit of charity. As for the secular rulers, I know not one who prefers the glory of God to his own, or who sets justice before interest. The Lombards and Normans, among whom I dwell,

I often reproach with being worse than Jews or heathens. Had I no hope of a better life hereafter, or no prospect of serving the Church here, God is my witness that I would not dwell another hour in Rome, where I have been chained for the last twenty years. Thus divided between a grief which is daily renewed and a hope, alas! too distant, I am beaten by a thousand fierce storms, and my life is but one lengthened agony."

10. The news of the bloody triumph of the German king over the Saxons at Hohenburg (A. D. 1075) was little fitted to allay the Sovereign Pontiff's fears. Henry IV. overran Saxony like a remorseless conqueror, marking his steps by plunder, devastation, and death. Success but swelled his pride and arrogance; he thought that the arms which had subdued a warlike people must successfully cope with the power of the Sovereign Pontiff. By way of declaring war, he openly outraged the last Papal decrees, by scandalous investitures in the sees of Bamberg, Fuld, and Lorsch. He even entertained the thought of seizing the person of Gregory VII., deposing him from the Sovereign Pontificate, and seating in the chair of St. Peter one of his creatures, pledged to his despotic aims. The moving spirit of this conspiracy was Guibert, the simoniacal archbishop of Ravenna. This bold and ambitious prelate, while attending the last council held in Rome, had opened communications with the malcontents in that city. He became particularly attached to Cencius,* the son of a former præfect of Rome, whose disorders had incurred the dungeons of the Pontifical government. Gregory restored him to freedom, after requiring him to give pledges, confirmed by his oath upon the tomb of St. Peter, that he would reform, and no more disturb the public peace. From that hour his false heart had ever cherished a bitter hatred against the holy Pontiff. Guibert held out to him splendid promises, both in his own and in his master's name, if he would share their base attempt. Cencius

* Cencius had sided with the Antipope Cadaloüs in the Pontificate of Alexander II

eagerly grasped the offered chance, and soon gathered a host of partisans. Robert Guiscard, who had lately been excommunicated by the Sovereign Pontiff for proving false to the terms of the treaty concluded with the Holy See, took part in the plot. The hour of its execution was fixed for the hour of midnight of Christmas (A. D. 1075). While St. Gregory VII. was officiating pontifically in the church of St. Mary-Major, Cencius broke into the sanctuary at the head of an armed troop of soldiers. The wretches seized with sacrilegious hands the Pontiff's person, rudely threw him to the ground, and, amid the tears and cries of the assembled faithful, dragged him by the hair into a tower of Cencius's stronghold. They hoped to remove him from Rome before daylight, and take him, a prisoner, to Henry IV. in Germany. But the whole city was in an instant astir at the news of the Pontiff's seizure. The streets were soon thronged by an immense multitude of people calling aloud for their pastor and father. The uproar became fearful; the maddened crowd surrounded the fortress of Cencius, threatening to massacre every inmate if Gregory was not restored to them on the spot. The surest home of craven fear is a traitor's heart. The terrified Cencius threw himself at the feet of the fearless but merciful Pontiff. Gregory forgave him with the slight penance of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When the Pope appeared once more before his devoted people, they broke out into indescribable transports of enthusiastic joy. He was borne in triumph to the church, where he continued the Holy Sacrifice amid the tears of thankful gladness of those who had just rescued him from captivity. The property of Cencius was plundered and destroyed, and he fled to Germany under sentence of excommunication and perpetual banishment from Rome. Guibert, the hidden cause of all the disorder, did not abandon his design, but sought a better field for his intrigues in northern Italy.

11. Henry IV. had taken no open part in these deeds of violence; but the perspicacity of Gregory could not be deceived. On the very next day he wrote as follows to the King of Ger-

many: "We are astonished at the unfriendly bearing of your acts and decrees toward the Apostolic See. You have continued, in contempt of our rescripts, to bestow investitures for vacant bishoprics. We would remind you, in true fatherly affection, to acknowledge the empire of Christ, to think of the danger of preferring your own honor to His. The victory granted to your arms should increase your gratitude to God, Whose hand alone can give success." Henry answered this apostolic language by a fresh outrage. He convoked all the German bishops at Worms under Hugo Candidus, the same cardinal who had determined Gregory's election, but had since taken sides with Guibert and Cencius. A libel was brought up in this false council, charging the Pope with the most infamous crimes. Every absurd and odious charge that passion and hatred could suggest, was lavished upon its composition. The Pope was accused of having paid assassins to murder Henry IV. His relations with the noble Countess Matilda were shamefully misrepresented: he was characterized as a "heretic, an adulterer, a ferocious and bloodthirsty beast." After three days of disgraceful deliberation, these hireling bishops drew up against the lawful Pontiff a sentence of deposition, which was signed by the king and by all those present. Henry immediately sent the report of his pseudo-council to Italy. A cleric of Parma, named Roland, was commissioned to carry it to Rome with two letters from the king, one for the people, the other for the Pope himself. He thus addressed the Romans: "We are grateful for your fidelity to our authority, and beg you to persevere in it, by showing yourselves the friends of our friends and the enemies of our enemies. Foremost among the latter we rank the monk Hildebrand. We would arouse against him all the power of your indignation; for we recognize in him a usurper and an oppressor of the Church; a traitor to the Roman empire and to our royal authority." The letter to the Pope was equally haughty and insulting: "Henry, by the grace of God, king; to Hildebrand. Whereas, I expected from you the treatment of a father, I

have learned that you act as my worst enemy. You have robbed me of the highest marks of respect due from your see; you have tried to estrange the hearts of my Italian subjects To check this boldness, not by words, but by deeds, I have called together the lords and bishops of my states. The council has received ample proofs, as you will see by the enclosed acts, that you are utterly unworthy any longer to occupy the Holy See. I have agreed to this sentence. I cease to look upon you as Sovereign Pontiff, and in virtue of my rank of Roman patrician, I command you to quit the See forthwith." The two incendiary letters were read by Roland in an assembly of the Roman clergy and nobility, at which St. Gregory presided in person. The envoy of Henry IV. proved himself, by his rash and haughty bearing, well worthy of such a mission. "The king, my master," he said, addressing the Sovereign Pontiff, "orders you to quit at once the throne of St. Peter and the government of the Roman Church, which you have usurped." Then turning to the clergy, he added: "My brethren, I am authorized to inform you that the king awaits your presence, on the approaching festival of Pentecost, to receive a Pontiff at his hands; for Hildebrand, who has usurped the title, is not the true shepherd, but a ravenous wolf." This daring appeal to revolt, aroused in the hearts of all present a real storm of indignation. But for the merciful interposition of Gregory VII. himself, Roland would have been torn to pieces by the exasperated nobles.

12. The attempted outrage was without precedent, and called for an immediate check. The bishops and nobles would have proceeded to the deposition of Henry before leaving their places. In regard to the word *deposition*, it may be well here to recall the common law of Christian society in the middle-ages, to meet the cry of encroachment and abuse of power raised against St. Gregory VII. by the enemies of the Papacy. But first, to dispose of the favorite fling of superficial minds. "St. Peter," they say, "died by command of Nero; yet he did not dream of deposing or of excommunicating him. By

what right, then, did the Sovereign Pontiffs of the eleventh century take upon themselves to attempt what St. Peter himself did not feel authorized to do?" The answer is very plain. Nero was a heathen emperor, and could not, therefore, be excommunicated, that is, cut off from the body of the Church, of which he formed no part. The society which Nero ruled was governed by the laws of paganism; the Christians exerted no influence whatever upon a government whose spirit and whose very form were foreign to them. They obeyed its civil requirements when they were not at variance with their own conscientious convictions. When the law was opposed to the teaching of the gospel, they did not arm, they did not depose the prince; they died for their God and their faith. And hence it is that St. Peter did not excommunicate and depose Nero. But in the eleventh century the face of the world was changed. Even civil society was completely under the sway of the spirit of Christianity. The new governments, built up over the ruins of the Roman empire, owed their first foundation to the bishops. "The Popes," says the Count de Maistre, "were universally recognized as the delegates of the Power from which all authority emanates. The greatest princes looked to the sacred unction as the sanction and, so to speak, the complement of their right. The first of these monarchs, according to the old notions, the German emperor, must be crowned by the hands of the Pope, from whom he was supposed to derive his august character, and was emperor only by virtue of this ceremony." M. Gosselin,* remarks that Fénelon was the first Catholic writer who laid down the principle which explains, by the *public law of the middle-ages*, the conduct of Popes and councils in deposing temporal rulers. "It is not surprising," says the illustrious Archbishop of Cambray, "that nations deeply attached to the Catholic religion should throw

* *Pouvoir du Pape au moyen-âge.* This work is a lasting monument of sound logic and polite discussion, and will ever be one of the most triumphant refutations of the extravagant attacks of several modern political writers against the Papacy.—M. Artaud de Montor, *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes.*

off the yoke of an excommunicated prince, since they were subject to the prince only by the same law which bound the prince to the Catholic religion. But the prince excommunicated by the Church was no longer the pious ruler to whose keeping the whole nation had intrusted its welfare, and it therefore held itself freed from the oath of allegiance." "From an examination of the facts," says M. Gosselin, "it follows that the power exercised over sovereigns by the Popes and councils, in the middle-ages, cannot be viewed as a criminal encroachment of the ecclesiastical power on the rights of sovereigns. It is evident, rather, that the Popes and councils exercising this power did but follow and apply the principles universally received, not only by the mass of the people, but by *the most enlightened and virtuous men of the age*." The Holy See thus became, in some sort, the sovereign tribunal of Christendom—whose decisions were invoked upon the questions arising between rulers and their subjects. Its judgment was considered final. In deposing a sovereign, the Popes simply exercised a right vested in them by common consent. In excommunicating him, they acted by virtue of their authority as supreme pastors of the flock intrusted to their care by Jesus Christ, the invisible Head of the Church. Catholic kings and princes are, as such, subject to the power of the keys. Thus the *public law of the middle-ages* empowered the Pope to depose sovereigns in certain cases, and to release their subjects from the oath of fealty. They could then, as they can now, in case of necessity, excommunicate princes and sovereigns. The late example given in the excommunication of Napoleon I. by Pope Pius VII. of holy and illustrious memory, is within the recollection of all. There is this difference, however: in the eleventh century, when the sentence of excommunication had its full effect* among the faithful, and cut off the guilty party

* All the effects of an excommunication are comprised in the following Latin hexameter:—

Os, orare, vale, communio, mensa negatur.

That is, he is denied conversation, prayer, greeting, communion, and the table. We quoted

from all communication with his fellow-men, its result was more immediate; but in the nineteenth, amid a society less deeply religious, not one of the emperor's chieftains thought of shunning communication with him, because of the Pontifical decree; and then it was that Almighty God took upon himself to prove to the greatest captain of modern times, by one of those startling manifestations which shake the world, that genius gives no exemption from the obedience due from every Catholic to Peter and his successors. It were idle to call attention now to the fact that *the public law of Europe at the present day* is no longer that of the middle-ages. The Popes no longer depose sovereigns, nor do sovereigns dream of restoring the feudal system. Opinions have changed with customs. Instead of the Pontifical supremacy, the revolutionary principle of popular sovereignty, following in the train of Protestant ideas, has made its way into the minds of the masses, and now the right of setting up and overthrowing governments and rulers is vested in the power of insurrection. In an historical light, at least, the system of the middle-ages was quite equal to our modern principle.

13. St. Gregory VII. was loath to act with precipitation in a matter involving such serious consequences. "We must," he said to the bishops, "display the simplicity of the dove as well as the prudence of the serpent." The synod met again on the next day. The Pope, in a solemn address, recalled all his endeavors to bring back Henry IV. to a line of conduct more in keeping with the dictates of prudence and more worthy of a Christian ruler. The bishops called for the sentence of excommunication. Then the Pope stood up, and amid the deepest silence, broken only by the repeated acclamations of the council, spoke as follows: "St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, hear thy servant. I call thee to witness, thou and the Most Holy Mother of God, with St. Paul, thy brother, and all

the example of Robert the Pious, king of France, whose attendants burned the articles which he had used, in order not to communicate with their excommunicated master

the saints, that the Church of Rome compelled me, in spite of myself, to rule. In the name of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by thy authority, I forbid Henry to govern the German realm and Italy. I release all Christians from the oath by which they have bound themselves to him, and I forbid any one to serve him as king. Since he has refused to obey as a Christian, rejecting the counsels given him for his salvation, and withdrawing from the Church, which he seeks to rend, I hereby declare him anathema, that all nations may know, even by experience, that thou art Peter, and that upon this rock the Son of the Living God has built His Church, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail" (A. D. 1076).* A Pontifical bull acquainted the whole Catholic world with the sentence pronounced against Henry IV. "If, by the grace of God," said the Pope, "he show true repentance, he will ever find us ready, notwithstanding all his attacks upon us, to receive him back into the communion of the Church; he may then be convinced that we love him far more sincerely than those who now share or encourage his crimes."

14. The news of Henry's excommunication and deposition caused an immense sensation in the Catholic world. Germany was at once divided into two camps: the cause of the Pope was upheld by a considerable number of clerics, monks, and nobles, by Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, Lombardy, and the whole of Saxony and Thuringia. Henry at first endeavored to hide the pain caused by this blow; he affected to slight the Pontifical sentence as a powerless attack. His rage broke out more violently than ever upon the wretched Saxons. "Saxony and Thuringia," says a contemporary historian, "were

* "To this council of 1076 some writers ascribe the promulgation of the *Dictatus Papæ*, a collection of twenty-seven maxims, forming a compendium of the whole doctrine of St. Gregory VII. on the supremacy of the Popes. But nearly all the scholars of the present day reject the opinion which attributes to St. Gregory this statement of the views which ruled his conduct, though, on the other hand, they perfectly represent the spirit of the age and the course of the Pontiff."—VOIGT, *History of Gregory VII.*

ravaged with a barbarous cruelty unequalled in the memory of any living man." But defections began to multiply among the adherents of a king whose power was made subservient to injustice and tyranny. A solemn gathering of the German bishops and nobles was held at Tribur, near Mentz (A. D. 1076). Two Papal legates were present: Siccard, patriarch of Aquileia, and Altmann, bishop of Passau; they announced, on behalf of the Holy See, that Henry, being canonically excommunicated, the support of the Pontifical authority might be relied upon in the election of a new king. After seven days of deliberation, the assembled princes decided upon the necessity of giving a new ruler to Germany. But Henry, becoming alarmed at the fearful proportions which the question was now assuming, entered into active negotiations with the leading members of the diet of Tribur, and promised to make all the satisfaction that might be required of him. A treaty was concluded; the nobles announced to Henry, that unless "within the space of a year he had obtained absolution from the sentence of excommunication and deposition weighing upon him, he should be considered finally deposed from the throne." They then dictated to him the severest terms, the chief of which were that he should disband his army and withdraw to Spires, laying aside the royal authority until he had received absolution from the Sovereign Pontiff. A diet was likewise convoked, at Augsburg, at which the Pope was invited to be present, to end the affair.

15. St. Gregory set out at once; but instead of awaiting him in Germany, Henry came forward to meet him at Canossa, one of the castles in the domain of the Countess Matilda. The meeting was attended with somewhat remarkable circumstances. "The castle of Canossa," says Voigt, "was surrounded by a triple line of outworks. Into the second of these Henry was admitted, while the lords of his train were left outside of the first. The king had laid aside every badge of royalty; there was nothing to betray his rank. Clothed in penitential dress and barefooted, he spent three days in fasting

and prayer, awaiting the sentence of the Sovereign Pontiff.* Meanwhile negotiations were rife. Matilda became his intercessor with Gregory VII. Henry promised to make full satisfaction to all the complaints of his subjects against him, to be present at the diet of Augsburg, there to make peace with the German princes by repairing all his past injustice; and he concluded by pledging himself never to undertake any thing derogatory to the honor and independence of the Apostolic See. Prostrate at the Pontiff's feet, with his arms outstretched in the form of a cross, and bathed in tears, he uttered the petition: "Forgive, most holy Father, in your mercy forgive me." St. Gregory raised him up from his humble posture, gave him the Apostolic blessing and absolution, and celebrated the Holy Sacrifice in his presence and before all the German nobles, who had been introduced, and had pledged themselves for the observance of the king's promises. After the consecration, St. Gregory caused them all to draw near to the altar; then raising the Sacred Host, he addressed the king: "We have been charged by you and by your adherents, of having usurped the Holy See, of having acquired it by simony; you have accused us of crimes which, according to the canons, would unfit us for the exercise of the sacred ministry. We could easily justify ourself by an appeal to those who have known us from infancy, and to the authors of our promotion; but we invoke the judgment of God alone. May the body of Jesus Christ, which I am about to receive, be, then, the witness of my innocence. I beseech the Almighty thus to dispel all suspicions,

* Protestant and infidel writers are apparently much shocked at the rigor and *arrogance* (*sic*) with which St. Gregory treated Henry IV., obliging him to wear a penitential garb and to undergo a fast of three days before giving him absolution. These writers betray ignorance of facts and of laws. It was Henry's own thought to clothe himself as a penitent and to practise this fast while seeking forgiveness for his crimes and criminal attempts. In law, the discipline of the Church, relative to canonical penances, sanctioned this species of expiation. Greater princes than Henry IV. had submitted to it; what Theodosius had done before St. Ambrose, the King of Germany might well repeat, without dishonor, before St. Gregory VII. Majesty is never disgraced by humbling itself before God. Theodosius, though on his knees at the feet of St. Ambrose, is none the less honored in history, by all ages, as Theodosius the Great.

if I am innocent; to strike me dead on the spot if guilty." He then received one half of the Host, and turning again to the king, continued: "Prince, the most serious charges are alleged against you. If you are guiltless, follow my example and receive this remaining half of the Sacred Host, that this proof may close the lips of all your enemies, and forever end the civil strife." This unexpected proposal startled the king. He was not prepared to commit a deliberate sacrilege. Perhaps he was not unmindful of the fearful fate which had befallen Lothaire on a like occasion. He begged the Pope to defer the solemn ordeal until the day appointed for the general diet. The delay was granted. At the close of the religious solemnity the Pope invited Henry to his table, treated him with the most marked consideration, and finally allowed him to rejoin his escort, which awaited without the castle walls (A. D. 1077).

16. Henry's reconciliation was but apparent. He bore with him from the domain of the Countess Matilda a heart full of bitter hate. The flame was carefully fed by his courtiers, and especially by Guibert of Ravenna, still earnestly bent upon his projects of ambition and schism. Meanwhile St. Gregory VII. had honestly made known to the Catholic world the result of the meeting at Canossa, and proclaimed that Henry was released from the censures pronounced against him. This proclamation brought back a number of bishops and nobles to Henry's interest. The false-hearted monarch saw, in this return of fortune, but a more favorable opportunity to satisfy his burning thirst for revenge. He sent an armed force into Lombardy, to seize the Pope; but Gregory had received timely warning, and the attempt was foiled. Having once thrown down the gauntlet, Henry felt himself urged on by a new ardor, and, heartily cursing the past, prepared for a desperate struggle (A. D. 1077). The German nobles, however, were not disposed to follow him in this course. They called a general diet at Forcheim, and sent to request the presence of the Pope. St. Gregory replied that after the late attempt made upon his

person by Henry, it would be rash in him to cross the German territory; he however sent two legates to Forcheim (1077). Henry was offered a safe-conduct to assist at the deliberations of the diet; he took care to refuse it. The council then proceeded to examine the charges brought against him. He was unanimously convicted of a tyrannical abuse of power, while his late assault upon the Pope was deemed a sufficient cause for his deposition. The measure was accordingly proposed by the Archbishop of Mentz, who mentioned Rudolph, duke of Suabia, as worthy of the royal crown. The motion was received with enthusiastic joy by princes and people. The legates, presuming upon the views of the Sovereign Pontiff, confirmed the choice; and in the very same session the members of the diet pledged their oath of fealty to the new king. Rudolph reluctantly bowed his head to receive the royal diadem thus forced upon him. He requested a delay, that he might take needful counsel; the assembled princes granted him only an hour for deliberation, and ere the close of day he was proclaimed *lawful king of Germany and defender of the empire of the Franks*, a title which recalled the days of Charlemagne and the rise of the new empire of the West (March 15, A. D. 1077).

17. The election of Rudolph plunged Germany into new calamities. Henry attacked his rival and defeated him in the first encounter. He would be solemnly crowned at Ulm, by way of strengthening his hold upon the sceptre disputed by Rudolph; after which he wreaked his vengeance upon Suabia, the domanial province of the new king, ravaging the fields, burning harvests, and levelling the strongholds to the ground. The election of Rudolph was not sanctioned by the Pope, who still hoped, in spite of his faithless character, to win back the erring king by gentle means. The legates had exceeded their powers in confirming the election of the diet. The Pontiff expressly stated the fact in a letter addressed to all the faithful, and declared that the diet of Forcheim had acted without his direction or advice. "We have even decreed in council,"

added the Pope, "that unless the archbishops and bishops who crowned Rudolph are prepared to give good reasons for the act, they shall be deposed from their sees." So marked was the neutral stand taken by the Pope in this juncture, that both kings simultaneously sent ambassadors to solicit his intervention. In reply to these two appeals, St. Gregory VII. sent new instructions to his legates in Germany. "We direct you," he wrote, "by the authority of St. Peter, to require of the two kings an assurance of our freedom to enter their states, as well as safe-conducts, that may enable us, with the help of the German clergy and nobility, to decide in whose hands justice would place the reins of government."

18. Rudolph would gladly have seconded the Pope's wishes; but the unyielding disposition of Henry forbade all hope of a peaceful close. He pushed on his military operations with renewed energy, and fortune seemed to smile upon his efforts. His cause was embraced by a great majority of the German and Italian bishops. In the opening campaign victory seemed to hesitate between the two standards. A bloody battle was fought on the banks of the Strewe, in Franconia: Rudolph, stoutly supported by Otho of Nordheim, whom contemporary chronicles call "a wonderfully brave man," gained one of those dear-bought triumphs, often more disastrous than a defeat. Henry fell back upon Ratisbonne, and, after a short delay to repair his shattered strength, once more fell upon Suabia, wasting it with fire and sword. St. Gregory made one more effort to restore peace (A. D. 1078). He convoked a council in Rome, to which the two kings sent ambassadors, promising to leave the decision of their dispute to a general diet of all Germany. Still these negotiations did not stay the war, which raged without interruption during the whole of the year 1079. The victory of Fludenheim, won by Rudolph (1080), raised the hopes of the Saxons, and seemed to have struck a fatal blow at the cause of Henry. But he rose again more formidable than ever, and now refused both the Pope's mediation and the arbitrament of the general diet. The whole of Ger-

many besought the Pontiff to utter a final judgment between the two rivals, and, by his decision, end the horrors of civil strife. Once more he strove to move the stubborn mind of Henry, who rejected all terms of accommodation. The time for reasoning was past; St. Gregory saw that he must now act.

19. He called a council at Rome, the seventh held in his Pontificate (A. D. 1080). After the renewal of the anathemas against investitures, the envoys of Rudolph were introduced, and stated their charges against Henry IV. The Pope arose and spoke at length upon his efforts to restore peace to the empire, and the obstacles ever thrown in his way by Henry. Then, in a splendid burst of eloquence, addressing St. Peter and St. Paul, whose authority he represented, he pronounced sentence as follows: "St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, and thou, St. Paul, great teacher of nations, deign, I beseech you, to hear and favorably receive my words. It is my faith in you, after God and His holy Mother, the Virgin Mary, that bears me up against the sinful and wicked, and enables me to encourage your faithful servants. The kings of the earth, the princes of the world, have met together against the Lord and against you; they have said: 'Let us break their yoke and cast it far from us.' Their chief, Henry, whom they call king, has risen up against your Church, and endeavored to cast me down from the Pontifical throne. He refuses all proposals of peace, and rejects the decision of the diet which was to end these long-continued wars. He has taken the lives of a multitude of Christians, given up the churches to the profanation and plunder of his troops, and carried desolation throughout the whole Teutonic kingdom. Therefore do I, trusting in the mercy of God, and of His Mother, the Virgin Mary, and by your authority, excommunicate Henry and all his abettors; I declare him deposed from the government of Germany and Italy, and deprived of the royal power and dignity. I forbid every Christian to obey him as king, and release all who have sworn fealty to him. Let Rudolph, the choice of the Germans,

rule and defend the kingdom which is henceforth his. To all his followers I grant absolution from their faults and the Apostolical benediction. As Henry is justly stripped of the royal dignity, in punishment of his pride, his disobedience, and faithlessness, the royal power and authority are therefore bestowed upon Rudolph, as the reward of his humility, his submission, and uprightness."

20. Henry IV. thought himself strong enough to cope with the power which had chastised him. He met the sentence of deposition by the false Councils of Mentz and Brixen, which declared St. Gregory VII. unworthy to govern the Church (A. D. 1080). "In a council of twenty-nine bishops," said the simoniacal prelates, "we have resolved to depose, expel, and —if he refuse to obey our injunction—to devote to eternal perdition, Hildebrand, the corrupt man who counsels the plunder of churches and assassination, who defends perjury and murder, who even questions the Catholic faith; Hildebrand, the abettor of the heretical Berengarius; Hildebrand, that monk possessed of the spirit of hell, the vile apostate from the faith of our fathers." Amid these gross insults, inspired by the most bitter hatred, it is somewhat astonishing to meet the charge of favoring the heresy of Berengarius, which St. Gregory had solemnly condemned in a council held in 1078. The heresiarch had even made his final abjuration into the hands of the Pontiff. After this violent proclamation, the bishops of Brixen unanimously elected, as antipope, Guibert of Ravenna, who took the name of Clement III. He forthwith appeared in Pontifical attire, and solemnly swore to protect King Henry IV. The pretender to the Apostolic title set out for Italy, attended by a pompous escort. Henry lent all his influence to an election commanded by himself, but which was, nevertheless, received with indignation by every true Christian. Rudolph, meanwhile, prepared for a struggle which must now be decisive. The two armies met in the month of October, A. D. 1080, near Merseburg, in the marshes of Grona. The lion-hearted Otho of Nordheim led the Saxons, and won the

victory for the cause of justice; but, while he was listening to the glad tidings of his triumph, Rudolph, mortally wounded by Godfrey de Bouillon, died, like Epaminondas at Mantinæa. The same youthful warrior, Godfrey, who here figures on the side of Henry IV., will yet atone for the errors of his earlier years by deeds of deathless fame on the hallowed soil of Palestine.

21. The death of Rudolph, who had fallen in the hour of victory, was an irretrievable calamity. Henry IV., now master of nearly all the Italian passes, poured down his triumphant troops upon these rich and smiling valleys. His party grew with fearful rapidity. Simoniacal or concubinary clerics and bishops flocked to the protection of the antipope Clement III., and formed the schism known in history as the schism of the *Henricians*. They held their own peculiar doctrine, and taught that the emperor should exercise the chief authority in the choice of Popes and bishops; that no Pope or bishop could be deemed lawfully elected, unless chosen by the *emperor* or the *king of Germany;* finally, that no account was to be made of a sentence of excommunication pronounced against a temporal sovereign. Henry IV., as may easily be imagined, favored a doctrine so much in keeping with his own views. St. Gregory saw himself forsaken by nearly the whole of Italy; one, however, remained true to him in the hour of trial: the heroic Countess Matilda, with unshaken courage, strove to stem the advancing torrent of German invasion. "The pen of history," says Voigt, "refuses to record all the woes that followed in the train of this schism." They were indeed fearful, since they nearly annulled the salutary reform begun by the genius of Gregory VII. for the salvation of modern civilization. The fearless Pontiff awaited the coming storm with that calm, undaunted bearing which marks the man of high and holy aims. He knew that man's mightiest workings for the triumph of error must come to naught at the bounds which the Almighty's hand has set to crime and injustice. "We wish," he wrote to all the faithful, "that your contempt for the pride and the

endeavors of the wicked may equal ours, and that you should rest more assured of their fall, in proportion as they pretend to rise higher." The confidence of St. Gregory was soon rewarded by the frank and sincere submission of Robert Guiscard, who came to swear fealty to the Pontiff, received absolution from the censures he had previously incurred, and promised to hold his sword at the service of the Holy See. Meanwhile the Saxons, dispirited for a moment by the death of Rudolph, had found new courage, and meeting at Bamberg, they elected Hermann of Luxemburg king of Germany. Sprung from an old and illustrious race, a fearless warrior in the field, Hermann, in ordinary times, would have been a man of unusually brilliant parts; but in a season of such political confusion, it would have required even more than the hand of a hero to seize and hold the sceptre. Hermann was crowned at Goslar, and repaid the choice of his countrymen by the services of his prodigious energy and courage. But his army was infected with a spirit of desertion, and he was soon forced to seek shelter in Lorraine, where he died, without having secured the possession of a crown which he would have fairly won by his virtues and his valor.

22. The spring of the year 1082 found Henry encamped, with a considerable army, under the walls of Rome. He was accompanied by Guibert of Ravenna, who wore a sword as unscrupulously as if he had not clothed himself with the purple. For three successive years did the German troops besiege the city. St. Gregory withdrew into the castle of St. Angelo. Robert Guiscard was too deeply engaged with the Byzantine Greeks to give the Pontiff any instant help. All Henry's proffered bribes failed to win the loyalty of the Romans from their Pontiff. Hostilities were occasionally suspended, by a momentary truce, to admit of negotiations. In 1083, Henry agreed to the Pope's proposition, that a council should be held at Rome for a final decision of the affairs of the Church and of the empire. The king pledged himself to give free passage to all who should come to the council. But, with his natural

dishonesty, and in contempt of all international law, he arrested the deputies sent by Hermann and the German princes, as well as all the bishops of the opposite party, who were on their way to answer the Pontiff's call. In spite of all these obstacles, the council was opened at the appointed time.* "On the third day," says Voigt, "St. Gregory VII. arose in the midst of the assembly, as if endued with a supernatural power; and in a strain of earnest and overpowering eloquence, which drew tears from all his hearers, he spoke of faith, of Christian morality, of the courage and constancy demanded by the existing persecution. He seemed to feel that his voice now rose for the last time in favor of so just and holy a cause. Henry refused to agree to any measures of accommodation. Still St. Gregory did not pronounce judgment upon him by name; but excommunicated, in general, all who had hindered the bishops and German envoys from coming to the council, or had held them prisoners." This measure was the more spirited, that the Pope was left almost alone to support the wavering courage of the Romans. But wearied out, at length, by the rigors of a protracted siege, and by a constancy so much at variance with their restless and fickle disposition, the citizens sent a deputation to offer to Henry the keys of the city. The king made his entry, accompanied by the antipope Guibert, on the 21st of March, A. D. 1084. The heroic Pontiff, witness of the defection of his subjects, withdrew into the impregnable citadel of St. Angelo. Guibert was installed in the Lateran palace and crowned by the Bishops of Modena and Arezzo, before an immense concourse of the clergy and people. On Easter-Day, March 31st, Henry and his queen, Bertha, made their solemn entry into the basilica of St. Peter, after which they repaired to the Vatican, where Guibert placed the imperial diadem upon the brow of the king, and proclaimed him patrician of the Romans.

23. Robert Guiscard was in the mean time hurrying on,

* This was the ninth and last council held at Rome in the Pontificate of St. Gregory VII

with an army of thirty thousand men, to the Pope's relief. Henry, feeling himself unequal to the contest, hastily quitted Rome with his antipope, first for Civita Vecchia, thence to Sienna. But Robert the rescuer was destined to be as fatal to Rome as Henry the conqueror. The undisciplined Normans, mingled with bands of Saracens who had enlisted under the standard of Guiscard, desolated the city with fire and sword; heaps of smouldering ruins marked the spots where a few hours before Rome's stateliest palaces had stood. To save the city from further disaster, Gregory withdrew with Robert to Salerno (A. D. 1085). Unremitting struggles, long and painful labors, had worn away the great Pontiff's life. He saw the world hurrying on to destruction, and generously sacrificed himself to stay its downward course. The cardinals who stood about his dying couch deplored the helpless state in which his death must leave them: "In heaven," he said, "I shall commend you to the infinitely good God." He mentioned three men whom he deemed worthy to carry on his great work and to sit in the chair of St. Peter: Didier, abbot of Monte Cassino; Otho, bishop of Ostia; and Hugh, archbishop of Lyons. "In the name of Almighty God," added the dying Pontiff, "in virtue of the authority of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, I command you to acknowledge as lawful Pope no one who is not elected and consecrated according to the canonical laws of the Church." Then, as he gradually but rapidly declined in strength, he rallied his ebbing life to utter the words which summed up his whole earthly career: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore do I die in exile." One of the bishops replied: "Holy Father, you can nowhere be an exile; God has given you all nations as a heritage, and the whole world for a kingdom." But Gregory VII. heard not these words; his soul had gone to rest in the bosom of the Eternal Justice he had just invoked (May 25, A. D. 1085).*

* In 1584 the name of St. Gregory VII. was inserted in the Roman Martyrology, by order of Gregory XIII. In the Pontificate of Benedict XIII. the legend of St. Gregory

24. The closely-connected series of events into which St. Gregory was drawn by his struggle with Henry IV., has withheld our attention from his relations with the remaining portions of the world. His first thoughts were directed to the condition of the Christians crushed by the Mussulman yoke in Spain, Africa, and Palestine. And now we begin to perceive the dawning idea of the great Crusades. A powerful nobleman of Champagne, Ebole, count of Roucy, and several other French knights, offered their services to the Christian cause against the Moors. The Pope gave them, by anticipation, a feudal tenure of all the lands they might win from the unbelievers. We are not acquainted with the exploits of the Count of Roucy; but a little later, about 1085, we find other distinguished French lords, such as Raymond, count of Toulouse, and his vassals, nobly fighting under the Spanish standard, following Alphonso VI. in his Moorish campaign. These were the first *Crusaders*—the first voluntary soldiers of Christ in a sacred warfare. At about the same period (A. D. 1074), Gregory had raised a force of fifty thousand men to help the Greeks against the Mussulmans, to free the holy places and the Church of Africa. This gigantic undertaking was thwarted at the outset by the question of the investitures, which called the Pontiff's undivided attention to the German States. The throne of Constantinople was successively disgraced by a line of imbecile or ferocious princes, as they are called by Montesquieu. Michael VII., surnamed Parapinax (the Famished), from his insatiable cupidity, was vainly urged, by repeated letters from Gregory VII., to make a bold stand against the Mussulman power, which now threatened the very gates of Constantinople. He spent his reign in devising new means of taxing

was introduced into the Roman breviary, where it is still read. But the legend was declared suppressed, by the decrees of the parliaments; and several French bishops forbade its recitation. Magistrates of the school of Pithon revise a saint's office instituted by a Pope! Bishops confirm the theological decisions of a parliament! This is certainly a lamentable wandering. Jesus Christ founded His Church upon an imperishable rock, and not upon the authority of parliaments which are no more, and whose teachings have bequeathed to the world a legacy of revolutions and ruin.

his people's wealth, as though the throne had been for him but a usurer's counter (1078). His successor, Nicephorus Botoniates, was dethroned (A. D. 1081) by Alexius Comnenus. As he was setting out on his road to exile, he cast a last lingering glance at the palace where he had reigned for three years. "I regret but one feature of the imperial power," he exclaimed; "the board of the Cæsars." Alexius inaugurated, by deeds of valor and justice, a reign which was not without glory. He found himself engaged in a struggle with Robert Guiscard and his Normans, who eventually wrested from the Greek crown its last possessions in Italy and Illyria. The contests of Comnenus with the Dalmatians, the Comani, and the four hundred thousand Scythians who ravaged the plains of Thrace, recall the old Homeric combats. The Turks, under Alp-Arslan, and afterward under the Sultan Abu-Kasem, poured their swarming squadrons upon the vast regions stretching from Persia to the Hellespont. They had already advanced as far as Scutari. The standard of Mahomet was thrown to the breeze of the Bosphorus, within sight of the ramparts of Constantinople; Byzantium trembled with dread at the neighing of the steeds, the wild shouts of the warriors who had broken away from the banks of the Oxus. Alexius Comnenus utters a cry of terror, to which the West will soon reply by the Crusades.

25. St. Gregory was not careless of the countries of the north. He bestowed the royal title upon Demetrius, duke of Dalmatia, and upon Michael, prince of the Sclaves. The king of the Russians paid homage for his kingdom to the Sovereign Pontiff. The Hungarians, the Poles, and the Danes especially awakened his solicitude. Wratislas, duke of Bohemia, asked the Pope's permission to have the divine office celebrated throughout his states in the Sclavonic tongue. The reply of St. Gregory is a precious monument of his zeal for the preservation of the liturgy: "It is impossible for us," wrote the Pontiff, "to grant your request. God has allowed the existence of hard passages in the Sacred Text, lest a too simple and

easy understanding should open many ways of error to the rash aspirings of the vulgar mind. The precedents which might be adduced in favor of your petition, would be of no force. There are many ancient customs which the holy Fathers, after serious deliberation, have thought fit to correct or reform, when the Church became more firmly rooted and more widely spread. In virtue of the authority of St. Peter, we must oppose the imprudent request of your subjects, and we enjoin you to resist it with all your power." These words of St. Gregory breathe, throughout, a spirit of the deepest wisdom. It is proper enough that in individual or national concerns, each nation should use its own tongue. But the Catholic Church is hemmed in by no national or state limits; she embraces all tongues and tribes and people in the bosom of a fruitful unity. It is proper, then, that the language of the Church, the language of the sacrifice, the language of divine worship, should be everywhere the same, in order that the Christian, the Catholic, may everywhere feel at home in the house of God, his Father; that he should, in all times and places, hear the language of his mother, the Church, and recognize everywhere, amid so many varieties of human society, the unity of that which is divine.

26. Notwithstanding the disorders in the clergy of his day, against which St. Gregory was called to battle, his Pontificate was rich in examples of virtue and holiness. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, edified the new English realm and used his influence with William the Conqueror to turn the conquest to the benefit of religion. St. Anselm, bishop of Lucca, St. Alfanius, bishop of Salerno, and St. Bruno, bishop of Segni, nobly seconded St. Gregory VII. in his struggle against the tyranny of Henry IV. and the simony and irregularity of the clergy. St. Stephen of Muret founded the Order of Grandmont, near Limoges. The monastic order was illustrated by the virtues of St. Gaucher, prior of a community of regular canons at Saint-Jean-d'Aureuil, and of St. Cervinus, abbot of Saint-Riquier, in the same province. St. Robert, formerly a monk in

the monastery of Moustier-la-Celle, near Troyes, afterward abbot of Tonnerre, was laying the foundation of a celebrated monastery at Molesme, in the diocese of Langres (A. D. 1075); he was yet also to attach his name to the great foundation of Citeaux. St. Hugh, abbot of Cluny, kept this order in the strict observance of its primitive institute. It was nothing unusual to see the most powerful lords forsake their worldly wealth and prospects to embrace, under his direction, the austerities of the cloister. Blessed Simon, count of Crépi, of Valois, of Mantes, and of Bar-sur-Aube, renounced the world under somewhat extraordinary circumstances. His father, Radulf of Crépi, had unjustly seized the city of Montdidier, where he was afterward buried. Simon, struck with terror at the thought of God's judgments, and trembling for his father's eternal salvation, consulted St. Gregory VII., and by his advice gave back the fief to its lawful lord, removing the remains of Radulf from the ground which he had usurped. The coffin was opened before the removal of the remains to their new grave. The young nobleman, seized with horror at the sight of the corpse, exclaimed: "Can this be my father! Is this, then, the end of all earthly greatness!" From that hour his resolve to quit all for God was fixed. Preparations had been made for his union with the daughter of the Count of la Marche; but he persuaded his betrothed to embrace a religious life. Still his parents did not give up all hope of keeping him in the world. William of England, in whose court young Simon had been brought up, offered him the hand of his daughter, the Princess Adela, who was eventually espoused to the Count of Blois. Simon could not refuse the honor of so noble an alliance without displeasing a prince to whom he was under the greatest obligations; but alleging nearness of kindred, he feigned a journey to Rome to obtain the Pope's dispensation, and entered the monastery of St. Eugend (St. Claude), of the Order of Cluny. Here he died in the practice of every Christian virtue, and won the honor of beatification. Hugh, duke of Burgundy, likewise bade adieu to the world, and went to end

his days in the solitude of Cluny. St. Bruno, once a canon of St. Cunibert's, at Cologne, and afterward chancellor of the metropolitan church of Rheims, followed by six companions, founded a monastery near Grenoble, amid the bleak and rugged mountains of the desert of Chartreuse (A. D. 1084). The rule given by St. Bruno to his disciples was founded upon that of St. Benedict, but with such modifications as almost to make of it a new and particular one. The Carthusians were very nearly akin to the monks of Vallis-Umbrosa and Camaldoli; they led the same kind of life—the eremitical joined to the cenobitic. Each religious had his own cell, where he spent the week in solitude, and met the community only on Sunday. Their rule prescribed an almost uninterrupted silence, strict fasts, severe abstinence, poverty and austerity in all things, with continual prayer and contemplation. These devout penitents formed a community, so to speak, of anchorets, exhibiting to the middle-ages a living picture of the ancient desert prodigies of Egypt and Syria.

27. Thus did the watchful glance of St. Gregory VII., in reviewing the world he had undertaken to reform, rest with consolation upon some heroic souls worthy to receive and to improve his teachings. The Protestant school has asserted that the ecclesiastical law of clerical celibacy is an innovation upon ancient traditions, and first imposed in the eleventh century by the domineering spirit of Hildebrand. This historical error has been ably refuted by Monsignore Palma, with his usual display of deep erudition and solid reasoning. "No point of history," says the learned prelate, "rests upon a surer foundation than the antiquity of the law which binds all clerics in sacred orders to the observance of celibacy. Pope Siricius (A. D. 385), writing on this subject to Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, speaks as follows: 'We are all, both priests and levites, bound by an indissoluble law; and on the day of our ordination we consecrated both our bodies and our hearts to chastity. Should any maintain that they are released from the law by former dispensations, we, by the authority of the Apos-

tolic See, declare them suspended from all ecclesiastical dignity. We warn every bishop, priest, or deacon, who, from this time forth, may incur guilt in this manner, that every avenue to our indulgence is closed against him. For the evil which is proof against all ordinary remedies must be expelled by iron.' The law of ecclesiastical celibacy, mentioned by St. Sericius as a tradition universally received in the Church, has a like sanction from St. Innocent I., in a letter to Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse. 'The obligation of continence,' says the Pontiff, 'is so solidly established upon the plain teaching of the divine laws (*divinarum legum manifesta disciplina*), and the rescripts of Sericius of happy memory, that incontinent clerics should at once be excluded from every ecclesiastical dignity, and by no means admitted to the exercise of a ministry reserved alone to the clean of heart.' " To these witnesses of the early Church we could add a long list of later testimonies quite as direct and explicit; but they more than suffice to prove the apostolic tradition of the law of celibacy. It became St. Gregory VII., the great-hearted Pontiff, to stand up as champion of the glorious cause; to defend at the peril of his life the spotless integrity of the virgin Church, whose prolific chastity brings forth thousands of souls to Jesus Christ. The strength and glory of the Catholic priest is in his celibacy. He casts off all earthly affection to embrace every species of misery, of suffering and pain; and grace repays the sacrifice of worldly goods by a hundredfold return—the high and holy privilege of spiritual paternity. Gregory followed up the twofold scourge of clerical incontinence and simony into the stronghold of the feudal system of investitures, where it had taken shelter. In the realization of his designs he displayed a prudence, skill, and energy which have forced involuntary homage from his very enemies. He was one of those rare examples given to the world to show the power of truth when served by a deep conviction and unbending conscience. Notwithstanding the unbridled invectives of Protestantism and philosophy in the eighteenth century, in spite of the accusations of a theological

school but too plainly partial, St. Gregory VII. stands out before us, among the figures of history, the greatest that has presided over the destinies of the modern world; nothing was wanting to complete his character—the splendor of glory, the renown of great deeds, interested slander, and the full meed of misfortune—that solemn ordeal of virtue and genius.

§ II. Pontificate of Victor III. (May 24, A. D. 1086—September 16, 1087).

28. In the very midst of Henry's triumph over his opponents and the lamentable state to which anarchy and corruption had reduced the Church, the ideas and the works of St. Gregory VII. had taken deep and lasting root. At his death he left among the nobles and clergy a party, small in number, but powerful by the might of learning and virtue. The leaders of this party were naturally the three men whom the dying Pontiff had mentioned in connection with the succession. Cardinal Didier, the abbot of Monte Cassino, was the only one then in Italy; the two others were absent—Otho, bishop of Ostia, as legate of the Holy See, in Germany; Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, engaged in the pastoral duties of his charge. The bishops and nobles who still remained true to the Church turned their eyes upon Didier, and offered him the Sovereign Pontificate. To take up the spiritual weapons so lately wielded by the mighty arm of Gregory VII., to struggle against the fearful disorder of political and religious affairs, was an immense burden for an aged man, weighed down by years and infirmities. So thought the Abbot of Monte Cassino, and he declined the offered dignity. For a whole year he steadily resisted all the urgent entreaties pressed upon him. At length the cardinals and bishops persuaded him to meet them in Rome, where they obliged him to receive the Pontifical insignia (May 24, A. D. 1086), and proclaimed him Pope, under the name of Victor III. But the humble religious, four days after, secretly quitted the Eternal City, once more to bury himself in

his beloved solitude at Monte Cassino, from which he was finally withdrawn only by the earnest prayers of Robert Guiscard and the other Italian princes, to resume the cross and the Roman purple (March 21, A. D. 1087).

29. The antipope Guibert had availed himself of the interregnum of two years to strengthen his party. He held military possession of St. Peter's church and the greater part of the city. Yet Victor III. did not hesitate to appear at the gates of Rome, accompanied by the Princes of Capua and Salerno; and the people hailed their lawful pastor with enthusiastic joy. Guibert was forced to yield, and on the 29th of May, A. D. 1087, Victor III. was solemnly crowned in St. Peter's church, by the Bishops of Ostia, Tusculum, Porto and Albano. A reaction, produced among a restless and fickle people by the intrigues of schismatics, soon condemned the Sovereign Pontiff to tread the path of exile marked by his holy predecessor; but the heroic Countess Matilda hastened to the rescue of the illustrious fugitive, and, at the head of her army, triumphantly restored him to Rome. Guibert and his partisans withdrew into the fortress of the Rotunda, then called St. Mary-of-the-Towers.

30. The first care of Victor III. was to take up the great work of suppressing investitures, where St. Gregory VII. had left it. A council held at Beneventum (August, A. D. 1087), under the personal presidency of the Pope, issued the following decree: "We ordain that any one who may from this time forth receive a bishopric or an abbacy at the hands of a layman, shall not be reckoned among the bishops or abbots, nor enjoy any of their privileges. We withhold from him the grace of St. Peter and entrance into the Church, until he resign the usurped charge. And in the same manner should any emperor, king, duke, marquis, count, or any other secular person, presume to confer bishoprics or other dignities of the Church, we include him in this condemnation." The excommunication already pronounced against the antipope Guibert was then renewed, and these decrees were sent to Germany,

where King Henry IV. still continued his course of tyranny and revolt against the Church. Victor III. survived these events but a short time. He died on the 16th of September, A. D. 1087, at the very moment when an Italian army was setting out against the African Saracens. With dying hand the Pontiff blessed the warriors who went forth to uphold the cause of Christ. The expedition was victorious; and the Saracens, who had so often plundered the Italian shores, were reduced to purchase mercy at the price of a yearly tribute.*

* Trithemius, Ptolemy of Lucca, and Muratori assert that Victor III. died of a dysentery, caused by poison thrown into his chalice by order of Henry IV.

CHAPTER V.

§ I. Pontificate of Urban II. (March 12, A. D. 1088—July 29, 1099).

1. Election of Urban II.—2. Henry IV. still hostile to the Holy See. Election of Conrad, his eldest son, to the throne of Germany.—3. First labors of Urban II. He calls St. Bruno to Rome.—4. Excommunication of Philip I. and Bertrada.—5. William Rufus in England.—6. Election of St. Anselm to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.—7. Struggle between St. Anselm and the King of England.—8. Roscelin. Universals. Realists and Nominalists.—9. Philosophical works of St. Anselm.—10. Were the Crusades just and useful wars?—11. Peter the Hermit. Council of Clermont.—12. The first Crusade.—13. Taking of Jerusalem. Godfrey de Bouillon chosen king.—14. Death of Pope Urban II.

§ II. Pontificate of Paschal II. (August 13, A. D. 1099—January 18, 1118).

15. Election of Paschal II. Death of the antipope Guibert. His successors. —16. Henry I. succeeds William Rufus and recalls St. Anselm to England. —17. Henry, the second son of Henry IV., proclaimed king of Germany at the death of Conrad. Council of Northus.—18. Diet of Mentz. Henry IV. abdicates in favor of his son Henry V.—19. Henry IV. again in arms His death.—20. Henry V. also claims the right of investiture. Journey of Paschal II. into France. Council of Châlons-sur-Marne.—21. Henry V. marches upon Rome, seizes the Pope, and carries him into captivity.—22. Paschal II. signs a treaty granting to Henry V. the right of investiture. Crowns Henry emperor. Release of the Pope. His repentance.—23. Council of Lateran. Paschal II. annuls the treaty wrung from him by the violence of Henry V.—24. Indignation of the Catholic world at Henry's sacrilegious attempts.—25. Henry V. once more before Rome. Flight and death of Paschal II.—26. Death of Godfrey de Bouillon. Foundation of the military orders. Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre. Knights Templars.—27. St. Bernard at Citeaux.—28. Abelard.

§ III. Pontificate of Gelasius II. (January 25, A. D. 1118—January 29, 1119).

29. Election of Gelasius II. Sedition raised in Rome by Cencio Frangipani.—30. Henry V. seizes Rome. Gelasius II. withdraws to Gaëta. Election of the antipope Maurice Bourdin under the title of Gregory VIII.—31. Death of Gelasius II. at Cluny

§ IV. Pontificate of Calixtus II. (February 1, A. D. 1119—December 12, 1124).

32. Election of Calixtus II. Attempt at a reconciliation between the Pope and the emperor. Conference of Mouson.—33. Henry V. deposed and excommunicated by the Pope in the Council of Rheims, and his subjects freed from their allegiance.—34. St. Norbert. Premonstratensian order.—35. The Pope's return to Rome. End of the war of investitures.—36. Ninth Ecumenical Council. Death of Calixtus II. and of Henry V.—37. Peter of Bruys. Henry of Lausanne. Tanchelm or Tanquelin.—38. Bogomiles. —39. Guibert de Nogent.

§ I. Pontificate of Urban II. (March 12, A. D. 1088—July 29, 1099).

1. Otho, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, a former pupil of St. Bruno, and the second whose name the dying Pontiff, St. Gregory VII., had mentioned for the succession, was elected on the 12th of March, A. D. 1088, at Terracina, and proclaimed Pope under the name of Urban II.* His Pontificate is marked by four great events: 1st, his contest with Henry IV. and the partisans of the antipope Guibert; 2d, the excommunication of Philip I., king of France, who set at naught the most sacred laws, by persevering in an adulterous commerce; 3d, the struggle of St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, against the encroachments of William Rufus; 4th, the first Crusade.

2. When Urban II. was chosen to fill the Papal throne, the city of Rome was in the power of the antipope Guibert, who had seized the occasion offered by the temporary vacancy to establish his intrusion. Henry IV. persisted in keeping the imperial title since his coronation by the antipope; and the power which he thus claimed, he swayed with the most despotic cruelty. He sold the dignities and benefices for which he granted investitures, while the antipope trafficked in ordinations. Saxony, always oppressed but always unsub-

* Otho was born at Chatillon-sur-Marne in France. Having embraced the monastic life in the order of St. Benedict, he was raised successively to the dignities of canon and archdeacon of Rheims. It was at this time that he placed himself under the direction of St. Bruno

dued, witnessed the decimation of her inhabitants, saw her cities sacked, her fields laid waste; and yet she would not yield. As faithless to domestic ties as he was bloodthirsty in his rule, Henry at length pushed the indignation of all Europe to the last extreme of endurance by his brutal treatment of Queen Adelaide, a princess of the ducal house of Lorraine, whom he had married at the death of Bertha, his first wife. His passions could not brook the restraint of lawful wedlock. After a year of married life, he condemned Adelaide to a dungeon, abandoned her to the brutal passions of his boon companions, and, to crown his infamous turpitude, would have forced his eldest son, Conrad, to outrage the person of his mother-in-law. This unexampled scandal caused a general outburst of horror. Conrad fled the incestuous court of his father, and found an asylum with the Countess Matilda, who had lately, by the Pope's advice, contracted a second marriage with the Duke of Bavaria, Guelph II.* A powerful league, including most of the cities of Lombardy, declared in favor of Conrad, who was solemnly proclaimed king of Germany. Henry IV., forsaken by all his followers, was compelled to seek the shelter of a fortress, where, deprived of the marks of royalty, and writhing under the torture of despair, he was on the point of putting an end to his own life. The universal sentiment of loathing felt for a prince so repeatedly banned by the anathema of the Church, so often faithless to his plighted oath, and which even his present wretched state—the result of his own pride and wickedness—could not allay, was increased by the appearance, in 1094, of a terrible plague, which swept the whole of Germany, Upper Italy, and part of France. The fearful violence of the scourge seemed to mark it as a visitation of the divine wrath. A spontaneous and unanimous impulse turned all minds to thoughts of religion

* This union was one of pure policy; Matilda was at the time forty-three years of age, thirteen of which she had lived in widowhood. Pope Urban II., in effecting this alliance, gave himself, in the person of Guelph II., a zealous defender against the attempts of Henry IV

and faith. Men deplored the barbarous warfare so fiercely waged, for fifteen years, against the Lord and against His Christ; and the name of Henry IV. was loaded with the curses of the repentant world. The ambitious nobles, the simoniacal bishops, so long bound by ties of material interest to the royal cause, when face to face with the impartial conqueror who strikes with unsparing hand, hastened to recognize Urban II., forsook their schism, seeking at least to die at peace with God. A holy doctor, Mangold of Luttembach, upon whom the Pope had conferred special powers for the purpose, received from nearly all the German nobility the oath of obedience to the lawful Pontiff. Public calamities brought with them at least the advantage of religion and the return of peace.

3. The first years of Urban's Pontificate were spent in visiting Sicily, lately wrested by Count Roger from the grasp of the Moors. The Pope consecrated bishops and established ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The valuable services of the count were rewarded by the dignity of Apostolic legate for the countries he had won to the dominion of the faith. The reader will remember a similar grant made to King Stephen of Hungary by Pope Sylvester II. The present Pontiff, in a letter addressed, at his accession, to the whole Catholic world, had said: "We purpose faithfully to tread in the footsteps of Gregory VII., our predecessor of glorious memory, and martyr to the cause of justice." He was true to his word. A few months later he wrote to Alphonso VI., king of Leon and Castile, reproaching him with usurping the ecclesiastical authority, by the deposition of the Bishop of St. James of Compostella. "Restore him to his see," wrote Urban, "and send him here with your deputies, that he may undergo canonical judgment; otherwise you will compel Us to use a severity which would be painful to Ourself." Urban was then holding, at Melfi, in Apulia, a council composed of seventy bishops, twelve abbots, Count Roger, and a number of other nobles. All the existing canons against the venal commerce in ecclesiastical dignities,

simony, and clerical incontinence, were confirmed; and the Pope nobly asserted the character he had promised to assume —that of the fearless imitator of St. Gregory VII. In the following year he visited Bari and consecrated the new archbishop of that city, thronged for the past two years by an immense concourse of pilgrims, attracted by the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra, in Lycia. Here Urban II. published the decrees of the Council of Melfi. He now called to his side the teacher of his earlier years, the illustrious St. Bruno,* who reluctantly tore himself away from his holy solitude in the mountains of Grenoble, to lend his wisdom and counsels to the guardian of the Church (A. D. 1090). The influence of the Sovereign Pontiff was gradually developing a religious tendency in European society. The uninterrupted disorders and struggles which rent the world during the last twenty years of the eleventh century, had given rise in souls to an intense thirst for solitude. In Germany there were many men shattered by the storms of revolution, and they now began to gather under the sheltering shadow of the Cross. They embraced a community life, giving up their persons and their goods to the service of religious orders, living under their rule, though still wearing a secular dress. Urban II. formally approved this manner of life, which was a kind of medium between lay-brothers, or converts, and the third orders. In the country districts this example was followed by a number of young girls, who made a vow of celibacy and lived in common under the direction of holy priests. Even married women often followed this manner of life. This wide-spread impulse, which repaired the defection of Catholics, had its detractors, although repeatedly confirmed and approved by Urban II. "We approve this mode of life," said the Pontiff, "which We have personally witnessed: deeming it laud-

* St. Bruno spent several years in Rome, always refusing the dignities offered by Urban II. He was still drawn by an irresistible power to the solitary life, and withdrew, in 1093, to Squillace, in Calabria, where he built two monasteries of his order. He died in 1101.

able and worthy of being perpetuated, as an image of the primitive Church, We hereby confirm it by Our Apostolic authority."

4. But even while the pious Pontiff thus strove to rekindle the fire of fervor and faith throughout the world, a deplorable scandal carried grief to the heart of Christendom. The King of France, Philip I., burning with an unlawful passion for Bertrada de Montfort, wife of Fulk, count of Anjou, repudiated his lawful wife, Bertha of Holland, by whom he had two children.* On the eve of Pentecost (A. D. 1092), while the canons of St. Martin were blessing the baptismal fonts in the church of St. John, at Tours, Bertrada, who was present at the ceremony, was forcibly seized and taken to the king. Queen Bertha was at the same time confined in a fortified castle. When this double outrage became known, a loud cry of indignation broke forth from the nation's heart. "Be not surprised," says Hugh of Flavigay, a contemporary writer, "if we vehemently cry out against the conduct of the king, without regard to the majesty of the throne and the high dignity of the guilty man. Were our book to remain silent, the whole of France, nay, the entire West, would echo with thunders of indignation. A king, heedless of the sanctity of marriage, without respect for a bride sprung from a royal race, dares to seize the lawful spouse of the Count of Anjou! Hitherto royalty has wielded its emblematic sword only in defence of the marriage-tie; and now a king does not blush to break in sunder the bonds of that sacred union, and shamelessly to persevere in an intolerable disorder!" Philip did not stop here. He would have his adulterous connection blessed by the hand of a bishop. He applied to the most enlightened and respected prelate of his day, in France, St. Yvo, whose reputation had lately raised him from the chair of theology of St. Quentin, near Beauvais, to the episcopal throne of Chartres (A. D. 1091).

* Louis, surnamed the Fat, who succeeded his father, and the Princess Constance, who afterward married Bohemond, prince of Antioch.

The king sought an annulment of his marriage with Bertha, on a false plea of kindred. "In that case," replied Yvo, "you cannot contract another alliance until the dissolution of the first marriage has been canonically pronounced." It was in vain that the king urged the matter, assuring the bishop that the Pope, who had been consulted, had given his full consent. St. Yvo was inflexible. "What I said in your majesty's presence," he wrote to Philip, "though absent, I now repeat. I neither can nor will assist at the celebration of your nuptials, to which you have invited me. My conscience, which I must keep pure before God, and the reputation of a bishop of Jesus Christ, which should be without spot, forbid it. This refusal does not detract from the obedience I owe you; I feel, on the contrary, that in speaking thus I am giving you a better proof of my fidelity, since I am convinced that your present course must jeopard your eternal salvation and plunge the whole kingdom into an abyss of misery." Philip answered these wise and charitable words by ordering the fearless bishop to be thrown into a dungeon and his church given up to pillage. William, archbishop of Rouen, was more pliant. He had the weakness to bless this act of twofold adultery. Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, had in the mean time been named, by Urban II., Apostolic legate in France. The serious nature of the juncture, the great responsibility consequently devolving upon him, terrified the pious prelate. St. Yvo of Chartres, who had just been released after a year of imprisonment, wrote to him upon the subject: "Although a new Achab (Henry IV.) has appeared in the kingdom of Italy, and a new Jezabel (Bertrada) in that of France, Elias cannot say that he is left alone. Though Herodias dance before Herod, and ask the head of John the Baptist, John must still say, 'You may not, without reason, put away your lawful wife.' In proportion as the wicked rage against the Church, so must our courage wax fearless in its defence, and strive to raise it up from its ruins. If I speak to you thus, it is not that I presume to teach you your duty; I would only encourage you to put your hand

once more* to the plough, and to uproot the thorns and briers in the field of the Lord." Persecution had failed to break the spirit of St. Yvo. In an interview which took place since his captivity, he spoke to the king these noble words: "Indebted, as I am, to the goodness of God and to your indulgence for the high rank which I hold in the Church—one to which my lowly birth could not have looked—I feel doubly bound to use every endeavor to promote your eternal welfare, without detriment to the divine law. I still trust that you will speedily recognize the truth of this saying of the Wise Man: 'Better are the wounds of a friend than the deceitful kisses of an enemy.'" Hugh of Lyons did not hesitate to join his efforts to those of St. Yvo of Chartres. He called a council at Autun (A. D. 1094), which excommunicated Philip and deposed the archbishop of Rouen. The king appealed to the Pope, who answered by confirming, in the Council of Clermont, the sentence already pronounced. The death of Bertha, which took place in the interval, aroused new hopes in the heart of Philip that now his criminal design might be more easily effected; but Bertrada was the wife of Fulk of Anjou, who was still alive, and the Church forbade her to contract any other ties. Yet Philip, in the very midst of the disorders into which he had plunged, still kept some shadow of religion and faith. He promised, in the Council of Nismes, to perform canonical penance and to put away his concubine; and Urban accordingly freed him from the censures he had incurred. But the unfortunate prince, lamentable example of the blind power of passion, soon forgot his promises and took back Bertrada; and thus the last years of his reign were shared between stinging remorse of conscience and the criminal intoxication of a passing pleasure. The deplorable affair was finally brought to an end in 1104, at the Council of Paris. Philip walked barefooted to the cathedral, and there made the following oath before Lambert, bishop of Arras and legate of the Pope: "Lambert,

* Hugh had once before been sent as Apostolic legate to France, by St. Gregory VII.

bishop of Arras, you who now hold the place of the Pope among us, hear my promise. I, Philip, king of France, promise to continue no longer the criminal relations I have hitherto held with Bertrada. I will not even hold conversation with her, except in the presence of persons above suspicion. I wish henceforth to remain true to this oath. So help me God and these Holy Gospels of Jesus Christ!" The king then received solemn absolution from the censures he had incurred. Bertrada made the same promise, and was released from the bond of the excommunication. Public morality was at length avenged.*

5. While the throne of France was disgraced by such a crying scandal, England was made the theatre of equally lamentable scenes. William the Conqueror died at Rouen (A. D. 1087), while in the act of carrying out the threat he had made, in reply to a joke of Philip, of adding the conquest of Paris to that of London.† The conqueror of so many states was hardly allowed the peaceful possession of a grave. The ground in which he was buried was bought from the owner from whom William had wrested it when alive. His second son, William II., surnamed Rufus, succeeded him as king of England.‡ Robert, the eldest, received the duchy of Norman-

* "Never," says De Maistre, "have the Popes and the Church, in general, done a more signal service to society, than in checking, by the power of ecclesiastical censures, the tendency of rulers to overstep the sacred bounds of wedlock. The sanctity of the marriage-tie, that great foundation of public happiness, is especially of the most vital importance in royal families, where its breach breeds incalculable evils. Had not the Popes, while the Western nations were still in their youth, held a power to master the princely passions, sovereigns, going on from one caprice to another, from one abuse to a greater, would at last have probably established the law of divorce and even of polygamy; and disorder, repeated, as it always is, through the downward grades of society, must have reached a depth of license which no eye can fathom."—*On the Pope*, book ii., ch. vi.

† Excessive corpulence confined William to his bed for part of the last year of his life. The king of France had laughingly said of him: "That big man is very long in labor." "Go to King Philip," said William to one of his attendants, "and tell him that I shall soon come to be churched at St. Genevieve's, with ten thousand lances for tapers." He immediately mounted his horse, gathered his Normans, ravaged the French territory, burned the city of Mantes, and would perhaps have executed his threat had not a sudden death checked his martial fury.

‡ During his last illness, William had said: "As for England, I leave the decision who shall rule the country to God. This great kingdom did not come down to me in regular succession from my fathers; I wrested it from the perjured Harold by fierce struggles

dy. Henry, his youngest son, had no share in the partition; and when he complained of it to his father, the dying monarch replied: "Wait quietly, my son; the time will come when you shall rule all the kingdoms which I have held, and far surpass your brothers in wealth and power." William Rufus, the new king of England, a prince utterly devoid of greatness of mind or loftiness in his views, brought to the throne nothing but his natural instincts of violence and cruelty, with an unquenchable thirst for gold. The churches and monasteries, so richly endowed by the Conqueror, were first sacrificed to his lust of wealth. He found a means of spoiling, which has since been but too well imitated by secular princes. At the death of a bishop or abbot, he drew up an inventory of the property of the vacant church or monastery, settled, according to his own notions, the proportion that should suffice for the maintenance of the clergy or monks, made over the balance to his own estate, and placed it in the care of his farmers. This usurpation, afterward known as the *regale*, was a source of much trouble to the Church. William found it wonderfully fitted to answer his grasping aims, and began to put it into practice at the death of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. The extensive possessions of the see lapsed to the royal exchequer; and William managed to prolong the profitable vacancy for a period of four years. The monasteries dependent upon the Church were disturbed by the royal farmers, rude and covetous men, who heaped exactions and outrages upon the religious, until they were forced to quit their holy sanctuaries, the abodes of prayer, now changed into *dens of thieves*. The exorbitant taxes laid upon the subjects of the Church reduced them to such a state of want, says a contemporary writer, "that they had nothing now left to lose but life."

and at the price of much blood. I have been too hard to the needy; I have tried both the nobles and the people by unjust exactions. Since, then, I have held this kingdom by so many sins, I dare not bequeath it to any one, except to God alone, lest after my death greater evils befall it on my account. Yet, if it so please God, I hope that it may fall to my son William, who has always been obedient to me in all things, and that he may prosper in his rule."

6. The most virtuous of the nobles were, meanwhile, endeavoring to bring the mind of the king to thoughts more worthy of a Christian ruler. St. Anselm, abbot of Bec, had lately come to England for the purpose of establishing a house of his order in the county of Chester. The illustrious teacher, born at Aoste, in Savoy, in the year 1033, had been a disciple of Lanfranc. He soon equalled his master's learning, and his reputation was known throughout the Catholic world. His arrival in England was a public event; it was mentioned in the royal presence. "We know no man equal in holiness to the Abbot of Bec," said one of the nobles; "he loves only God, and desires nothing in this world." "Indeed!" exclaimed the king in a tone of raillery; "not even the archbishopric of Canterbury?" "That is surely the last of his wishes," was the reply. "And I will answer for it," rejoined the king, "that he would take hold of it with both hands if it were offered him. But by the Holy Rood of Lucca!* neither he nor any other man shall sit in that see while I live." William failed to keep his sacrilegious oath. Finding himself in danger from a violent illness, the king sent for St. Anselm, made a sincere confession of all his sins, and promised to repair all his acts of injustice. This favorable state of mind afforded a desired opportunity, and the king was urged to name at once an incumbent for the see of Canterbury. William consented, and uttered the name of Anselm. The humble abbot paled with dismay, and resisted all the efforts of those who wished to present him to the king for the investiture. The bishops entreated him to consent. "You see to what a wretched state the Church is reduced in England. You alone can raise it up, and yet you refuse!" Anselm was unyielding. All those present besought him upon their knees; the king himself called out, with his failing voice: "Anselm, why will you doom me to hell? I know that I must lose my soul if I keep

* The *Sanctus Vultus de Lucca* was a crucifix in the cathedral of Lucca, held in great veneration at this period.

this see!" The saint still held out. At length the bishops forcibly drew him to the royal couch. William presented the crozier; but Anselm would not open his hand; the bishops did that office for him. He was proclaimed archbishop of Canterbury. As soon as he found himself at liberty, Anselm drew near to the royal patient. "My lord," said he, "I assure you that you will recover from this illness. I entreat you, therefore, to annul all that has just been done, for I have not agreed to it, and never shall." Notwithstanding his protestations, the bishops took him in solemn procession to Canterbury (A. D. 1093). "What are you doing?" exclaimed the weeping prelate. "You are joining in the same yoke an untamed bull and a weak and powerless lamb. The bull will tear the lamb in pieces; and when the king pours out the vials of his wrath upon me, not one of you will dare resist him."

7. The prophecy was not long unfulfilled. "If I must receive the see of Canterbury," said Anselm to the king, "it is fitting that you should know what I shall require of you. I demand that you restore the lands held by the see in the time of Lanfranc I likewise warn you that I acknowledge the authority of Pope Urban II., to which you have heretofore refused obedience. Let me know your views on these two points." William promised to give him full satisfaction in these important questions; and Anselm, yielding at last to the general wish, received the episcopal consecration (December 4, A. D. 1093). The good understanding between the king and the prelate was short-lived. St. Anselm made known his intention of going to receive the pallium from the hands of the Pope. "What Pope do you mean?" asked the king. "Pope Urban II.," answered the primate. "I have not yet decided between the authority of Urban and Clement," returned the king. "I shall not allow any Pope to be acknowledged in England without my leave; whoever dares to dispute my will in this, shall be deemed guilty of high treason." A council was convoked at Rockingham (1095), to examine the question

of the two authorities. A number of venal bishops pressed St. Anselm to forsake the cause of Urban II., to regain the royal favor. "In spiritual matters," replied the dauntless Anselm, "I shall obey the Vicar of St. Peter, and it is to Urban II. the title lawfully belongs. As to the temporal power of my lord the king, I shall be ever ready to give him help and counsel to the best of my ability." William, in a fit of ungovernable rage, required the bishops to bind themselves by oath never to hold further communication with Anselm. The intimidated prelates made the required promise. "And I," then exclaimed the archbishop, "shall always look upon you as my brethren, and as children of the church of Canterbury; and I shall make every effort to withdraw you from your error." When the great lords of the realm were called upon to renounce obedience to Anselm, they replied: "We are not his vassals, and he has thus no temporal authority over us; but he is our archbishop, and, as Christians, we shall remain subject to him." William had, meanwhile, secretly sent two clerics to Rome, who were to acquaint him with the state of the public opinion there, that he might know the motives for deciding the question of obedience. The envoys found no trouble in convincing themselves that Urban II. was the lawful Pope. They acknowledged his authority, and the Sovereign Pontiff sent back with them, as Apostolic legate, Walter, bishop of Albano, to whom was intrusted the pallium for the archbishop of Canterbury. The legate wisely managed to win the king's good graces, and an order was published throughout the kingdom that Urban II. should be recognized as Sovereign Pontiff. The king hoped thereby to win the legate's favor and obtain the deposition of St. Anselm. He even offered, for the same end, to send a large sum of money to help the Pope in his difficulty with Guibert. But Walter was not to be bribed. He moreover offered his mediation to effect a solemn reconciliation between the archbishop and the king. William demanded that Anselm should at least consent to receive the pallium at his hands. "The pallium," said the

prelate, "is not a gift from the king, but a favor of the Holy See; I can receive it only from the representative of the Pope himself." William was obliged to abandon this ground also; the pallium was presented by the legate, and the king felt bound to restore the holy prelate to favor. Again the plighted faith of royalty was falsely forfeited. William, in order to purchase the duchy of Normandy, which his brother Robert offered for sale, as he was about to start on a Crusade, levied exorbitant taxes upon all the churches of his kingdom. He plundered their property, carried off their silver, melted down the shrines of the saints and even the silver gospel-stands. St. Anselm, hopeless of overcoming single-handed the king's all-grasping cupidity, announced his intention of going to Rome to consult the Pope. On learning this determination, the monarch sent him this message: "When you were reconciled to the king at Rockingham, you promised to observe the laws and customs of the kingdom. Now it is directly contrary to these laws that an English lord should visit Rome without the royal permission." "God forbid," answered the archbishop, "that a Christian should follow laws or customs contrary to the divine laws. You say that it is against the custom of England that I should go to consult the Vicar of St. Peter, for the good of my soul and the government of my Church; and I declare to you that that custom is opposed to the law of God and to right reason. Every Christian must consider it of no force." The king was once more compelled to yield. In a last interview the archbishop gave him his blessing, and they parted never to meet again. St. Anselm passed through France, visited St. Hugh at Cluny, and was everywhere met with the honors due to virtuous worth.

8. While St. Anselm displayed his episcopal energy in the struggle with the king of England, he also attached his name to a religious contest which awaked all the echoes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The dispute between *nominalism* and *realism* was just blazing out, with all the vehemence of that age in its scholastic disputations. Roscelin, a native of Brittany,

and regular canon of Compiègne, drew public attention to that question of speculative philosophy, which would at present be deemed idle and indifferent; but which, at that period, occupied all minds and aroused the schools. Under the name of *universals* were then signified the general ideas of species, genus, and relations. Roscelin held that those general ideas had no substantial reality; that genus, species, and relation were merely terms showing certain modifications of being, but not distinct beings or realities; his followers were called *Nominalists.* Roscelin's opponents, on the other hand, maintained that generic or *universal* terms really represent distinct existences and true realities. The war was waged with equal heat on both sides. It is not our intention to follow up the successive phases of the question, or to analyze the many works in which these philosophical abstractions were discussed with a degree of learning and depth of thought that astonish us at the present day. This dispute would probably never have crossed the threshold of the schools, had not the warmth of the struggle carried Roscelin upon the ground of theology, where he fell into an open heresy. In his denial of the reality of general ideas or *universals,* he affirmed that every individual has a substantial and distinct existence. Applying this reasoning to the mystery of the Holy Trinity, he maintained that the three divine Persons possess a real, individual existence, independent of one another. This was radically destroying the mystery, and, by the admission of three Gods, substituted a Christian paganism in the place of the old heathen idolatry. The Church then found it necessary to interfere in a debate which so openly impugned the Catholic dogma. In 1092, Roscelin was solemnly condemned by the Council of Soissons. He seemed, at first, to submit in good faith, and signed a full recantation of his errors; but this was a mere feint. Taking refuge in England, he began to dogmatize with new energy.

9. But God raised up a champion for the truth, in the person of St. Anselm. The illustrious Archbishop of Canterbury undertook the thorough refutation of Roscelin's system.

Choosing a higher ground of debate, he drew the line at which reason must stop in matters of faith, and thus linked his train of argument with the traditions of Boetius and Symmachus, the last representatives of that high Christian philosophy whose sound doctrines seemed almost forgotten. In his estimation the Nominalists are but proud sectaries, who aim at enthroning reason upon the ruins of theology and faith. His tracts on Faith, on the Trinity, and on the Incarnation display the Catholic belief against the false teachings of Roscelin. He always subjects reason to faith; and the consummate skill with which he handles the teachings of the Fathers of the Church—of St. Augustine, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria—on this subject, brings him before us as their eloquent fellow-worker in the eleventh century. He seems to us to sum up, with clearness and precision, the true doctrine on the alliance of reason and faith in the expression, that "though, on the one hand, faith must go before proof in the mysteries of Christianity, yet, on the other, we should be guilty of criminal carelessness if, when once confirmed in faith, we did not apply our reason to understand what forms the object of our faith." St. Anselm had already put these lessons into practice in his two celebrated works entitled *Monologium* and *Proslogium*. By the sole light of reason, and leaning only upon philosophical proofs, he reaches the truth of the existence of one only God, sovereignly perfect, Creator, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Whom the rational soul is created to know and to love, being made to His image. These questions, the most difficult within the province of theology and philosophy, are treated by St. Anselm with an accuracy, a precision, a clearness which fit him for an honorable rank not only among the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, but even among the deepest metaphysicians.

10. But now the cry, *God wills it!* bursting forth from the lips of thousands, resounds throughout all Christendom, controls every interest, every passion, arouses the entire West, and throws it, all armed, upon the plains of Asia, into the fields

of Palestine, around the tomb of the Redeemer. The day of the Crusades has come. For two centuries (A. D. 1095–1270) we may now gaze upon the wonderful spectacle of a whole world, a whole civilization led on by an impulse of faith to distant warfare. It has been asked whether the Crusades were either justifiable or beneficial. Some writers of the eighteenth century have answered both questions in the negative. "The Crusades," they say, "were but the outbreak of fanaticism and superstition; an unprovoked aggression upon a harmless race. Their result was the ruin of the Western nations and a long train of fearful evils." History has since entered upon a truer system. In proportion as the spirit of the middle-ages has been more deeply and carefully studied, unfriendly judgments, the biassed appreciation of the philosophic schools, have been recalled. The truth now upheld by every judgment of any worth, is that the Crusades were both just and useful wars. Just—because in the middle-ages Christian society was like one vast family, composed of indiqidually responsible members. Islamism, marching on from victory to victory, now stood at the very gates of Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius Comnenus, holding somewhat the post of advanced-guard to the Christian world, gave the cry of alarm to threatened Europe. His letters to Urban II. were read in the Council of Placenza. The memory of Moorish invasion, of Saracen inroad were still fresh in the hearts of Spain and Italy; there was no need to go back to the days of Abderahman to find the sons of the Prophet assailing the followers of Jesus Christ. The Crusades were the reaction of the Catholicity of the West against the multiplied, ceaseless, simultaneous assaults of Islam. All Europe became the ally of Constantinople; the Crusaders were the soldiers of civilization; they won its triumph on the battle-fields of Asia. Their noble efforts saved the West from the shameful yoke of Mahomet—the degradation of woman. the abolition of family ties, inertness, stagnation, and effeminacy reduced to a system. This general view would alone justify the Crusades; but proofs

without number are furnished by the happy results they produced throughout Europe. The immense movement to which they gave rise, put a stop to the tyranny of rulers. The warrior spirit, that remnant of barbarism, which nothing could tame in the hearts of the European nations—proof against all the efforts of the Church, against which the Truce of God was but a weak palliative—found vent in these holy wars, where the blood of heroes was poured out upon a soil watered by the blood of Jesus Christ. The Crusades turned these warlike instincts against enemies who were themselves usurpers, and who had, for five hundred years, persecuted a people justly looked upon by our ancestors as their brothers. This system of solidarity, binding together all Catholic nations from the farthest parts of the world by the principles of a common faith, would, it seems to us, bear comparison at least with the more recent coalition which, under the safeguard of ever-shifting political principles, constitutes what is called in Europe the *balance of power*.

11. A poor monk of Amiens, a man wasted by the austerities of penance, always barefooted and clothed in a brown woollen tunic, Peter the Hermit, has left his name to posterity in connection with the great convulsion of the day. He had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem; he had seen the mosque raised by the children of the Prophet upon the spot once hallowed by the temple of Solomon; he had felt his heart burn with generous indignation as he saw the Saviour's sepulchre profaned by the emir's stables. God had given to Peter one of those burning souls whose words are fiery darts. When he left the Holy City, bearing letters from the Patriarch Simeon for Urban II., he promised the venerable pontiff to send him an army of defenders. He kept his words. The Pope had already received from Alexius Comnenus the most pressing calls for help; he convoked a council for the 18th of November, A. D. 1095, to meet at Clermont, in Auvergne. Fourteen archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five bishops, ninety abbots, the ambassadors of nearly every Christian ruler, with a count-

less throng of nobles and men-at-arms, answered the Pontiff's call. No church was able to hold the vast assemblage. A throne was raised in the midst of the public square of Clermont; Urban II. was seated upon it, surrounded by his cardinals. Himself a son of France, the Pope trusted for the success of the great undertaking in the devotedness and gallantry of the French nation. A thrill of enthusiasm passed through the assembled multitude when they saw at the Pontiff's side the wan but expressive countenance of Peter the Hermit, with his woollen cloak and pilgrim's staff. The eloquent solitary was the first to speak. He told the profanations and sacrileges he had witnessed; the persecutions inflicted upon the Christian pilgrims at Jerusalem, by the *children of Hagar*. "I have seen Christians," he exclaimed, "heavily ironed, dragged into slavery, put to the yoke like beasts of burden! I have seen the oppressors of Jerusalem selling to the children of Christ the privilege of venerating from afar the tomb of their Lord; disputing with them the bread of wretchedness, and torturing poverty itself to wring a tribute from it! I have seen the ministers of the Most High dragged from the sanctuary, beaten with rods, and doomed to an ignominious death!" As he recalled the woes of Sion and the outrages done to the Christian name, Peter's countenance was sad and dejected, his voice was choked with sobs, his deep emotion touched every heart. When he had ceased to speak, Urban arose and addressed the multitude: "Warriors and chiefs who hear my voice, you who always seek vain pretexts for war, rejoice, for here is a lawful war. The hour has come to make atonement for so many deeds of violence committed in the midst of peace, so many victories marred by injustice. Turn against the enemies of the Christian name the arms you unjustly use against one another. You who have so often been the terror of your fellow-citizens, and who, for a paltry price, disgraced your arms to minister to the passions of others, now, armed with the sword of the Machabees, go forth to defend the house of Israel. Soldiers of hell, be now the champions of God! You are not now to revenge

the wrongs of men, but those of the Lord of Hosts! If you triumph, the blessings of Heaven and the kingdoms of Asia will be yours; if you fall, you will have the consolation of expiring upon the soil dyed by your Saviour's blood: and God will not forget that you have fallen in the ranks of His holy war. We shall have under Our own care and under the protection of St. Peter and St. Paul all who enter upon this noble undertaking; We command that in their absence their families and property be scrupulously respected. Soldiers of the living God! let no unmanly tenderness, no unhallowed sentiment bind you to your homes! Listen but to the groans of captive Sion; break all earthly ties, remember the words of the Lord: 'Every one that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold and shall possess life everlasting.'" At these words of the Sovereign Pontiff, the whole vast multitude arose by a simultaneous impulse, and with one voice exclaimed: "God wills it! God wills it!" (*Diex el volt!*) Three times the enthusiastic cry broke forth from those thousands of hearts, and was borne far away upon the breeze, with lengthened echoes from the hills around. The Pope, raising his eyes to heaven, motioned for silence: "May these words, *God wills it*," he exclaimed, "ever be your battle-cry, and everywhere announce the presence of the God of armies. Let the cross be the standard of your pilgrimage, borne upon your shoulder or your breast; let it shine upon your arms and on your standards; it will be for you the harbinger of victory or the palm of martyrdom; it will ever remind you that you should die for Jesus Christ where He died for you."

12. The impulse was given: princes and serfs, lords and armed retainers, all took the cross. "They had all a long list of crimes to atone for," says Montesquieu; "an opportunity was given them of making the atonement with arms in their hands, and they accordingly took the cross and the sword." Robbers and brigands came forth from their hidden dens, confessed their misdeeds, and promised to expiate them in Palestine, un-

der the banner of the cross.* In the first glow of enthusiasm, numerous bands set out, led by Peter the Hermit in person, by Walter the Pennyless, a valiant but needy Burgundian knight, and followed by Godescalc, a German priest. But, victims of their own undisciplined ardor, they never reached the land they sought, but left their bones to whiten on the soil of Hungary and Bulgaria. The real and effective Crusade was organized in various divisions, under the most renowned and noble knights of Christendom: Hugh the Great, count of Vermandois and brother of Philip I.; Godfrey de Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, with his brothers Baldwin and Eustace (Godfrey was soon to blot out, by his valor and piety in the fields of Asia, the errors of a youth devoted to the unholy cause of Henry IV.); Robert, duke of Normandy, brother of William Rufus; Raymond, count of Toulouse, who had already measured weapons with the Moors in Spain; Bohemond, prince of Tarentum and son of the great Robert Guiscard, with his nephew the chivalric Tancred; Robert II., count of Flanders, since known as the Jerosolimite; Stephen, count of Chartres and of Blois, and a host of other noble and knightly characters of the day. Adhemar de Monteil, bishop of Puy, the pious author of the *Salve Regina*, accompanied the expedition as Papal legate and spiritual chief of the whole army. "The Latins opened their gates," says an Armenian chronicler, "and unnumbered hosts poured out of the West." Six hundred thousand Crusaders were marshalled under the walls of Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius trembled at the sight of this deluge of defenders. "If any one would know the number of the Crusaders," says Anne Comnena, who had constituted herself her father's historiographer, "let him go count the sands of the seashore, the stars in the heavens, the leaves and flowers that shoot in the spring. I dare not undertake the list of their leaders," adds the disdainful daughter of the Cæsars; "the barbarous names of the Franks would disfigure my page." The Christian army was encamped in a magnifi-

* MICHAUD, *Histoire des Croisades.*

cent valley on the right bank of the Bosphorus, where the passing stranger still looks with respect upon a noble plane-tree, bearing the name of Godfrey de Bouillon. Their squadrons covered the vast plain to the northeast of Constantinople. The flower of Europe's chivalry was there with its dauntless valor and love of conquest. The fiery spirit of the Crusaders was more than once aroused by the fickleness, the exactions, and the Greek duplicity of Alexius. The thought of founding a Latin empire at Constantinople, as the bulwark of Christianity against the Unbelievers, was indeed harbored by some of the chiefs; but the spirit of moderation triumphed, and the army marched toward Bithynia, rallying on its way the shattered remains of Peter the Hermit's ill-fated expedition. Nice and Antioch, in Pisidia, were carried by storm and given back to Alexius. The Sultan Kilidge-Arslan, of the race of Seljuk, awaited the Christian host in the plains of Dorylæum, at the head of three hundred thousand men. Bohemond, Tancred, and Duke Robert of Normandy first reached the grounds, and struggled for half a day with this swarm of infidels. The fate of war was still wavering, when the bright lances of the rear-guard, under Godfrey de Bouillon, shone upon the heights of Dorylæum. The sultan was driven from the field, leaving behind him twenty thousand of his dead (June 25, A. D. 1097). The victory of Dorylæum opened to the Latins the gates of the East. Baldwin of Flanders is proclaimed king of captured Edessa, and a French knight thus rules the richest provinces of the ancient Assyrian monarchy. After a siege of eight months, the Christian standard floats over the walls of wealthy Antioch, where a miraculous discovery reveals the sacred lance which pierced the heart of Jesus crucified. The precious relic is thenceforth borne at the head of the Christian columns, a new pledge of victory. The joy of their triumph was soon changed to mourning; the plague snatched away from them the holy Bishop of Puy, the legate Adhemar. In communicating the sad intelligence to the Sovereign Pontiff, the Crusaders add: "In Antioch the Christian

name was born; there St. Peter first established the Apostolic chair. You are St. Peter's successor; come and sit upon his chair to wage a peaceful war; for we have overcome the Turks and heathens; but the Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Jacobites we could not bring back to unity. Hence we entreat you to come and be our leader. You will find us true and obedient children; yours will be the glory of extinguishing every heresy, and thus uniting the whole world under your obedience." Bohemond of Tarentum was named king of the newly-conquered territory; and the Crusaders marched on toward Jerusalem. The Christian ranks, drained by the garrisons left at Edessa and Antioch, by the many bloody battles already fought, by desertion, by exhaustion and want, by plague and famine, numbered altogether fifty thousand men; but they were the flower of Christian chivalry, led by Godfrey de Bouillon, and marching to the rescue of Jerusalem!

13. As they crested the last height that hid the Holy City from their view, the foremost ranks sent up the joyful cry: "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" The sacred name flew fast from rank to rank, and soon filled the valley, from which the rear-guard had not yet emerged. The whole band of hardy warriors, tried in many a well-fought field, prostrate upon the sacred soil, burst into tears. "O good Jesus!" exclaims the monk Robert, an eye-witness, "when Thy warriors beheld the walls of that earthly Jerusalem, what floods of tears flowed from their eyes! They bowed their foreheads to the dust Thy sacred feet had pressed. Then rising together, they cried with one voice: 'God wills it! God wills it!' and renewed the oft-repeated oath to free Jerusalem." The army drew near to the walls of Sion, barefooted, and chanting the words of Isaias: "*Leva in circuitu oculos tuos, et vide: omnes isti congregati sunt, venerunt tibi.*" The city was invested. On the north is a level plain covered by a grove of olives: here Godfrey de Bouillon, Robert of Normandy, and Robert of Flanders pitched their tents. The camp stretched from the cave of Jeremias to the sepulchres of the kings. Tancred's standard was displayed on

the right of Godfrey and the two Roberts. Next to Tancred was Raymond, count of Toulouse, opposite the western gate. As this position was unfavorable for active coöperation in the siege, he moved part of his camp to the south of the city, on Mount Sion. This disposition of the Christian army left two sides of the city free: the south, defended by the valley of Gihon or Siloe; the east, by the valley of Jehoshaphat. The Holy City was thus but half invested by the Crusaders; though a camp of observation occupied the Mount of Olives to watch the unthreatened quarters. Jerusalem was defended by an Egyptian garrison of forty thousand men; twenty thousand of the inhabitants had also taken up arms. The besiegers were therefore inferior in numbers. They were without the necessary apparatus for scaling the walls; they could not hope to reduce, by famine, a city which they were obliged to leave open in two directions, upon a fruitful country. Moreover, the burning heats of summer were just beginning when the Crusaders reached Jerusalem. The torrent of Cedron was dried up; all the neighboring wells were either destroyed or poisoned. The spring of Siloe, flowing only at intervals, could not supply the whole army. Under a burning sky, in the midst of a scorched, unwatered plain, the Christian army was doomed to suffer all the horrors of thirst. Their courage was failing fast; the most fervent, longing now for death, crept near to the city, reverently kissed the stones of its walls, and with tears exclaimed: "O Jerusalem! receive our last sigh! Let thy walls fall upon us, and may thy sacred dust cover our bones!" The opportune arrival at the port of Joppa, of a Genoese fleet, loaded with a full supply of stores and provisions, restored the drooping spirits of the Christians. A corps of Genoese engineers and carpenters, under the able direction of Gaston of Béarn, converted the grove of olive-trees about the camp into military engines and rolling towers of equal height with the ramparts, and furnished with drawbridges which could be lowered at will upon the walls. When all was ready, a general assault was ordered for the 14th of

July, A. D. 1099. At early dawn the Christian host was all in motion. The moving towers bore down upon the walls. Upon the topmost platform of his own stood Godfrey de Bouillon, accompanied by his brother Eustace, and cheering his followers by word and example. "Every dart from his hand," say the chroniclers, "carried death into the ranks of the Unbelievers." Raymond, Tancred, and both Roberts, appeared at the head of their respective bands. All were urged on by the same power, all burned to plant the cross upon the walls of Jerusalem. The storming lasted twelve whole hours, till night came down to part the combatants. Returning day brought back the same struggles, the same dangers. The first shock was fearful. The Christians, maddened by the resistance they had met the day before, fought with desperate fury. The Mussulmans, from the towers and rampart heights, threw down flaming torches and Greek fire upon the assailants. Conspicuous upon his moving castle, over which towered a large cross as a battle-flag, Godfrey dealt death and havoc upon the Moslem ranks, by the unsparing vehemence of his charges. At the sight of the cross, which seemed to bid them defiance, the Mussulmans turned all their rage against the Duke of Lorraine, and trained upon his tower all the darts and flaming projectiles which their formidable engines belched forth in uninterrupted succession. Cool and undaunted in the midst of the danger, surrounded by a heap of dead and dying, with his esquire and most of his body-guard already stretched lifeless at his feet, the hero still calmly gave his orders and encouraged his men by example, voice, and gesture. But yet the Christians were repulsed; the unquenchable flames of the Greek fire inwrapped their military engines, and, embracing the steel-clad warriors, devoured even their shields and corselets. It was three o'clock, the sacred hour at which the Redeemer died upon the Cross. Suddenly, the report flies through the army that the holy Bishop Adhemar, and several Crusaders who had fallen since the siege, have just appeared at the head of the army and planted the standard of the cross on the walls of Jerusalem.

St. George has come down to do battle with the warriors of Christ. The Crusaders, fired with a new spirit, return to the charge. Godfrey's tower rolls on, amid a storm of stones, darts, fiery missiles, and lowers its bridge upon the wall, while the Christians shoot their burning darts upon the engines of the enemy, into the bales of straw and cotton which protect the inner walls of the city. The wind fans the flame and drives it upon the Infidels. Stifled by the flames and smoke, they fall back before the swords and lances of the advancing Crusaders. Godfrey, pressing close behind the two brothers Lethald and Engelbert of Tournay, followed by Baldwin du Bourg and by his brother Eustace, breaks the Moslem lines and drives them before him into the streets of Jerusalem. Tancred and the two Roberts are close behind. The gate of St. Stephen is broken down by the heavy battle-axes of the Christians; the Holy City is rescued and resounds with the cry of victory: "God wills it! God wills it!" The Crusaders, as they met in Jerusalem, embraced with tears of joy. They pursued the flying Mussulmans into the mosque of Omar, which stood upon the site of the temple. "In the temple and under the porch of the mosque," says Raymund of Agiles, an eye-witness, "they waded in blood up to their knees and to their horses' bridles." The piety of Godfrey had withheld him from the carnage since he had set his foot within the streets of Jerusalem. Leaving his fellow-soldiers at their work of blood, followed only by three attendants, he went, unarmed and barefooted, to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. This act of devotion was soon whispered through the Christian army, and instantly stayed every thirsty blade, every vengeful arm; the Crusaders put off their bloody garments, and, led by Peter the Hermit, they marched together, barefooted and with uncovered heads, to the church of the Resurrection, filling the air with the sound of their weeping. The din of arms had ceased; silence reigned throughout the streets and on the ramparts; the only sound now heard in the Holy City was the chant of the penitential psalms, or the glad invitation of Isaiah: "*Lætamini cum Jeru-*

salem, et exultate in ea omnes qui diligitis eam; gaudete cum ea gaudio, universi qui lugetis super eam."* The brave Crusaders, who had entered Jerusalem as soldiers, were now changed into pilgrims. The true cross, once carried off by Chosroes, and restored by Heraclius, was exposed to their veneration. "*De ceste chose*," says the quaint old chronicle, "*furent les chrestiens si joyeux, comme s'ils eussent veu le corps de Jesus-Christ pendu dessus icelle.*"† The sacred relic was borne in triumphal procession through the streets of Jerusalem, and then solemnly replaced in the church of the Resurrection. Ten days later, the unanimous voice of the Christian army named Godfrey de Bouillon king of Jerusalem. They carried him in triumph to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where he pledged himself by oath to respect the laws of honor and justice. When they would have invested him with the diadem and royal insignia, the Christian hero put them aside with the words: "Never will I wear a golden crown, in the city where the Saviour of the world was crowned with thorns;" and the founder of the kingdom of Jerusalem contented himself with the modest title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. The conquest was organized, and the new realm divided into the counties of Tiberias, Tripoli, Galilee, Joppa, Tyre, Cæsarea, Beyroot, and Heraclea. That precious monument of feudal jurisprudence, the ASSIZE OF JERUSALEM, reduced to a system the administration of the new Christian kingdom, by fashioning it upon the model of the feudal system of the European nations.

14. The successful issue of the first Crusade threw the whole of Christendom into a transport of enthusiastic joy. The happy tidings reached Europe a few days after the death of Urban II. (July 29, A. D. 1092), who was thus denied the happiness of witnessing the realization of his highest and dearest wish. The pious and zealous Pontiff had held two more coun-

* Rejoice with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, all you that love her; rejoice for joy with her, all you that mourn for her.—*Isaias*, lxvi. 10.

† "At this sight, the Christians were as much moved as if they had seen the body of Jesus Christ hanging upon the same cross."

cils: one at Bari (1097), in which St. Anselm eloquently proved the procession of the Holy Ghost, against the Greek envoys of Alexius Comnenus; another at Rome (1098), which confirmed the decrees of Clermont. Rome extended to the saintly prelate of Canterbury a hospitality worthy of his merit and virtue. Urban II. would have him lodge in the Pontifical palace, and intended to become the mediator of reconciliation between Anselm and the King of England. Death, however, thwarted his charitable design. Urban II. was an illustrious Pontiff. By carrying out, in the Crusades, one of the greatest designs of St. Gregory VII., he has won a claim to undying glory from all posterity. "They who see in the Crusades," says M. de Châteaubriand, "only a band of armed pilgrims going to rescue a tomb in Palestine, take a very narrow view of history; the point at issue was not only to rescue that sacred tomb, but to decide which of two powers should thenceforth rule the world—a creed hostile to civilization, systematically favorable to ignorance, despotism, and slavery; or a faith which has revived among modern nations the genius of learned antiquity, and abolished servitude."* While these knightly expeditions opened the way for warlike souls to deeds of glory and renown, pious retreats were also provided for the hearts led on by special grace to a life of holy solitude. St. Robert, abbot of Molesme, founded the celebrated monastery of Citeaux, with twenty-eight religious, who were resolved, like himself, to follow the rule of St. Benedict in all its primitive rigor. The work was perfected by the wise regulations of his successor, Blessed Alberic. The religious of Citeaux were called *white friars*, from the color of their habit, in contradistinction to the *black friars* of Cluny. The diocese of Rennes was at the same period enriched by the foundation of two monasteries, respectively of men and women, in the desert of Fontevrault, on the confines of Anjou and Poitou. The rule of Fontevrault presents the peculiar feature that since

* *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem.*

the death of its founder, Blessed Robert of Arbrissel, the general direction of both monasteries has always remained in the hands of an abbess

§ II. Pontificate of Paschal II. (August 13, 1099—January 18, 1118).

15. The Pontificate of Paschal II. opens the twelfth century amid the difficulties raised by the question of investitures between the Papacy and the empire. The antipope Guibert, with a small number of obstinate partisans, still held out in his schism at Albano. After the election of Paschal II. he was expelled even from that last asylum, and died, a lonely fugitive, at Citta di Castello (A. D. 1100), twenty-three years from the time when he first raised the standard of revolt against St. Gregory VII. Still the death of Guibert did not at once give back peace to the Church. The schismatical faction gave him a successor, Albert, who fell into the hands of the Catholics on the very day of his election, and was sent to expiate his ambitious pretensions in the castle of St. Lawrence. Theodoric, who was chosen to fill his place, met the same fate three years after, and was confined in the monastery of Lara. The third Henrician usurper, a cleric named Maginulf, who assumed the title of Sylvester IV., was driven in disgrace from Rome, and died in exile, in a state of the deepest misery.

16. William Rufus, king of England, had in the mean time died without issue. An arrow, winged by some careless hand in a hunt at Winchester, suddenly ended both his reign and his life. By right of lawful succession, the throne belonged to Robert, duke of Normandy, brother of the late monarch. But Robert was absent in the Holy Land. Henry,* the youngest of the conqueror's sons, seized the occasion of making himself an inheritance. He bought over the leading English nobles, and fixed the crown firmly upon his own head. His first acts

* Henry's cunning and sagacity had gained him the surname of Beau-Clerc.

filled the Catholics with cheering hopes. He recalled St. Anselm, promised to follow his counsels, and, at the suggestion of the holy archbishop, married the Princess Matilda, daughter of the royal saints of Scotland, Malcolm and Margaret. He restored the immunities of the Church and swore not to sell vacant benefices. Yet all this fair opening was but the manœuvering of a skilful politician. Henry needed the influence of Anselm to strengthen his new-born power. As soon as he felt strong enough to work without the prelate's help, he demanded to be restored to all the rights exercised by William Rufus, and the power of conferring investitures by the ring and crosier. St. Anselm met the demand with a generous refusal, and once more trod the path of exile. After the archbishop's departure, Henry seized all the revenues of the see for the benefit of the royal treasury. Pope Paschal II. came forward in defence of persecuted virtue. "Your claims," he wrote to the English king, "cannot be acknowledged by the Catholic Church. Remember the words spoken by St. Ambrose to Theodosius the Great: 'Do not deceive yourself, great prince, by believing that the royal dignity gives you any power in spiritual matters. The palace is the emperor's; the church, the bishop's.' Think not that We would in the smallest degree lessen your authority, or take to Ourself any new power in the promotion of bishops. You cannot, before God, exercise that right, nor could We grant it you without jeoparding both your salvation and Our own." The king sent two deputies to Rome, to obtain from the Pope a confirmation of his right of investiture. They were received by Paschal immediately upon their arrival in the Eternal City. One of the envoys, carried away by the warmth of the discussion, so far forgot himself as to exclaim: "Whatever reasons may be alleged, I warn you all here present that the king, my master, will not brook the loss of this right, though it cost him his kingdom." "And I assure you," replied the Sovereign Pontiff, "that Pope Paschal will never allow him to hold the abusive right, though it cost him his life!" However, the king yielded to milder counsels and was reconciled to

St. Anselm. The meeting between the proscribed prelate and the king took place at the abbey of Bec, where Anselm had come, amid the memories of his glorious youth, to rest from the fatigues of his toilsome career. Henry contented himself with a right to the homage of bishops-elect, and gave up the claim to invest with the ring and crosier. This agreement was sanctioned in the Council of London (A. D. 1107). St. Anselm died two years afterward (1109), bequeathing to the see of Canterbury an illustrious example of episcopal firmness, which was not lost upon his successors. While nobly battling for the discipline and rights of the Church, he had the glory of restoring Christian philosophy and inaugurating scholastic theology. At his death, he left England at peace with the Church. France, under the rule of Louis VI., lately raised by Philip I. to a share in the throne, was forgetting the scandals of the late reign, and drawing closer the ties which bound her to the Holy See.

17. Italy and Germany were still kept in a state of disorder by the schismatical attempts of Henry IV., whose days seemed lengthened only to multiply strife and discord. The hand of God was beginning to weigh upon his head; yet neither reverses, nor calamities, nor domestic griefs, nor the woes of a whole nation could bend his stubborn will. His eldest son, Conrad, was dead (A. D. 1101); Henry, the youngest, whom he had caused to be crowned king at Mentz (1102), declared at once against his father and the schism. "I intend," he said, "to acknowledge the authority of the lawful Pope, Paschal II." The whole of Saxony flocked to his standard. That wretched province, so often torn by the cruelty and ambition of Henry IV., eagerly seized every opportunity of winning back freedom and independence. In a council held at Northus (1105) the Saxon nobles and bishops swore to support the young king and to be faithful to Pope Paschal II. The youthful monarch several times appeared in the council, with a display of modesty, delicacy of feeling, and propriety which won all hearts. Any allusion to his struggle with his father brought tears to his

eyes. "I call God to witness," said the prince, "that no motive of ambition could have induced me to seize the power. I could not, without weeping, harbor the thought, so painful to the heart of a son, that my lord and father must be deposed from the royal dignity. I have ever grieved at his contumacy and stubbornness, and if he will but submit to St. Peter and his successors, I am ready to obey him as the least of his subjects." Such sentiments did honor to the young prince, and commanded universal sympathy. When contrasted with the deeds of violence which Henry V., when once securely seated on the throne, did not hesitate to inflict upon the sacred person of the Sovereign Pontiff, their sincerity is at least questionable. Still it may be that a youthful heart is warmed by a generous, noble, lofty impulse which the poisoned breath of flattery, the blighting atmosphere of ambition and interest speedily wither and destroy. Be this as it may, the Council of Northus gave to Henry V. many devoted partisans. The two rivals—the father and son—shortly afterward met on the banks of the Danube, near Ratisbon. Desertion weakened the ranks of Henry IV., who escaped with difficulty, attended by a few faithful followers. A general diet of all Germany was called at Mentz, to end the contest by a final sentence.

18. Henry IV. left no means untried to enlist the sympathies of the Catholic world. Notwithstanding the sentence of excommunication weighing upon him, and his notorious connection with the antipopes, Guibert's successors, he still ventured to write to Pope Paschal II., to attempt a reconciliation. "Our own son," writes Henry, "the child of our heart, whom we so loved as to place him upon the throne, has unblushingly raised against us the standard of revolt. We have been urged to act without delay, to meet him in arms; but we prefer to bide the time of vengeance, that no one in Italy or Germany may lay to our charge the blood that may yet be shed. You have prudence and wisdom, charity guides your every act; you long for the unity of the Church and the peace of Europe. We accordingly send you this deputy to ask if you will enter

into a league with us, without prejudice to our dignity and sovereign rights, as exercised by our father, our grandfather, and our other predecessors; while we shall pledge ourself to maintain you in the Apostolic dignity as our predecessors did for yours." These protestations of a thrice-perjured king made no change in the course of events. The general diet of the German States was opened on the appointed day (Christmas, 1105), with the largest attendance witnessed for at least a century past. Richard, bishop of Albano, and Gebhard, bishop of Constance, the Pope's legates, read to the assembled lords the sentence of excommunication "*against Henry the elder, styling himself emperor*," and they declared him "*cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church.*" The excommunicated monarch had been taken at Bingen and carefully guarded in its fortress. He was then removed to Ingelheim, where the leading members of the diet used all their influence to persuade him to relieve the wretched kingdom of Germany by abdicating in favor of his son. Henry IV., seeing no other way to liberation, agreed to every thing that was proposed. He was brought before the diet, and spoke as follows: "I swear that I have willingly and of my own accord resigned the royal power. I desire henceforth to live in retirement, and to attend only to the salvation of my soul." Then throwing himself at the feet of the legate Richard, he begged absolution from all the censures he had incurred. Placing in the hands of his son the badges of royalty—the cross, the lance, the sceptre, the globe and the crown—he said: "I wish you a long life and prosperity. Bishops and lords who hear me for the last time," he added, with streaming eyes, "I recommend to you my son. The old King Henry IV. has no other wish than henceforward to labor in solitude for his eternal salvation, according to the decree of the Pope and the intention of the Holy Church." After these solemn words, the nobles and bishops confirmed the election of Henry V., and proclaimed him sole and only king of Germany. The abolition of investitures was ratified by oath. All simoniacal or schismatical bishops were deposed, and their sees given to Catholic

prelates. Peace seemed once more to smile upon the Church; the great task of St. Gregory VII. seemed at last accomplished.

19. But Henry IV. soon repented his forced abdication. Immediately upon the recovery of his freedom, he withdrew to Liége, which city was devoted to his cause; thence he wrote to the king of France, Louis the Fat, protesting against all the proceedings of the Diet of Mentz. He complained most bitterly of his son and of the Pope. "By the ties of kindred and friendship which bind us," he said in conclusion, "by the common weal of all crowns, I entreat you to avenge the wrong that I have suffered, and not to leave unpunished the example of such foul treason." Henry again took up arms, rallied about him a considerable number of adherents, and prepared to defend himself in Liége. Henry V. meanwhile hurried to attack him, at the head of the royal army; the struggle was on the point of breaking out with renewed fierceness. Henry the elder multiplied his appeals and protestations. He thus exclaims, in a last letter addressed to the bishops and nobles of Germany: "We appeal to Pope Paschal II. By the respect you owe to the Holy Roman Church—for the honor of the Teutonic empire—we entreat you to persuade our son to disband his army, and confer with us upon the best means of restoring peace to the kingdom. Should he persist in his obstinate refusal, we, by these presents, lay our protest before God, the Blessed Virgin, the Blessed Apostle Peter, all the saints in heaven and all the Catholics on earth. We have already appealed, and do now, a third time, appeal again to our lord Paschal, the Roman Pontiff, to the Holy and Universal See, and to the Roman Church." These are remarkable words from such a prince. For forty years had he persecuted the Popes; and now he is reduced to the necessity of appealing, against his own son, to those very Popes, that same Roman Church, whose authority he had so long and so repeatedly set at naught! This letter, this last appeal to the Papacy, was the closing act of a reign which had been the curse of the

Papacy. Henry IV. died suddenly, at Liége, in the fifty-fifth year of his age (August 7, A. D. 1106); he had ascended the throne at the age of six years. Such was the end of the rebellious pupil of St. Gregory VII., the implacable enemy of the Roman Church, the guardian of his youth. He had witnessed the daily growth of the plan he would have crushed; he fell in the struggle from which he thought to come forth victorious The anathema of the Church reached him even in the grave. His remains were denied the honor of Christian burial, and were left for five years inclosed in a stone coffin, outside the walls of the cathedral at Spires. The report of his death was received by the Catholic world as a signal of deliverance. "Not more glad," says Conrad of Usperg, a contemporary writer, "were the rejoicings of the children of Israel, when the cruel Pharaoh was drowned in the waters of the Red Sea."*

20. Still the woes of the Church were not yet at an end. Henry V., who, by his father's death, now held an undisputed sceptre, soon forgot the promises made in his youth. He was intoxicated by the charms of power, and openly declared his intention of claiming the right of investiture. Paschal was preparing to visit Germany, to complete, by his presence, the pacification of that distracted kingdom; but on learning the new dispositions of Henry V., "The gates of Germany are not yet opened," he remarked, and changing his course he passed into France, where the eager multitudes vied with one another in their joyous welcome to the Vicar of Jesus Christ. At St. Denis, the two kings, Philip I. and Louis, his son, met the Sovereign Pontiff, prostrating themselves at his feet. The Pope raised them up, and called on them "to defend the Roman Church against its enemies, in imitation of Charlemagne and the other French kings, their predecessors, and to ward off the sacrilegious attempts of Henry V. of Germany." The Pope

* The violent bearing of Henry IV. toward the Church and the Papacy made so great an impression upon the Catholic world, that the king was generally looked upon as antichrist. The question, "*Is antichrist yet born?*" was solemnly laid before the Council of Florence, held by Paschal II., in 1106. Of course the question was not decided.

had appointed a conference with Henry's ambassadors, at Châlons-sur-Marne. The royal chancellor Albert, the archbishop of Triers, the bishops of Halberstadt and Munster, with a number of German nobles, appeared on behalf of Henry V. The Archbishop of Triers thus explained the claims of his sovereign: "From the time of our predecessors, holy and apostolic men, since the days of St. Gregory the Great, it has always been an acknowledged right of the emperors to confirm the Pontifical elections. If the successful candidate is worthy, he receives from the prince the investiture of the regales,* by the crosier and ring. It is, in fact, only by this title that he can hold cities, castles, revenues and other rights depending upon the imperial dignity." The Bishop of Placenza replied for the Pope: "It would be an outrage upon God and the honor of the Church, that the prince should confer the investiture by the crosier and ring, the badges of spiritual authority. The bishops would profane the holy unction received in ordination, did they submit their hands, consecrated by the body and blood of the Lord, to the hands of laymen, stained by the bloody handling of the sword." These noble words aroused a very storm among the German envoys. "This is not the place," they cried, "to settle the question. We will solve it in Rome, at the point of the sword" (A. D. 1106).

21. This was no idle threat. Henry V. announced his intention of going to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope. After four years of preparation he set out for Italy, at the head of a formidable army. Every city that offered resistance was burned and razed to the ground. The advancing host spread terror and dismay before it, and marked its passage by blood and ruins. Henry spent the Christmas festival (A. D. 1110) in Florence, and thence arranged with the Pope, by letter, the conditions of his coronation. They were as follows: "On the day of his coronation

* What is here meant by *regales*, are the temporal rights and fiefs which derived, as such, from the suzerainty of the king.

Henry shall make a written renunciation of all right of investitures of churches. He shall pledge himself to the Pope by oath, in presence of the clergy and people, to its observance. He shall swear to leave the churches in the peaceful enjoyment of their property. He shall confirm the Holy See in the possession of its estates and fiefs, after the example of Charlemagne and his other predecessors. On these conditions the Pope will crown Henry V., and acknowledge him as emperor. He will help him to maintain his authority in Germany, and forbid the bishops to usurp the regales, or to do any thing prejudicial to the rights of the prince." These terms being duly drawn up and signed by both parties, the king made his entry into Rome on Sunday, the 11th of February, 1111, preceded by an immense multitude of people bearing green boughs, palms, and flowers. This public rejoicing was doomed to a speedy fall. The Pope awaited Henry upon the steps of St. Peter's church. The king would not enter the basilica until he had surrounded it with his troops, who also held every post in the neighborhood. Thus backed by his armed followers, he called upon Paschal to keep his promise, and to proceed to the ceremony of the coronation. The Pope replied that, according to the convention of Florence, Henry should first give up the pretended right of investiture. "The convention of Florence is null!" cried the German bishops. "It is in open contradiction to the divine precept of the gospel commanding us to *render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's!*" The Pope declared that he would never crown a perjured king. The whole day was consumed in parleyings; the Pope stood unshaken. Then began, in St. Peter's, one of the most shocking scenes recorded in history. The soldiers break into the sanctuary; the Pope is guarded in a narrow dungeon; many bishops, clerics and laymen share the same fate; the Germans plunder the sacred vessels, the costly ornaments with which the sanctuary had been decorated for the coronation of their king. The Italians, who strive to defend the outraged majesty of their Pontiff, are stripped, beaten with rods, and thrown into

close dungeons. Many of the inhabitants perished in torments, victims to the unbridled brutality of a licentious soldiery. The account of these cruel outrages and of their Pontiff's captivity had, in the mean time, roused the whole city The Romans retaliated most fearfully; they massacred the Germans without stint or pity, and furiously threw themselves upon King Henry's troops. The prince himself was unhorsed by the violence of the attack, and wounded in the face; and probably owed his life to Otho, count of Milan, who threw himself into the thickest of the contest, and succeeded in drawing out his wounded master. But his self-devotion cost him his life. He was seized by the exasperated Romans, who wreaked their vengeance upon him. Henry hurriedly fled from Rome, under cover of night, dragging along with him his august prisoner stripped of his Pontifical attire and bound with cords, like a common felon.

22. For two months, Paschal II. was subjected to the most fearful threats and cruel treatment; but his unbending firmness remained unconquered, and he would not acknowledge the king's right of investiture. The bishops of Italy made a last appeal, representing to him the wretched state of the captives whom Henry's tyranny kept in chains, far from their home and from the objects of their tenderest affections; the desolation of the Roman Church, deprived of nearly all its cardinals; the danger of a schism, which would renew all the horrors of war. Overcome, at length, by their tears, with which he freely mingled his own, the unhappy Pope exclaimed: "I am, then, compelled to do, for the peace and independence of the Church, what I should have wished to avoid, even at the cost of all my blood!" A preliminary treaty was then concluded between the two parties; and on the 3d of April, A. D. 1111, the Pope signed the bull granting the right of investiture, in these terms: "We grant and confirm to you the prerogative conferred by Our predecessors upon yours, viz.: that you may give the investiture, by the crosier and ring, to the bishops and abbots within your realm, who have been elected freely

and without simony; and no one may be consecrated without receiving the investiture at your hands."* After the signing of the treaty, the Pope proceeded to the solemn coronation of Henry V.; and on the same day returned to Rome, where he was received with such a display of popular enthusiasm, that it took him the whole day to reach his palace. But Paschal II. did not enjoy this dear-bought freedom. He saw the dishonor which such an act must reflect upon his Pontificate. The thought of St. Gregory's great work destroyed, of the Church in bondage, of the backward movement which must throw Christian Europe once more into the gloom of barbarism, gave no peace to his soul. A great number of bishops and cardinals condemned the treaty signed by compulsion. The councils of Italy and France condemned the investitures and renewed the excommunications launched against Henry V. The Church was threatened with a new schism.

23. For the sake of his own peace of mind, as well as to re-assure the alarmed Catholics, Paschal convoked a council in the Lateran basilica. It was opened on the 12th of March, A. D. 1112. The Pope appeared before the assembled prelates, acknowledged his weakness, put off his Pontifical dress, and declared himself ready, in atonement, to abdicate the Pontifical throne. The Fathers unanimously besought him to retain his dignity; and he yielded to their prayers. "Compelled by the

* We need not here recall, at length, the principles laid down in the discussion on Pope Liberius. Paschal II., a prisoner, loaded with chains, yields to violence and signs the recognition of the investiture. The man failed by human weakness; but there is nothing in this fact that can invalidate the dogmatic infallibility of the Pope freely teaching a truth of faith, *ex cathedra*. Paschal II. was not free; and *every act extorted by violence*, in the words of Bossuet, *is null and void*. Was the acknowledgment of the right of investiture a formal heresy? If the acknowledgment recognized the collation of the spiritual authority by the temporal power—it was. If the acknowledgment recognized in the bestowal of the crosier and the ring no further claim on the part of the king than that of requiring the homage due from the bishops to their suzerain, for the domains they held as his vassals—then it was not a heresy. It is evident that Paschal II. signed the grant in the latter sense; and this twofold view of the question explains how the councils could condemn the investiture as a heresy, while Yvo of Chartres and other bishops could with equal justice defend the contrary thesis. So that Paschal II., by acknowledging this right, fell, through a weakness which he afterward bitterly deplored, but which did not, properly speaking, constitute a heresy.—*Note of* Mr. DARRAS.

violence to which I was subjected," said the Pontiff, "I have signed an unjust treaty. For the good of my own soul and the honor of the Church, I am desirous to repair the evil." He then protested that he received all the decrees of his predecessors relative to the investiture and to simony. "I approve," he said, "what they approved; I condemn what they condemned; I forbid whatever Gregory VII. and Urban II. forbade; and, by the grace of God, I shall ever remain in these sentiments." After this protestation, Girard, bishop of Angoulême, in the name of the Pope and of the whole council, read the following declaration: "We all, assembled in this holy council, condemn, by the ecclesiastical authority and the judgment of the Holy Ghost, the concession wrung from Pope Paschal by the violence of King Henry. We pronounce it of no force, and utterly annul it; we forbid, on pain of excommunication, that it be deemed of any authority whatever." This sentence, signed by all the bishops present, was sent to all the churches of the Catholic world. By way of making his atonement more complete, Paschal wrote, in person, to several bishops, giving them an acount of what had happened. He thus wrote to Guy, archbishop of Vienna: "I declare null, and condemn forever, the treaty touching the privilege of investitures, signed by Henry V. and myself, in the camp where I was held prisoner." In another council, held in the Lateran basilica, in 1116, the Pope again reverts to the treaty of investitures: "I own that I fell; but I beg of you all to pray to God that He may forgive me. As to the fatal treaty, which violence forced me to sign in the camp of Henry V., I condemn it by a solemn anathema; I wish it to be held in everlasting abhorrence, and to be without force in the Church." It would have been impossible to offer a more fair and formal retractation of an act of weakness, which the circumstances surely went far to excuse.

24. The question itself is thus viewed by Baronius: "The concession of the right of investiture, with the condition of freedom and canonicity in the election, as granted by Pope Paschal II., does not constitute a heresy. But to maintain—

what Paschal II. never said—that of canonical right the investiture should be bestowed by laymen, would be a formal heresy. It would, indeed, bring into the Church an error contrary to the teaching of the holy Fathers, to the constant tradition of all ages, and to the opinion even of contemporary writers who defended Paschal." The imprisonment of the Pope and the outrageous conduct of Henry V. had aroused the indignation of the whole Catholic world. Protestations of the deepest filial love and devotion poured in upon the Holy See on the occasion. Hildebert, bishop of Mans, wrote as follows: "The crimson hue of martyrdom still adorns the Church, even in her elder day. The rage of persecution is again aroused, and would extinguish the light of faith by the blood of the children of God. Rome and the Apostolic See have become a prey to the rapacity and cruelty of the Germans. The Pope is dragged away in chains; the Pontifical tiara is trodden under foot by the wicked; the chair of holiness, which commands all nations, is overturned! The captain of Christ's army is a captive: how then shall the soldier stand his ground?" Yvo of Chartres likewise wrote to the Pope, to acquaint him with the part he had borne in his sufferings: "I have not ceased to address my prayers to Him Who bore up the Apostle St. Peter amid the billows, and Who thrice saved St. Paul from shipwreck, that He would deign to still the tempest now tossing the bark of the Church." Even the emperor Alexius Comnenus sent a deputation to Pope Paschal, protesting his attachment to the Apostolic See, and deploring the outrages offered to the sacred person of the Pontiff by the King of Germany.

25. Henry V. was sorely chafed by all these pledges of veneration and love, lavished upon the common father of the faithful. Paschal's recantation had deeply irritated him. In 1117, he once more marched upon Italy at the head of a numerous army. On the way he seized upon the succession of the great Countess Matilda, utterly regardless of the often repeated intention of the princess, who, in life, had made a gift

of all her States to the Holy See. Paschal did not await the emperor's arrival at Rome, but withdrew to Beneventum. Henry entered the Eternal City in triumph, and swore to the inhabitants that he came among them with the most friendly intentions. On Easter-Day he would have renewed, in some sort, in the church of St. Peter, the ceremony of his coronation. But no prelate would consent to lend his ministry to a prince who invaded Rome with a hostile army, driving out its lawful Pontiff. Henry was accompanied by Maurice Bourdin, archbishop of Braga, who had been appointed Apostolic legate to his court. Like another Judas, this faithless minister betrayed his master. He placed the crown upon the brow of Henry V., while the Roman clergy and people loudly bewailed his base compliance. Maurice was soon to disgrace his name by another sacrilege. When the Pope was informed of this scandal, he assembled a council at Beneventum, and excommunicated the apostate prelate. This was the last act of Paschal's Pontificate; he yielded to the weight of cares and labors, on the 18th of January, A. D. 1118, leaving in history the record of a momentary weakness, expiated by years of stern struggle and tireless energy.

26. A Pontificate so shaken by storms, was not without its consolations. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem gradually spread its power over the plains of Asia. The old cities of Scriptural memory—Haran, in Mesopotamia, Tyre, Sidon, Tiberias and Joppa—successively came into the hands of the Crusaders. Godfrey de Bouillon inspired even the Unbelievers with admiration and love for the Christian name. Several emirs once came down from their mountains in Naplouse and Samaria, to offer him their homage and gifts. They found the King of Jerusalem seated upon the bare ground, unattended by courtiers or guards. To the expression of surprise which this stateless presence drew from his visitors, the hero answered: "Why should not the earth, from which we sprung and to which we must return after death, afford us a seat during life?" This reply, so Oriental in its lofty simplicity, made a

deep impression upon the emirs; before taking leave, they had signed a treaty of alliance with Godfrey; and "in Samaria," says an Arabian writer, "it was a matter of wonder that there should be so much wisdom among the men of the West." Godfrey survived the capture of Jerusalem but one year (A. D. 1100). He was buried in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at the foot of Calvary. The dust of the Christian hero thus fitly mingled with that of Josue and Gideon, of David and Judas Machabeus. Baldwin, his brother, inherited both his realm and his valor. The memory of his reign is illustrated by the foundation of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The pilgrims to the Holy City had long since established a hospital, attended by Brothers—Hospitallers, who devoted themselves to the service of Jesus Christ in the person of His suffering members. At the time of the conquest, the hospital proved a most acceptable resort for the wounded and infirm soldiers. The generosity of the noble Crusaders and of the pious Godfrey increased its income in proportion to its wants. It was, at length, suggested to form the Hospitallers into a military religious order which could, at need, afford an armed defence to the pilgrims intrusted to their care. Such was the beginning of the world-renowned order, whose noble ranks have so well served the whole of Christendom. The new religious were put under the rule of St. Augustine. They made the four vows—of obedience, poverty, chastity and devotion to the defence of the pilgrims against the Unbelievers. They wore the dress of the knights of that time, with a red Maltese cross upon a black mantle. The order was confirmed by a bull of Paschal II., in 1112, and was definitively organized in a general chapter, held in 1118, under the second Grand Master, Raymond of Puy, who divided the members into three classes: knights, chaplains and servitors. The canons, guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, were likewise armed by King Baldwin (1110), and afterward became the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre: toward the end of the fifteenth century, they joined the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The same circumstances of position gave

rise, at the same period, to a third order of knighthood. Hugh de Payns, a nobleman of Champagne, Geoffrey de Saint-Omer, and seven other knights, meeting before the Holy Sepulchre, resolved to devote their swords to the defence of the true faith against the Saracens. Like the Hospitallers, they followed the rule of St. Augustine, and, moreover, made a vow to die in defence of the religion and the honor of Jesus Christ, but without assuming any obligation to nurse the sick. King Baldwin gave them the ground on the east of the Temple: hence their name of Templars or Knights of the Temple, which has since been made so variously celebrated by their military exploits and their tragic end. The Templars wore a white mantle with a red cross. Their foundation dates from the year 1118, but it was not till 1129, at the Council of Troyes, that St. Bernard gave them a special rule, which was binding upon the members until the time of the suppression.

27. We have just uttered, for the first time, the name of St. Bernard, a name destined to throw a halo of glory about the Church, during the whole course of the twelfth century. The regeneration of the monastic life; the government of the whole world, placed, in some sort, under the sway of holiness and genius, in his hands; the wonders of the early ages of the Church, renewed; the Crusades directed, whole provinces brought back to the faith, princes guided by a simple religious, from the almost inaccessible shades of his desert-cell—such is the spectacle placed before our eyes in the life of the sainted Abbot of Clairvaux. About eight years before the first conquest of Jerusalem, he was born of a noble family of Burgundy, in the castle of Fontaines, near Dijon. Piety was as truly an heirloom in the family as its noble rank and title; and Bernard was prevented, in his infant years, by the fulness of grace, which was yet to work such mighty deeds. His very example was a kind of home-dwelling apostolate; and here he began to exercise on all around him that pious and holy fascination which afterward controlled the age in which he lived; which made him the master of kings, the counsellor of Popes,

the guardian of empires; which gave him the surname of *Doctor Mellifluus*, and the glorious title of the LAST OF THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH. At the age of three-and-twenty he left his father's roof, and, followed by thirty young noblemen, to whom he had imparted a share of his pious spirit, knocked at the gate of the monastery of Citeaux. The abbot, Stephen, hastened to offer his wonted hospitality to the noble strangers. But God had sent him sons instead of guests; Bernard and his companions threw themselves at the abbot's feet, and begged the religious habit. The trials of the noviceship were, for Bernard, so many incentives to perfection. To keep ever alive in his heart the first fervor of his vocation, he often repeated within himself: "Bernard, why hast thou come hither?" When he had once begun to taste the sweets of divine love, he was so fearful of being turned away in the least degree from this inward life, that he shut his eyes against the most natural perceptions. So thoroughly had he overcome all feeling of curiosity, that he was blind to outward things; and, after spending a whole year in the same room, he was unable to tell whether it was wainscoted. A naturally elevated disposition, aided by divine grace, gave him an exquisite relish for spiritual things. His meditations on the Holy Writings were uninterrupted, and the very Bible which he used—enriched with profuse notes by his own hand—is still preserved as a precious monument in the library of Troyes. The example of the young noble had borne its fruit; the two years which followed his arrival at Citeaux brought so great an increase of religious inmates, that the foundation of a new monastery became a matter of necessity. The Bishop of Langres, and Hugh, count of Champagne, bestowed upon the abbot, Stephen, for his new foundation, a wild, untilled valley, situated in a mountain-gorge, and known as the Valley of Wormwood, as it was the resort of numerous highway robbers. Bernard was sent, with twelve religious, to plant the cross of Christ in this savage waste, which soon changed its forbidding name to that of the Illustrious Valley (*Clara vallis*) or Clairvaux; and for half a century

drew the admiring gaze of all Europe upon its treasure of loftiest genius joined to the purest virtue (A. D. 1115).

28. The schools and monasteries of France reëchoed the praises of a favored son of genius. Abelard was born in 1079, at Palais, near Nantes, and gave early presage of future greatness. But he knew not how to shield his gift of mighty intellect with the buckler of virtue, and thus became the author of his own unhappiness. Arriving in Paris at a period when philosophy and science, restored by the enlightened zeal of Lanfranc and St. Anselm of Canterbury, were shedding abroad their fullest brightness, Abelard first listened to the teaching of William of Champeaux. The young student had soon outstripped his master, and opened a school of his own, first at Melun, then at Corbeil, and finally in Paris. Such was the prestige of his eloquence and of his prodigious talent, that the public halls of these various cities were unable to contain the scholars who thronged to hear his lectures. The religious world showed signs of an insatiable thirst for learning. The twelfth century was as the waking hour of philosophy and Christian literature. Abelard felt and communicated to others the general impulse. He was intoxicated by his own renown. The story of his relations with Eloise is already but too well known. His ardent nature was swayed at will by the tyrannical empire of passion. When the scandal became public, Abelard at first hid his shame in the monastery of St. Denis. Being soon after expelled from this retreat, he withdrew to the neighborhood of Troyes, where his fame soon drew around him three thousand admiring scholars. There we shall again meet him leading the rationalistic movement of his age, drawing upon his teachings the vigorous attacks of St. Bernard and the thunders of the Church.

§ III. Pontificate of Gelasius II. (January 25, A. D. 1118—January 29, 1119).

29. The hatred of the German emperor for Paschal II. had made him provident. Henry had left secret instructions with

his partisans in Rome, directing them, in case of an approaching vacancy in the Roman See, to oppose the election of a new Pope until his consent should be received. At the death of Paschal, the cardinals thwarted the tyrant's plans: they met, and seven days afterward elected John of Gaëta, cardinal-deacon and chancellor of the Roman Church, a noble old man, who met the violence of a most stormy Pontificate with a truly Apostolic firmness. He took the name of Gelasius II. On learning the election, Cencio Frangipani, leader of the German faction, broke into the church with an armed band, seized the Pope by the throat, hurled him to the ground, and tore his body with his spurs. Then loading the Pontiff with chains, he threw him, wounded and bleeding, into a dungeon. The cardinals and senators, unable to escape, met with no gentler treatment; several were slain upon the spot. At the report of this deed of violence, the prefect of Rome, leading his troops and followed by an immense multitude in arms, marched to the capitol and demanded that the Pope should be given back to them. The terrified revolters at once surrendered their august prisoner. On their knees they implore and obtain forgiveness; and Gelasius II., borne in triumph by a people crazed with joy, took solemn possession of his See.

30. The day was appointed for his ordination—as he was yet only deacon—but Henry V. interfered. He hurried on, by forced marches, from the extremity of Germany; and one night the Pope was suddenly informed that the emperor, with his troops, held the church of St. Peter. He sent this message to Gelasius: "If you are prepared to confirm the treaty which I made Paschal II. sign, I am ready to submit to your authority; if not, I shall have another Pope elected, and shall place him in possession of the Holy See." The Sovereign Pontiff hurriedly quitted Rome and embarked upon the Tiber. A violent storm drove the vessel upon the coast of Porto. The German troops crowded the bank and shot their arrows into the Pontifical galley. Gelasius escaped under cover of the darkness, and landed at Gaëta, his native city, where he was

received with a respectful and pious eagerness. Henry had, in the mean time, procured at Rome the election of an antipope, Maurice Bourdin, the false legate excommunicated by Paschal II. in the Council of Beneventum. He assumed the Roman purple with the title of Gregory VIII. The true Pope was consecrated at Gaëta, in the presence of William, duke of Apulia, Robert, prince of Capua, and a host of Italian lords, who swore fidelity to his cause and authority. He convoked a council in Capua, where he solemnly excommunicated the antipope and the Emperor Henry V.; at the same time directing the Archbishop of Toledo and the bishops of Spain to provide another incumbent for the see of Braga, instead of Maurice, whose intrusion had cut him off from the bosom of the Catholic Church. Another letter, addressed to all the bishops and princes of Christendom, acquainted them with the outrage offered to the Pontifical majesty, and the sentence pronounced against its authors. The Christian world might thus learn that the unworthy heirs of the sceptre of Charlemagne, used against the Roman Church the power which she had given them, and the strength of the Holy Roman Empire.

31. After the consummation of the schism and a third renewal of the ceremony of his coronation, Henry V. returned to Germany, leaving Rome in the hands of the antipope and his partisans. At the risk of life, the intrepid Gelasius succeeded in making his way, unknown, into the Eternal City, where he remained for some time hidden under the roof of a faithful and devoted family. But on the feast of St. Praxedes, he wished to officiate in the church dedicated to the saint. In the midst of the sacred solemnity, the church was besieged by the same Cencio Frangipani who had already dared to lay his sacrilegious hands upon the Lord's anointed. Stephen the Norman and Crescenzio Gaëtano, the Pope's nephew, made a desperate resistance. Gelasius II. once more escaped in the tumult, and reached an isolated cottage in the Roman Campagna, where a poor and aged woman extended the most touching hospitality to the Vicar of Jesus Christ. On the following day he was

joined by the cardinals and by some faithful attendants. "Let us fly," said Gelasius; "let us fly this land of Egypt; let us fly the new Babylon! At the appointed hour, God will bring back those of us for whom that happiness is reserved." The exiled Pontiff turned toward France, the land devoted to the Papacy; on the 7th of November, A. D. 1118, he stepped upon the shores of Provence, where he was received by the Abbot Suger, minister of King Louis, with all the honor due to persecuted virtue. Gelasius sought rest in the solitude of Cluny, the spot marked by Divine Providence as the term of his earthly banishment; and there the heroic Pontiff died, on the 29th of January, 1119. Henry V. had no reason to be jealous of his father's fame. He too had raised up an antipope, and caused Gelasius II., like St. Gregory VII., to die in exile. The modern writers, who so strenuously uphold the emperors, in the question of the investitures, lay very little stress upon these features of the case.

§ IV. Pontificate of Calixtus II. (February 1, A. D. 1119—December 12, 1124).

32. The cardinals, who had followed Gelasius into exile, elected Guy archbishop of Vienne, in Dauphiny, to succeed the deceased Pontiff. The election was held at Cluny, and the new Pope took the name of Calixtus II. He received, in a strange land, the sceptre of the proscribed Papacy; but he was soon to restore it in triumph to Rome, and to bring peace at length to the Church. Henry V. was beginning to understand that his struggle against the Holy See was one of those questions of principle which could never be resolved to his advantage. The Popes might die; but the undying Papacy would never give up a just and holy cause. Even among the German prelates who stood about his throne, there were some honest, upright men, who made no effort to hide from him the danger of his position and the hopelessness of his resistance. Conrad, archbishop of Saltzburg, did not hesitate, during

Paschal's captivity, publicly to reproach the emperor for his tyrannical conduct, upon which an officer of the guards, drawing his sword upon the prelate, threatened him with death. The fearless archbishop presented his uncovered breast to the weapon, with the words: "Strike! I can die, but you cannot kill the truth." His dauntless courage cost him an exile of nine years. Albert, chancellor of the empire and archbishop-elect of Mentz, showed the same unshaken firmness, and was thrown into chains. All Germany longed for peace. The general diet of Tribur (A. D. 1119) gave open expression to the people's prayer. Henry began to fear too that a longer strife might estrange the allegiance of his own subjects. At this juncture Pope Calixtus II. sent to the German court William of Champeaux, bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, and Pons, abbot of Cluny, to settle the terms for a treaty of pacification. Henry asked their advice on the means of concluding the negotiation without prejudice to his authority. "My lord," replied William of Champeaux, "if you would secure a lasting peace, you must make a complete and irrevocable renunciation of the right of investiture. When I was raised to the episcopate, in France, I received no kind of investiture from the king, my suzerain, and yet I most scrupulously pay him the vassal's tribute in kind and in military duty. I serve him as faithfully, without investiture, as your bishops in Germany can do, in virtue of the investitures which have caused so much disorder and drawn upon your majesty the Church's anathema." Henry thought for a moment on these words, and rising from his seat, said to the envoys: "If such be the case, and if you will undertake to effect a reconciliation with the Sovereign Pontiff and to restore peace to Germany, I consent to forsake the right of investiture." A conference was then agreed upon, to be held at Mouson, for the solemn confirmation of the treaty between the Roman Church and the empire. Calixtus II. was then presiding over a council at Rheims; he left it to hasten to the place appointed by Henry. But when all seemed on the point of a happy settlement, the emperor, who still cherished the

hope of wringing from the Pope the concession of his claim, suddenly broke off the negotiation and withdrew to Germany, for the ostensible purpose of assembling a general diet to discuss the conditions of the treaty.

33. The Pope returned to Rheims, much grieved by this display of bad faith. He availed himself of his sojourn in France to settle the difficulty raised between Henry II., of England, and Louis, king of France. Henry had seized upon Normandy, and held his brother Robert in captivity. Louis, in quality of suzerain, had drawn the sword on behalf of his injured vassal. The Council of Rheims decided the question in favor of Henry II.; and its session was closed with the solemn excommunication of the Emperor of Germany and his partisans. Four hundred and twenty-seven bishops and abbots, in episcopal attire, met in the cathedral, holding lighted tapers in their hands. They heard the reading of the sentence pronounced against the antipope and his protector, Henry V. of Germany, calling himself emperor, whose subjects were now freed from their oath of allegiance to a perjured monarch. At these words all the tapers were thrown down and extinguished, while all the bishops present repeated the solemn words of the anathema. Under the circumstances, the clause freeing the people of Germany from their fealty to Henry —and purposely omitted by Fleury and Fr. Longueval—is remarkable. It shows the opinion entertained by the bishops of Italy, Spain, France, England and Germany, by the French king and nobles, all assembled at Rheims, touching the Pontifical authority, clothed by the common consent of the middle-ages with a sovereign right over all kingdoms. To form a true estimate of a man or a period, it is necessary, in the first place, to know what principles rule his belief and his actions.

34. Before starting for Rome, where he was most eagerly awaited by the clergy and people, Calixtus bestowed upon St. Norbert the title of Apostolic Missionary, recommending him, at the same time, to announce the kingdom of God to the people of France and Germany. Norbert was of illustrious line-

age, claiming descent, through his fathers, from the emperors of Germany, and, by his mother, from Godfrey de Bouillon. His early years were spent at the court of Henry V., in the unrestrained enjoyment of his taste for worldly pleasures and trifles. The promises of the world, his own name and talents, the charms of fortune and vanity, captivated his heart. As he was once (A. D. 1114) on his way to join a party of pleasure, while riding through a valley in the duchy of Cleves, he was overtaken by a sudden storm. A thunderbolt, falling close before him, overthrew both horse and rider. One whole hour Norbert lay stretched upon the ground without sense or motion. When he again recovered his senses, he seemed to hear a voice from Heaven speaking to him, as of old it did to Saul on the road to Damascus: "Norbert! Norbert! why dost thou persecute Me? Is it thus thou turnest to the uses of thy ambition and pride the talents and wealth bestowed for My glory and service?" The young courtier rose up a new man. He hastened to throw himself at the feet of the Archbishop of Cologne, who ordained him priest. Bidding farewell to the world's possessions and promises, he gave himself up without reserve to the work of the apostolate. His sharp, eloquent style, full of energy and fire, carried away the multitude, allayed dissensions, reconciled the bitterest enemies, and fixed the rule of the gospel in all hearts. His reputation was as wide as the bounds of Catholic Europe. It was commonly said that "Charity spoke to men under the form of St. Bernard; Faith, under that of Norbert." Gelasius II. and his successor, Calixtus, showered blessings upon his mission. The Bishop of Saon, who professed the deepest veneration for the man of God, wished to keep him within his own diocese; he accordingly bestowed upon him the solitude of Prémontré, for the foundation of a monastery; and here the illustrious missionary brought his first companions. St. Norbert was a canon, as were also his disciples. He therefore adopted the rule of St. Augustine, adding some more austere constitutions. The regular canons of Prémontré lived in the strictest poverty,

fasted all the year, observed an unbroken silence, and wore a white woollen habit. They quitted their retreat only to preach to the people. The new institute quickly grew in numbers; and the most illustrious men of the day begged the favor of living under Norbert's direction. The youthful Count of Champagne, Theobald IV., offered to give up to him the counties of Blois, Chartres, Meaux and Troyes, to enter the monastery of Prémontré as a simple brother. Such an offer might have captivated a less lofty soul; but the saints fashion their course of action by a higher standard. Norbert refused. "It may not be," he said to Theobald; "you shall bear the yoke of the Lord in the married state; and your offspring will possess your great states, with the blessing of your fathers." The count submitted, and, through the instrumentality of St. Norbert, espoused Matilda, daughter of the Duke of Carinthia, with whom he led a holy life. Norbert wished his order to include both sexes, and he accordingly established a monastery for nuns, which was soon in a flourishing condition. The new monastery numbered among its inmates many of the noblest ladies of France: Ermengarde, countess of Roussy; Agnes, countess of Braine; Adele of Montmorency, daughter of Bouchard, high constable of France; Beatrice, viscountess of Amiens; Anastasia, duchess of Pomerania; Hedwige, countess of Cleves, and her daughter Gertrude, with others of equal nobility and virtue. The rules given them by the saint seemed beyond the strength of their sex; but they were far below the greatness of their courage. They were never to leave their cloister; they cut themselves off from all commerce with the world; they could speak even to their nearest kindred only in presence of two other religious; they wore a white dress made of coarse stuff, never ate meat, and kept an almost unbroken fast. These austerities formed a kind of new attraction; and such was the numerical growth of the order, that in less than fifteen years it numbered more than ten thousand members, in the various kingdoms. The monks of Prémontré increased in equal proportion. Thirty years after the first

foundation, the general chapter of the order counted one hundred abbots. About the year 1126, Norbert was raised, though much against his own will, to the see of Magdeburg, in which he continued to live a true apostle and died a saintly death.

35. After the Council of Rheims, Calixtus II. recrossed the Alps and entered Lombardy. The people, weary of the antipope's despotic yoke, hurried from all directions to greet him with enthusiastic joy as the true pastor of the universal Church. The news of his arrival filled Rome with transports of gladness. The antipope thought it prudent to avoid the popular indignation; he fled to Sutri and shut himself up in its stronghold, depending upon Henry for a relief which was not to come. The Pope entered Rome amid triumphal hymns, and was enthroned in the Lateran palace (June 3, A. D. 1120). A month later he was traversing Apulia and the chief cities of Southern Italy, to collect troops against the antipope, and thus end the schism which desolated the Church. Maurice Bourdin, besieged in the castle of Sutri, was handed over by the inhabitants to the Pontifical forces. Calixtus spared his life and consigned him, for the remainder of his days, to the monastery of Cava (1121). Henry V. was too busy with the revolted Saxons to help his antipope. He was in fact overwhelmed with cares. The German nobility, clergy and people, weary of the fruitless struggle which had been, for half a century, draining the nation's strength, asked for peace. The question of investitures had undergone so many examinations that it was now thoroughly understood. The absurdity and impropriety of a prelate's receiving the ring and crosier from a layman was apparent to all. It became impossible to recruit the ranks of such a cause; and a general diet was called at Worms (1121) to conclude a final peace. Lambert, bishop of Ostia, Saxonius, a priest, and a deacon named Gregory appeared as legates of the Pope. The session lasted a week, and ended in the adoption of the following agreements: "I grant," said the Pope, "that the elections of the bishops and abbots of the German realm be held in your

presence, without violence or simony. The prelate-elect may receive at your hands the investiture of the regales, by the sceptre. On these terms, I grant peace to you and to all who have shared in this lengthened strife." The emperor, on the other hand, signed the following declaration: "For the love of God, of the Holy Roman Church, and of Pope Calixtus, as well as for the good of my soul, I renounce all claim to the right of investiture by the ring and crosier. I grant to all the churches within my empire the freedom of canonical elections and consecration. I promise peace with Pope Calixtus and the Holy Roman Church, and to give him aid whenever he may claim it." The two compacts were read to an assembly held in an immense plain on the banks of the Rhine; they were then exchanged, and the bishop of Ostia celebrated the Holy Sacrifice, giving communion to the emperor as a sign of reconciliation. The legates then pronounced the absolution upon the imperial army and all who had taken part in the schism. The war of investiture was at an end. The great act was accomplished on the 23d of September, 1122, hardly thirty-seven years after St. Gregory VII. had exchanged the cares and labors of his stormy reign for the peace and stillness of the tomb.

36. To cement yet more closely the alliance between the Papacy and the empire, Calixtus II. convoked, in the Lateran basilica, the ninth general council, the first in the West. Upward of three hundred bishops and six hundred abbots were present from all parts of the world (A. D. 1123). The Pope ratified and solemnly promulgated the treaty of peace concluded with Henry V. It was agreed that the elections of bishops and abbots in Germany should thenceforth be held, without simony, before the emperor or his delegates, and that the prelates should receive from him, by the tradition of the sceptre—as was usual in the case of the other vassals—the investiture of the regales or fiefs and other temporal estates bestowed upon the Church by princes. Finally, the anathemas already uttered against the Nicholaïtes, simoniacal ecclesiastics, and the still stubborn adhe-

rents of the late antipope, were renewed with greater rigor than ever. The ninth general council was a fitting close for the glorious Pontificate of Calixtus II. In less than six years, the zealous Pontiff had made peace between the Church and the empire, repaired the faults or failings of his predecessors, restored the authority of the Holy See and the full splendor of the hierarchical order, and at last realized the great purpose of St. Gregory VII. (December 13, 1124). The Emperor Henry V. outlived him less than a year (May 23, 1125), and died without issue. With him ended the ancient Saxon line which had held the sceptre for two hundred and seven years. Lothaire II., the nearest of kin to the house of Saxony, through his wife who claimed descent from an uncle of St. Henry, was elected at Mentz (August 30, 1125), and ascended the German throne.

37. The disorder and moral relaxation naturally developed by the war of investitures, favored the rise, in the Western churches, of numerous sects more or less closely allied to Manicheism, and tending to raise vice to the dignity of a system. These errors were thus a continuation of the series which had agitated Orleans, Arras and Toulouse, remains of the Eastern Paulicians, and forerunners of all the modern systems which, under various names, aim at the overthrow of all authority, of hierarchical subordination, of the family and society. Their doctrinal errors, though agreeing in some points—such as the uselessness of the sacraments, of the invocation and veneration of saints, and prayers for the dead—are at variance in others, according to the names of their leaders. But their view of moral obligations is one : a denial of all authority and rule—license and scandal. The first of these names which we meet in the twelfth century is that of Peter Bruys, whose followers styled themselves Petrobrusians. He traversed Dauphiny, Provence and Languedoc, destroying and burning crosses, rebaptizing children, teaching that churches are useless, as God wishes no other temple than the universe. He was followed by excited crowds who butchered the priests, plundered and burned the churches and gave themselves up to the most shameful excesses. Henry

of Lausanne, the best known of Peter's disciples, carried the same doctrines and disorders into Switzerland and the eastern provinces of France. Society was no less interested than religion in the suppression of the sectaries, and hence the severity displayed against them by the secular power, as also toward the Waldenses and Albigenses, to whom they acted as an advance-guard. Antwerp had been thrown into a state of similar disorder by a fanatic named Tanchelin or Tankelin; though his aim was somewhat less moderate than that of his fellow-sectaries, since he claimed to be adored as a god. He revived the traditions of the Adamites, and pretended to restore the world to its state of primitive nakedness by recalling its lost innocence. The misguided people of Antwerp were recalled by the preaching of St. Norbert. Tankelin's followers were found in Flanders, on the banks of the Rhine, and infested the diocese of Cologne. They affected a life of poverty and austerity, opposed the power of the Pope and of all ecclesiastical authorities. They called themselves the poor of Christ, the imitators of the Apostles, and accordingly assumed the title of Apostolicals.

38. The same period developed similar features in the East. The Bogomiles—a Sclavonic word, signifying votaries of prayer—overran the empire of Constantinople, under the leadership of a Bulgarian impostor called Basil. This sect utterly rejected the whole Christian doctrine. According to their theology, the incarnation, life, passion and death of Jesus Christ were but false and unreal appearances. They rejected the Eucharist, calling it the *sacrifice of demons*, and admitted no other communion than that of asking from God their daily bread, by the recital of the Lord's Prayer. To their repeated rehearsal of this prayer they owed their name of Bogomiles. As to the morality of their doctrine, it will suffice to quote the words of Anna Comnena: "I should have wished to speak of their heresy; but I cannot consent so to soil my pages." Her father, the emperor, in vain sought to recall the fanatics to reason. Basil, their chief, when condemned to the stake, preferred death to the abjuration of his errors. The Bogomiles,

under the name of Bulgarians, entered Lombardy, from which country they passed into France, and afterward joined the Albigenses in Provence, and the Cathari in Germany.

39. While these heretical sects produced, both in the East and West, a kind of impious reaction against the spirit of faith which peopled the Christian world with religious communities and wrested the holy places from the Moslem yoke, by the hands of the Crusaders, a new style of literature, inspired by the memories of the Holy War, and reflecting the enthusiasm excited in Europe by those distant expeditions, took its rise in the cloisters. Guibert, the learned and virtuous abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, inaugurated the literary revival by his history of the first Crusade, which, with a rare happiness of expression, he entitled: *Gesta Dei per Francos.* The greatness of the subject and simplicity of the style; the Oriental coloring of the narrative and the native simplicity of the monkish chronicler; the deeds of daring performed by French knights and barons on fields whose very names were rich in poetic charms to imaginations fed by the pages of the Bible; the story of kingdoms, principalities and fiefs founded by the swords of the Franks at Jerusalem, Edessa, Antioch, Tyre and Joppa; the perilous marches and heroic exploits of Godfrey de Bouillon, Tancred, Bohemond and Robert of Burgundy, were well suited to keep alive in the West a sacred enthusiasm for the Holy Wars. It was the battle-cry, God wills it! reëchoed and resounding through all hearts, with the gladness of success and the holy exultation of a triumph in which the glory was all referred to God. It was evident that the ardor of the Crusades was not extinguished, and that new generations, eager to rival their predecessors, would gladly and proudly hasten to shed their blood on the plains of Asia, for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre and the freedom of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER VI.

§ I. Pontificate of Honorius II. (December 21, A. D. 1124—February 14, 1130).

1. Extraordinary circumstances attending the promotion of Honorius II.—2. State of Christendom at the accession of Honorius II.—3. Influence of St. Bernard over his age.—4. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny.—5. Suger and the abbey of St. Denis.—6. Henry, archbishop of Sens. St. Bernard *On the Duties of Bishops*.—7. Stephen de Senlis, bishop of Paris.—8. Council of Troyes.—9. St. Otho, bishop of Bamberg, apostle of Pomerania. Successes of the Christians in Spain, under Alphonso the Great and Alphonso VII. Death of Honorius II.

§ II. Pontificate of Innocent II. (February 17, A. D. 1130—September 24, 1143).

10. Schism of the antipope Peter de Leone.—11. Journey of Innocent II. to France.—12. Miraculous cure of the *Sacred Fire*.—13. Council of Rheims. Crowning of Louis-le-Jeune, son of Louis-le-Gros.—14. Roger, duke of Sicily, and William, duke of Aquitaine, the only upholders of the antipope. Departure of Innocent II. The Pope at Clairvaux.—15. Innocent returns to Rome. Crowning of the Emperor Lothaire.—16. Second journey of St. Bernard into Italy. Council of Pisa. St. Bernard at Milan.—17. St. Bernard and William, duke of Aquitaine, at Parthenay.—18. Third voyage of St. Bernard to Italy. Conference between the Abbot of Clairvaux and Peter of Pisa, at Salerno. End of the schism of the antipope Peter de Leone.—19. Tenth general council, the second Lateran. Roger acknowledged king of Sicily.—20. Peter de la Châtre, archbishop of Bourges. Raoul, count of Vermandois. The kingdom of France under interdict.—21. Burning of Vitry-le-Brûlé. Death of Innocent II.—22. Condemnation and death of Abelard.—23. Arnold of Brescia.—24. Doctors and holy persons in the Pontificate of Innocent II.

§ III. Pontificate of Celestin II. (September 26, A. D. 1143—March 9, 1144).

25. Election and death of Celestin II. He raises the interdict placed upon the French kingdom by his predecessor.—26. Prophecies ascribed to St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh.

§ IV. Pontificate of Lucius II. (March 10, A. D. 1144—February 25, 1145.)

27. Rome declared a republic, by the partisans of Arnold of Brescia. Death of Lucius II.

§ V. Pontificate of Eugenius III. (February 27, A. D. 1145—July 8, 1153).

28. Election of Eugenius III. St. Bernard's letter to the cardinals and to the new Pope.—29. Triumphal entrance of Eugenius into Rome. St. Bernard's work *De Consideratione*.—30. Assembly of Vezelay. St. Bernard preaches the Crusade in France and Germany.—31. Departure of the Crusaders. Treachery of Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople.—32. Wretched end of the second Crusade.—33. Gilbert de la Porré. Eon de l'Etoile.—34. Petrobrusians. Henricians. Albigenses. Cathari. Labors of Peter the Venerable and St. Bernard against them. Saintly characters under the Pontificate of Eugenius III.—35. Death of Eugenius III.

§ VI. Pontificate of Anastasius IV. (July 9, A. D. 1153—December 2, 1154).

36. Election and death of Anastasius IV.—37. Death of St. Bernard.

§ I. Pontificate of Honorius II. (December 21, A. D. 1124—February 14, 1130).

1. Three days after the death of Calixtus II., the cardinals and bishops met in the basilica of St. John Lateran, and elected, as Pope, Theobald, cardinal-priest of the title of St. Anastasia, who took the name of Celestin II. Hardly had the new Pope been clothed with the Pontifical vestments, while the clergy and people chanted the solemn Te Deum in thanksgiving, when Leo Frangipani rushed into the church, at the head of a seditious faction, shouting tumultuously: "Lambert, bishop of Ostia, is our Pope! Long live Lambert, the Sovereign Pontiff, the father of the Romans!" The disorder was momentarily increasing; when Celestin, in order to appease it, had the modesty to yield the tiara to his opponent. The cardinals consented, and ratified the choice made of Lambert, whose guilt consisted only in his name being thus made the cry of a faction, without his consent or participation. Lambert was accordingly enthroned in the Papal chair, and took the name

of Honorius II. After an interval of seven days, when peace had been completely restored, he called the cardinals together, and declared to them that he did not wish to keep a dignity perhaps unlawfully obtained, and certainly imposed by force. Then removing his tiara and red cape, he placed them in their hands. Thus, within the same week, two cardinals gave a bright example of perfect disinterestedness. The assembled cardinals, touched by this noble proof of humility, threw themselves at the feet of Honorius II., entreated him to keep the rank of which he had just shown himself so worthy, and swore on the spot to be ever true to his authority.

2. The new Pontificate, inaugurated by such a display of generosity and greatness of soul, was an era of prosperity and peace for the Church, which was now allowed to rest for a while from its long and weary struggles. Honorius wielded an undisputed authority over the whole Christian world. In England, John de Crême, his legate, presided over the Council of Westminster, which solemnly adopted all the decrees published by the General Council of Lateran against investitures, simony, clerical incontinence and plurality of benefices. The question of precedence raised between the two sees of York and Canterbury was examined by the council, and referred for final decision to Pope Honorius II., who settled the difficulty, by bestowing upon William, archbishop of Canterbury, the powers of Apostolic legate in England and Scotland. At the request of the kings of Denmark, Sweden and Bohemia, the Holy See sent delegates to each of those kingdoms, to reform abuses and restore discipline. In the East, the provinces conquered by the Crusaders were erected into new bishoprics in union with the chair of St. Peter, and the Church thus regained the land of its birth and earliest years. Constantinople was in mourning for its emperor, Alexius Comnenus, who died in the arms of his daughter and historiographer, the Princess Anna (A. D. 1118). "My father's spirit departed," such is her tearful recital; "the sun of my days went down; their light went out in darkness." Alexius has not always been as favorably judged

by history as by his daughter. He was certainly gifted with high qualities, which redeemed his crafty policy and double-dealing toward the Crusaders. We have seen the Greek emperor, during the schism of Maurice Bourdin, sending deputies to Paschal II., to assure him of his fidelity. His son, John Comnenus, maintained the same relations with the Holy See. The Greeks, just then, stood in too great need of the Latin arms, to revive the old feuds which had so long divided them: unhappily for them, they did not always persevere in the same good dispositions. Two political questions could alone, at this period, disturb the general peace: the succession to the crown of Henry V. of Germany, and that of William, duke of Apulia and of Southern Italy, both childless monarchs. Lothaire II., duke of Saxony, had been chosen to succeed Henry V. The Papal legates were present at the Diet of Mentz, when sixty thousand Germans voted the imperial crown to the Saxon duke (1125). Conrad of Franconia and Frederick of Suabia, a nephew of Henry V., through the Princess Agnes, his sister, protested against the election, and proceeded to enforce their protest by arms: Conrad had himself crowned at Milan by the archbishop, Anselm. Ill-fated Germany seemed doomed to another deluge of blood. In these troubles, altogether foreign to the history of the Church, and which lasted until 1135, when Conrad made his final submission, Pope Honorius II. ever strenuously upheld the cause of Lothaire, whose claim was unquestionable.* He excommunicated the Archbishop of Milan, who had lent his ministry to the attempted usurpation of Conrad. The Holy See was more nearly concerned in the question of succession to the Italian duchy, since it had been acknowledged by the treaties made with Robert Guiscard, as suzerain of all the provinces conquered in Italy by the Normans. At the death of the last duke, William, the nearest heir would have been Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, Robert Guiscard's grandson; but he was now prince of Edessa, and could not come to rule his European

* Since the imperial crown of Germany was, at this period, elective, the people's choice alone was the test of legitimacy

states in person. Roger, count of Sicily, and cousin to the late Duke William, came forward to claim the escheated succession. By the existing feudal laws, Apulia might have lapsed to the Holy See. In default of male heirs all fiefs reverted to the suzerain. The question, however, was intricate, and hostilities began. An agreement was at length made in 1128, and Pope Honorius granted the investiture of Apulia and Calabria to Roger of Sicily, who swore fealty and homage as vassal of the Holy See.

3. The reputation of St. Bernard now began to spread abroad, and the world was beginning to repeat, as a household word, the name that was to rule the destinies of the twelfth century. For twenty-five years men gazed with wonder upon the spectacle of a man who was not of the world, and who yet led the world; of a solitary consulted by Popes and emperors, kings and queens, princes and prelates, monks and warriors, the learned and the ignorant, the dwellers in cities and the anchorets of the desert, from the East and from the West—controlling the whole world by the power of his word, the ascendant of his genius, the greatness and splendor of his miracles, and by the example of his yet more extraordinary virtues. Nature's favorite, grace enriched him with its choicest gifts; a true fisher of men, from whose resistless influence mothers hid their sons, and wives their husbands; a prodigy of eloquence, speaking to all the stern language of duty, and yet ever winning the enthusiastic love of all; the mildest of men, by his very gentleness he bent at will the most unyielding characters, allayed civil wars and religious strifes; he was a living miracle of the power of religion and of the heavenly charm of grace. St. Bernard seemed endowed with a twofold personality: he was the man of action who ruled, and the man of lights who illumined, his age. As an orator and a writer, he stands foremost in his day; as a man of action, his influence over every class of society was such, that from his lonely cell of Clairvaux he was truly the very life of the world. This renown, which followed him even into his desert-home, often

greatly annoyed him, as he wrote to the former ishop of Belley : "I am, in some sort, the *chimera* of my day ; I lead a life which becomes neither a religious nor a secular. It is long since I have quitted the life of a solitary, though I still wear the habit of one. I shall not repeat of myself what so many others have already told you ; I shall say nothing of my deeds nor of my studies ; what countless risks I run in the midst of the world's confusion, or rather into what a gulf of various occupations I am plunged. I only beg the help of your advice and of your prayers." Yet in all the hurry of this busy life, St. Bernard still found time to write numerous works, nowhere betraying the haste with which they must needs have been compiled ; and we are struck with the twofold wonder of his physical resistance to such a weight of wearing toil, and the giant power of the mind that could successfully cope with such a countless host of perplexing cares. His style is spirited and flowery, his thoughts ingenious, his imagination brilliant and rich in allegories ; his assiduous study and meditation of the Sacred Text had so interwoven it with his own thoughts, that their every utterance naturally reproduced its ideas and expression.

4. While this light of the order of Citeaux shone so brightly upon the world, the congregation of Cluny was guided by the saintly abbot, Peter Maurice, whose wisdom and virtue won him the title of the Venerable. He was descended from the house of Montboissier, one of the oldest and most illustrious of Auvergne. He hardly numbered thirty years when the religious of Cluny chose him superior-general. The rich endowments of the French kings had begun to relax the first fervor of the order ; the rule of St. Benedict had been softened and modified. The general attention was drawn to the holy austerities and regular observance of Citeaux ; the world was divided into two camps : the admirers of the Cistercians and those of the monks of Cluny. St. Bernard and Peter the Venerable wrote apologies for their respective institutes. This rivalry, springing from a holy emulation, was beneficial to disci-

pline, and Peter seized the occasion to bring back the Order of Cluny to its primitive strictness. Notwithstanding this somewhat official controversy, these two great souls, so worthy of each other, were bound by the closest ties of friendship. "If it were allowed me," wrote Peter the Venerable to St. Bernard, "if Providence did not hinder it, could man choose for himself the path in which he shall walk, I would rather live under your direction than rule or reign over any body of mortal men. For what were the value of all the crowns on earth compared to the happiness of your society which men long to enjoy and which the very angels seek? Those heavenly spirits already look upon you as their fellow-citizen, though you do not yet enjoy the blessed home of your desires. I should feel sure of sharing it forever with you hereafter, were I so happy as to live with you here on earth till my last sigh." St. Bernard, on the other hand, thus speaks in a letter of introduction with which he furnished Peter for the Sovereign Pontiff: "It were idle to recommend the Abbot of Cluny and to offer protection to one whose patronage everybody seeks. But though my letter be needless, yet will I give vent to the feelings of my heart. Thanks to the missive, I can travel in spirit with the friend whom I cannot follow in bodily presence. Can any thing separate us? The lofty Alps, their snow-capped peaks, the length of the way—nothing can part me from him. I am with him; I everywhere help him; he can be nowhere without me. I therefore entreat your Holiness to honor, in this great man, an illustrious member of the body of Jesus Christ, a vessel of honor and election, full of grace and truth, laden with merits and good works; to pour out upon him of the fulness of your benefits, that he may afterward communicate them to us; for I must tell your Holiness that he is pleased to help the poor members of our congregation; he supplies their wants, as far as he is able, from the income of his monastery. Grant him, then, all that he asks, in the name of Jesus Christ, unless he should seek permission to give up the government of his order, which his humility might very well move him to do." How

noble and yet how tender is the language of that friendship which is founded upon virtue, and looks with one common longing, heavenward!

5. Among the most precious trophies won by St. Bernard in the course of moral reform he had undertaken, were the illustrious Suger, abbot of St. Denis and minister of King Louis; Henry, archbishop of Sens, and Stephen de Senlis, bishop of Paris. Suger, the great minister, who had been the adviser and the guide of two kings; whose wisdom improved the administration of justice, the laws, the foreign relations and social state of France, and who deserved to receive from Louis VII. the title of *father of his country*, had at first allowed the vanities of the age and the pomp of the court to corrupt his heart. The fire of divine grace was enkindled within him by the works of St. Bernard; he opened his soul to the inspirations of piety. He proved the sincerity of his conversion by the reformation, first of his own life, then of the discipline of his monastery. St. Bernard wrote to congratulate him on the happy change: "The edifying account of your conversion is published everywhere. The servants of God rejoice in the triumph of grace. Even those to whom you are unknown cannot learn what you are and what you were, without admiring and blessing the power of the Lord. Must not a change so sudden and so unwonted be deemed the work of the Most High? If there is joy in Heaven at the conversion of a single sinner, how much greater must that joy become at the conversion of a whole community, and that of a community such as yours! That ancient house of St. Denis, made so illustrious by the favors of our kings, had fallen from its first fervor. It always faithfully rendered unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but was less mindful to render unto God the things that are God's. Now, the same religious, recalled to the holiness of their vocation, are models of every monastic virtue. The inmates of that holy retreat strive to keep their hearts in the peace of angelic innocence, to maintain the strict regularity of discipline, to feed their souls with

spiritual readings. An unbroken silence, a deep recollection, raise the mind to heavenly thoughts. The sweet harmony of hymns and psalms softens the rigors of abstinence and soothes the toilsome labors of the ascetic life."

6. Henry, archbishop of Sens, had imitated the worldly and dissipated life of Suger; he followed him as closely in the way of penance. He wrote to St. Bernard, asking for instructions on the duties of a bishop. "When I heard," wrote the Abbot of Clairvaux, in reply, "how your administration was censured, I was more disposed to pity than to blame you. Alas! I thought, if the life of other men is one ceaseless temptation, what dangers must beset the life of a bishop charged with the care of a whole flock! I live hidden in a cave; I am a lamp under a bushel indeed—a smoking rather than a shining one—and yet I am not altogether sheltered from the violence of the winds; I am beaten by the storm, I am shaken like a slender reed by the least breath of temptation. How must it be with him who is placed upon a mountain, and set upon the candlestick? I feel reassured in your regard, by the thought that God has given you, among the suffragans of your province, two advisers whose friendship is rich in wisdom and holiness (the bishops of Meaux and Chartres). By following their counsels, you will neither be hasty to judge nor stern to punish; neither too easy in forgiving nor too weak in allowing disorders; you will avoid a display of extravagance in your table and dress; will be slow to promise, but prompt to fulfil, and prodigal of benefits. Your diocese will be free from the simoniacal leprosy of our times, and from avarice, that idolatry from which it springs. In a word, by their concurrence, you will do honor to your ministry. I say, your *ministry*, meaning that you are a bishop to serve, and not to rule. Beware of placing the whole honor of the episcopate in a costly dress, splendid equipage and stately palaces. Alas! how many there are who cherish this delusion; who clothe the body in rich attire, and utterly neglect to adorn the soul! How can they unblushingly glory thus, not in good deeds, but in

womanish embroideries, in precious stuffs and rich furs! How are they not ashamed to encase in soft ermine the hands consecrated to the service of God, and dyed with the blood of Jesus Christ; to wear it upon their breasts, which wisdom only should adorn; to bear it about their necks, which it should be their glory and their happiness to bow beneath the yoke of Jesus! It were vain for me to hush these scandals; the court in vain strives to pass them by; the wretched state of the poor, their craving hunger, cry out with a louder voice, which will not be silenced: 'Tell us, O Pontiffs, why is that gold upon the trappings of your horses, and not in the temple?* Can those gilded housings shield us from the pangs of cold and hunger? It is our wealth which you thus squander! You have wrung those treasures from our need to sacrifice them to your own vanity!'" Some pretended advocates of apostolic simplicity, under pretence of bringing back the world to a state of equality in a common misery, have sought to interpret the words of the holy Abbot of Clairvaux as teaching their absolute radicalism and the condemnation of all outward distinctions of rank in prelates. St. Bernard evidently blames the abuse, not the usage. Though it be true that in the hour of persecution, exile and storms, our bishops again become simple missioners and take *up the wooden cross which saved the world*, it is no less true that in regularly constituted communities, the episcopate must be surrounded by the outward emblems which symbolize its high and holy mission, and that the spiritual rulers of the world, the pastors of the people, also bear the sceptre and the badges of their absolute royalty.

7. St. Bernard's reproaches fell especially upon Stephen de Senlis, bishop of Paris, who had also yielded to the allurements of the court. King Louis showed the most lively affection for him, and loaded him with favors to keep him at his side. Stephen, however, was touched by the discourses and writings

* Persius, Sat. I.

of St. Bernard; the example of Suger and of the Archbishop of Sens finished the work of his conversion. He quitted the court to give all his attention to the care of his flock. The good-natured but irascible monarch felt hurt at his sudden retreat, and the love that he had hitherto felt for the bishop was changed into hatred. Some clerics, to whom this restoration of discipline was any thing but pleasing, still further poisoned the mind of Louis, by whose order Stephen was stripped of his possessions and even ran the risk of losing his life. The bishop, to punish this outrage upon the episcopal dignity, laid his diocese under an interdict and sought the protection of his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Sens. The two prelates went together to Citeaux, where the abbots of the order were then assembled in general chapter. They laid before the assembly their complaints against King Louis. St. Bernard drew up an address to the monarch, beseeching him to end this lamentable strife and to receive the Bishop of Paris once more into favor. "You have done us the honor," writes the saint, "to ask the help of our prayers; do not yourself hinder their efficacy by persecuting the ministers of God." The king was unyielding. St. Bernard undertook the journey to Paris, hoping that his presence might effect what his letter had failed to accomplish. But it was vain. The death of his eldest son, Philip, by a fall from his horse, worked more powerfully upon the king's mind: this was to him as a warning from Heaven, and he at once recalled Stephen to Paris.

8. Meanwhile, Cardinal Matthew, the Papal legate in France, had opened a council at Troyes (A.D. 1128). He wrote to St. Bernard, begging his presence. "You tell me," wrote the holy abbot, in reply, "that business of importance calls for my presence at Troyes. Whatever the business may be, it cannot concern me; for its transaction is either easy or difficult. If it is easy, it can be settled without my presence. If difficult, I am unable to settle it, unless you imagine that I can do what is impossible to other men. If such be the case, how, O Lord! hast Thou never been deceived but in Thy judgment of me?

Why hast Thou put under a bushel the light which should have been set upon a candlestick? Why hast Thou hidden in Thy tent, in these days of disorder and trouble a man so necessary to the world, without whom thy bishops themselves are powerless?" Notwithstanding these protestations of his humility, St. Bernard received a positive order to repair to the Council of Troyes. It was under his inspiration that the venerable assembly settled the difficulties then harassing the church of France, and applied to the reform of clerical abuses a number of regulations highly extolled by contemporaneous authors, for their wisdom and energy. The council then charged the holy Abbot of Clairvaux to frame a constitution for the Order of Templars. Hugh de Payns, the founder of the order, had come to the council for that express purpose. The rule given him by St. Bernard, with the approval of the Fathers, consisted of seventy-two articles, which afterward underwent various modifications in proportion to the increase of the order. The following points seem to be nearest to the primitive rule: "In ordinary times, the knights shall assist at the whole of the divine office, day and night. Should military service render this attendance impossible, they shall say thirteen *Paters* for matins, seven for each of the little hours, and nine for vespers. They may eat flesh-meat three times a week; on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday; on the remaining four days they shall abstain from the use of meat; and on Friday they shall use neither eggs nor milk. At the death of any member, for forty days after his decease his share shall be given to some poor man. Each knight may keep three horses and an esquire in his service. They are forbidden to hunt either beast or bird. On the day of their reception, they shall make the following vow: I promise to defend, by word and deed, and to uphold, at the risk of my life, each and every dogma of the Catholic faith. I promise obedience to the Grand Master of the order, and submission to the statutes of our blessed Father Bernard. I am ready to go and fight beyond the seas, whenever necessity may require I will never fly before three unbelievers I

promise to observe perfect continence. So help me God, and His Holy Gospels!" Had the Templars always remained true to the spirit of their rule and to the words of their oath, history would never have been called upon to record the bloody catastrophe which put an end to their order.

9. While the nations of Western Europe were thus safely guided by the influence of St. Bernard, St. Otho, bishop of Bamberg, was preaching the gospel in the north of Germany, and converting the people of Pomerania to the true faith. The holy bishop had, at the instigation of Pope Calixtus II., made a first attempt to plant the gospel there, after the victory won by Boleslas, duke of Poland. But the people of Pomerania, like all the other northern nations, were deeply rooted in their attachment to the traditions of their idolatrous worship. Otho was accordingly sent by Pope Honorius II. to make another attempt at their conversion. His sojourn among them was marked by the miracles of the first Apostles; he rekindled the light of faith in the hearts where it had long been dead; sowed its seeds in the soil which had not yet received t; founded an episcopal see in the city of Wollin; established flourishing churches in Piritz, Stettin and Camin; baptized their duke, Wratislas, and died in 1130, with the title of Apostle of Pomerania, well deserved by long and zealous labor May the country watered by his tears and sweat, though now wandering far from Catholic unity, return once more to the faith of its fathers, and to the source from which that faith was brought to them! In Spain, Alphonso VI., called the Great, king of Castile, ended his long reign and a series of brilliant victories over the Moors, in 1109. His son-in-law, Alphonso II., the Battle-Giver, king of Aragon and Navarre, gained numerous triumphs against the Moravid dynasty from the shores of Morocco; but, being defeated in the last battle, at Fraga, he died of grief in 1134. The French crusaders and the knights of the new military orders contributed largely to the success of the Christians, in these two reigns and those which immediately followed. Alphonso VII., of Aragon, profited of a

season of civil dissension among the Saracens to push on the course of conquest, which was checked only by his death (A. D. 1154), and by the appearance of the Mohad dynasty, which took the place of the fallen Moravides. The Pontificate of Honorius II. drew to a peaceful close in the midst of events fruitful of good to the Church. The Pontiff died in Rome, on the 14th of February, 1130, after a reign of five years.

§ III. Pontificate of Innocent II. (February 17, A. D. 1130—September 24, 1143).

10. Honorius II. was succeeded by Gregory, cardinal-deacon of the title of St. Angelo. The new Pope made a long resistance: in a voice choked by sobs and tears, he protested that he was unworthy of a station so exalted. "We call you not to enjoy honor," replied the cardinals, "but to brave threatening dangers rather." Gregory was at length obliged to yield; he was clothed in the Pontifical attire, and enthroned in the Lateran basilica, under the name of Innocent II. (February 17, A. D. 1130). On the same day, Peter de Leone, of a recently converted Jewish family, whose wealth commanded great influence in Rome, was elected by some dissenting cardinals; he seized St. Peter's church by armed force, stripped it of all its wealth, and was crowned by his partisans, with the title of Anacletus II. To the scandal given by his schism, the antipope added that of a depraved and infamous life. He had the boldness to notify all the Christian sovereigns of his election. He said in his letter to Louis of France: "We can, with justice, bear this witness in favor of the Gallican church: she has never been infected either with heresy or schism." France accepted the well-deserved praise, but rejected him who uttered it, because he was an intruder. By acknowledging him, she would already have made herself unworthy of his encomium. The venerable St. Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, was foremost in proving his fidelity to the Holy See, by excommunicating the antipope in the Council of Puy, and pro-

claiming the lawful election of Innocent II. St. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, did the same in Germany. Louis convoked a national council at Etampes, that the bishops might decide the question of the two authorities. The prelates left the important decision to St. Bernard. After a mature examination of the facts of the case, the Abbot of Clairvaux declared that Innocent II. was to be acknowledged as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the lawful successor of St. Peter. All the bishops of the council agreed in his decision; a solemn *Te Deum* was chanted in thanksgiving; the king, the nobles, bishops and abbots subscribed to the election of Innocent, and promised obedience to him.

11. Still Peter de Leone did not desist from his revolt and schism; he was master of Rome and treated it as a conquered city. Innocent was compelled to leave. He turned toward the shores of France, where he was received with the most distinguished honor by Louis, under whose reign five Popes successively sought a home in the faithful realm, which Baronius calls "the haven that shelters St. Peter's bark from the storm." The august fugitive, unlike his rival, had neither arms nor wealth: "But," says an annalist, "he had St. Bernard, who was alone worth whole armies." The Abbot of Clairvaux came to place all the resources of his mind and character, and his boundless influence, at the service of the Sovereign Pontiff. Innocent sent him to Rouen, to confirm the King of England, wavering between the two obediences. "Prince," asked St. Bernard of the monarch, "what do you fear in submitting to Innocent?" "I fear," replied the king, "that I may commit a sin." "If that be your only obstacle," said the saint, "set your mind at rest. Think of the means by which you may satisfy the justice of God for your other faults; this one I take upon myself." Henry was satisfied; he acknowledged the authority of Innocent II., came to Chartres, where the Pontiff then was, and, throwing himself at his feet, promised filial obedience in his own and his people's name. Lothaire, king of Germany, begged the Pope to visit

his kingdom. Innocent yielded to his prayer, and came to Liége, where a council had brought together all the bishops of the country (A. D. 1131). At the Pontiff's approach, Lothaire advanced on foot to meet him, and led his horse by the bridle, to show the world how great is the father of kings and of all Christian nations The kings of Castile and of Aragon also sent their profession of fidelity to the authority of the legitimate Pope.

12. On his return to Paris, Innocent found the whole city thrown into a state of emotion by a splendid miracle lately wrought through the intercession of St. Genevieve, and which he ordered to be yearly commemorated. The capital of France was desolated by the fearful disease known as the *Sacred Fire* (A. D. 1130). Stephen de Senlis, bishop of Paris, ordered fasts and prayers to appease the wrath of Heaven. Still the plague increased. The sufferers came in such vast crowds to the cathedral, to beg the help of the Mother of God, that the canons could with difficulty celebrate the divine office. The whole city was sunk in the gloom of death. Stephen remembered that St. Genevieve had often rescued the city of Paris from threatening calamities. He accordingly appointed a day for a general procession, in which the relics of the lowly shepherdess of Nanterre should be borne through the streets of the city to the interior of the cathedral. On the appointed day the whole population thronged around the shrine of its patroness. The procession could hardly push its way through the dense masses that crowded its passage. Three hundred plague-stricken wretches had been carried into the cathedral; as the shrine crossed the threshold of the sacred edifice, they all instantly rose up in full health and vigor. The pillared vaults of the great temple shook with the loud and joyful acclamations of the grateful people; the whole vast throng, in prostrate adoration, broke forth into solemn hymns of gratitude and admiration. "Let no one," says the chronicler of the miraculous event, "cast a doubt upon our narrative; for we do not relate what we heard, but what we ourself saw and handled."

The memory of this prodigy is handed down to the remotest posterity by that testimonial of the city's gratitude, the church of Ste. Genevieve des Ardents.

13. On the 19th of October, 1131, the Pope opened a council in the church of St. Remigius, at Rheims; thirteen archbishops with two hundred and sixty-three bishops, from all parts of the Christian world, had met to make a solemn acknowledgment of obedience to the legitimate successor of St. Peter. When the censures already hurled against the antipope Anacletus had been renewed, King Louis appeared in the midst of the assembly, ascended the dais upon which the Pontifical throne had been raised, and kissed the feet of the Vicar of Jesus Christ; after which he took a seat at his side. It was but a short time since his eldest son, Prince Philip, had met a sudden death. The afflicted father, in a tone of heart-broken grief, and with tearful eyes, spoke to the bishops on the subject, pouring forth the sorrow of his heart in a few words, but with a pathos that drew tears from every eye. Touched by his deep grief, Innocent turned to the bereaved monarch: "Great king," he said, "the Lord tries His most faithful servants by adversity. This He does in His mercy, lest man, created to His image, should too fondly love the land of his exile and forget his true country. He has snatched from you a son worthy of all your love and regret; but He has taken him in the age of innocence and of the most winning virtues, to crown him with glory in the abode of the blessed: 'for of such is the kingdom of heaven.' You have doubtless wept this cruel loss. David too, that model of kings, shed bitter tears during the illness of his beloved child. But if God has taken from you a son who shall reign with Him in Heaven, He has left you others to reign after you here on earth. In this thought, great prince, you should find consolation, and console us too—poor, wandering strangers, driven from our church, banished from our native land. You have already done so: you were the first to welcome us to your realm for the love of God and of His blessed Apostle St. Peter. May the same God repay you with an imperishable home in

that Heavenly Jerusalem, where parting and tears shall be no more, where reigns a happiness undying, unalloyed!" The Pope then appointed the following day for the coronation of the young Prince Louis VII., then about ten years of age. "On that day," says a contemporary chronicler, "the sun seemed to shine with unwonted brightness; the heavens seemed to have put on their serenest aspect to deck the festal day, to console the bitter grief of the king, and justify all the hopes of the French monarchy." Robed in full Pontifical attire, surrounded by the officers of his court and the prelates of the council, the Pope came forth from the church of St. Remigius, leading the youthful prince by the hand. They thus proceeded to the metropolitan church of Nôtre-Dame, where the king, escorted by his nobles and barons, awaited their arrival. The festive gladness of the day and the sad remembrance of his recent loss struggled for mastery in Louis's heart; his eyes were filled with tears. The Pontiff led the young prince to the altar; there, receiving the *holy ampulla*, he anointed the new king with the oil used by St. Remigius in the baptism of Clovis, while the assembled clergy, and lords, and the whole multitude filled the great cathedral with the cry: "Noël! Noël! Long live Louis VI.! Long live Louis VII.!" (October 25th, A. D. 1131.)

14. The Catholic world recognized Innocent II. as rightful Pastor of the Church. With all his power and the influence of his wealth, Anacletus could rally about his standard only Roger, duke of Sicily, and William, count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine. Roger was entitled to the ducal coronet; he was ambitious to wear the royal crown. The antipope gave him the hand of his sister, added to his domain the principality of Capua and the lordship of Naples, and granted him the title which so flattered his vanity. These concessions Roger repaid by recognizing the authority of the antipope. Far different was the example given at the same period, by Raymond IV., count of Barcelona. He had married the heiress of Ranimires, king of Aragon, and on becoming master of the kingdom, by

the withdrawal of that monarch to the seclusion of religious life, he always refused to take the royal title or the crown. "I was born a count," said he, "and am no better than my fathers. I would rather be the first among counts than hardly seventh among kings." Roger of Sicily lacked the same lofty sentiments; he had bartered his conscience for the empty privilege of wearing a crown. William, duke of Aquitaine, was drawn into the schism by Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, whose unworthy conduct had compelled Innocent to withdraw his title and dignity of Apostolic legate in France. Ambition on the one hand, resentment on the other, gave two allies to the cause of Anacletus; but these isolated forces were powerless against the universality of the whole Catholic world. The emperor of Constantinople and the Latin princes of Palestine had sent their professions of submission and fidelity to Innocent II. The Sovereign Pontiff, strong in this support, determined to set out for Italy. Lothaire, king of Germany, promised to follow him with an army, to reinstate him in Rome, and expel the antipope. Before leaving France, Innocent wished to visit the monastery of Clairvaux, whose holy abbot had done so much in his behalf. "The poor of Jesus Christ," says a chronicler, "received His Vicar with the fondest affection. They went forth to meet him, not in purple and silk; they bore no choir books, covered with gold and gems; but, clothed in their coarse garb, they walked in procession, with downcast eyes, behind their modest wooden cross, piously reciting psalms and sacred hymns." As he stood upon one of the hills that hem in the valley of Clairvaux, the Pope broke forth into the exclamation: "Quam pulchra tabernacula tua, Jacob, et tentoria tua, Israel!" * His visit was a festival for the fervent religious. "All rejoiced in the Lord," says the same pious annalist; "but the solemnity consisted in great virtues, not in sumptuous feasting. The bread, instead of pure wheaten flour, was made of flour which still showed its original proportion of bran. If, by chance,

* How beautiful are thy tabernacles, O Jacob, and thy tents, O Israel!"—Numb. xxiv. 5.

ny fish was sent to the monastery, it was set before the Pope, o be seen rather than eaten."

15. Innocent II. tore St. Bernard from his loved retreat and took him to Rome. The journey of the Sovereign Pontiff, and the illustrious abbot was a triumphal march. The cities of Lombardy poured out their population to greet St. Bernard as he passed. Bishops disputed the honor of yielding him their thrones. Pisa and Genoa had long been at variance; the man of God appears; the soldiers break their weapons and throw the fragments at his feet. "Never shall I forget thee," wrote St. Bernard to the city of Genoa; "pious people, noble nation, illustrious city! Morning, noon and night, I preached the word of God; and your affectionate piety always brought you in crowds to listen. I brought peace among you; and as you were her children, our peace hath rested upon you. I sowed and reaped at the same time; I brought, as the fruit of my harvest, the hope of home to the banished; freedom to wretched captives; dread to enemies; confusion to schismatics; in fine, glory to the Church and joy to the Christian world." Lothaire met the Pope near Treviso and accompanied him on his way to Rome, while a fleet of Genoese and Pisan ships appeared before Civita Vecchia and took possession of the whole coast in the name of the legitimate Pontiff. At length, on the 1st of May, A. D. 1133, Innocent II. made his solemn entry into the Lateran basilica, amid the enthusiastic greetings of a people mad with joy. The antipope had shut himself up with his hirelings, in the church of St. Peter, where it was not deemed worth while to attack him. Lothaire II. and his queen, Richilda, received the imperial crown at the hands of Innocent II. The Pope, on this occasion, granted to the new emperor, in consideration of a yearly tribute, the freehold or the use of the estates bestowed by the Countess Matilda upon the Roman Church. This grant afterward gave rise to fresh troubles between the Holy See and the empire; it was accordingly revoked by the succeeding Popes, who again entered upon the possession of the patrimony of St. Peter. St. Bernard had, in the mean time,

been sent on a mission of peace, to Conrad, duke of Suabia, and Frederick, duke of Franconia, still in arms against their lawful sovereign, Lothaire. By the mediation of the holy abbot, the two princes were led to make due submission to the emperor. Frederick appeared in the Diet of Bamberg (A. D. 1135), to swear fealty and homage; in the course of the same year, Conrad publicly renounced the royal title, at Mulhausen, and acknowledged the suzerainty of Lothaire. The emperor restored them to their former possessions, honored Conrad with the rank of standard-bearer of the empire, and with the first place below the imperial throne. The Church and the empire were now restored to peace, through the mild and winning power of St. Bernard.

16. The lowly monk whose genius had achieved these great results, once more sought his beloved retreat of Clairvaux. But his season of rest was short. After the departure of Lothaire, with his forces, the troops of the antipope again took possession of Rome. Innocent II. thought proper to yield to the storm; he withdrew to Pisa, where he convoked a council of the bishops of Spain, Italy, France and Germany, hoping thus to crush the schism, by the union of the four great European powers in the same obedience. He sent for St. Bernard, whose presence seemed indispensable for the welfare of the Church. The saintly abbot, as usual, was the life of the council, which was opened on the 30th of May, A. D. 1134. "He was present in every session," says his biographer. "He was revered by all, and the bishops were often seen thronging his door. It was not pride that barred his doors against those who waited long to see him; it was the multitude of those who daily came to consult him; and thus, in spite of his humility, he seemed clothed with all the power of the Pope." Peter de Leone was solemnly excommunicated and his abettors deposed without hope of reinstatement. St. Bernard was next sent to Milan, to recall that city from its adherence to the schism. The arrival of the servant of God threw the whole city into commotion. Nobles and burghers, rich and poor, all came forth

to meet him, leaving the city untenanted. They pressed about him with transports of joy; they threw themselves down to kiss his feet, and drew the threads from his garments, as precious relics. Their faith was rewarded by miracles. The sick, on being brought to the saint, recovered their health. The pious throng would stand all day at the door of the lodgings which had been assigned him in the municipal palace; the saint, to satisfy their insatiable eagerness, was obliged to appear from time to time at the windows of his apartment, and there he raised his hands and blessed the multitude. The success of his mission could not, then, be doubtful. Even before he had entered within its walls, the city was converted, the people were crying aloud: "Long live Innocent II.! Long live Bernard!" Of all the wonders displayed on this memorable occasion, by far the greatest was the life of the holy abbot. Worn out by austerities and by more than human labors, his frail and languid body seemed always on the point of yielding, and yet it was ever renewed by a continued miracle, under the influence of divine Providence, which used him as an instrument to rule the destinies of the Church and of empires. Compelled to fly from Milan, where the people would have raised him, in spite of himself, to the archiepiscopal throne, he successively passed through Pavia and Cremona, where he met with the same triumphal reception. Having ended his mission in Lombardy, he recrossed the Alps. "The herdsmen," says the religious who accompanied him, and who afterward became his biographer, "came down from their mountain-homes to look upon his face and ask his blessing. Then scaling the rugged cliffs, they went back to their flocks, rejoicing that they had seen him, and proudly told how the man of God had raised his hands in blessing over them."

17. The Duke of Aquitaine still stubbornly held to the schism; and was the only French lord now favorable to the antipope. St. Bernard went to meet him at Parthenay (A. D. 1135). After a fruitless conference, the saint determined to have recourse to other weapons. When he went, as usual, on the following day, to celebrate the Holy Mysteries in the church, all the orthodox

faithful followed him into the sacred edifice; the duke and the other schismatics remained without. A moment after the consecration, the holy abbot, moved by a divine inspiration, holding the Sacred Host upon the paten, advanced with it to the door, where the duke was standing. Raising up the body of the Lord, Bernard said: "We have entreated you, and you have despised our prayers. Behold, now, the Son of the Virgin comes to you, the Chief and Lord of the Church you persecute! Behold your Judge, at Whose name every knee is bent in heaven, on earth, and in hell! Your Judge, into Whose hands your soul must one day fall! Will you despise Him, too? Will you despise Him as you have despised His servants?" While he spoke these words, the countenance of Bernard was clothed with angelic majesty; all who beheld the solemn scene were moved to tears; the duke himself fell prostrate in the dust. Bernard, touching him with his foot, bade him rise, and added, pointing to the Bishop of Poitiers: "There is the Bishop of Poitiers, whom you drove from his see because of his adherence to the true Pontiff. Go and be reconciled with him; give him the kiss of peace. Restore union in your states, and join, with the whole Catholic Church, in submission to the Sovereign Pontiff, Innocent II." The duke obeyed; the Catholic bishops were reinstated in their sees, and peace was restored to Aquitaine. Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, whose ambition had given rise to the schism, died suddenly at about the same period. With him perished the last symptoms of division, and there was no longer a single province in France that was not true to the authority of Innocent II.

18. In St. Bernard's career, each new success was but an occasion for increasing still the list of his triumphs. The happy issue of his mission to William of Aquitaine determined the Pope to use his resistless mediation with Roger, duke of Sicily. St. Bernard crossed the Alps, a third time, in A. D 1136, the year marked by the death of King Louis in France, and of Henry II. in England. The Emperor of Germany had just led his army into Italy, resolved to strike with the last

degree of severity, to extinguish the schism in the blood of its authors. The presence of St. Bernard, however, gave a new turn to his projects; and the struggle ended in one of those peaceful triumphs which marked the steps of the Abbot of Clairvaux. The man of God, accompanied by two cardinals, met the Duke of Sicily at Salerno. The celebrated Cardinal Peter of Pisa, who favored the cause of the antipope, was charged by Roger to answer St. Bernard's arguments, in a public conference. It was a splendid sight to see these well-matched combatants break lances in the polemical lists; on the one hand, the most learned cardinal of the day, in civil and canon law; on the other, the holy monk whose eloquence and persuasive power swayed the multitude and controlled Europe! Peter of Pisa spoke first in favor of Anacletus. "I know your talents and learning," replied St. Bernard, "and I would to God you had always used them in behalf of the right! Then would you be resistless. Then might we, poor desert-monk, better fitted to till the ground than to hold disputations, keep the silence which becomes us; such would even now be our course, were not the sacred cause of faith, the peace of the Church, and the repose of the world imperilled by the schism of Peter de Leone. There is but one ark of salvation, just as at the time of the deluge there was but one ark of Noah. In our days a new one has been built; and since there are now two, of necessity one of them must be doomed to perish. If, then, the ark of Peter de Leone be the ark of God, as you pretend, the ark of Innocent must be false and devoted to destruction. But then all the churches of the East and West will perish with it—France, Germany, Spain, England, the farthest isles, the remotest realms. The religious orders of the Camaldoli, the Carthusians, of Cluny, Grandmont, Citeaux, and Prémontré—that countless multitude of God's servants, must be engulfed in the same universal wreck! Of all the princes of the earth, Roger of Sicily alone has entered the ark of Peter de Leone; all the rest, then, must be lost; all, save Roger. Roger only shall be saved. God forbid that the religion of the whole

universe should perish, while the ambition of a Peter de Leone, whose scandalous life and conduct are known to the world, obtains the kingdom of Heaven!" At these words, uttered with his usual burning eloquence, the crowded audience broke out into loud applause. From all breasts burst forth the simultaneous cry: "Long live Innocent II., the lawful Pope!" Then drawing near to Peter of Pisa, the holy abbot took his hand: "If you will believe me," he said, "we shall together enter the ark of salvation." Grace had done its work in the heart of the learned cardinal, subdued by the eloquence of St. Bernard; and a few days later, Peter of Pisa laid at the feet of Innocent II. his profession of obedience and fidelity. Roger still wavered. He was bound to the party of Anacletus by ties of interest, stronger than chains of the hardest iron. But the death of the antipope, which occurred on the 16th of January, 1138, dashed the last hopes of the schismatics. They strove in vain to establish a succession by electing a shadow of a Pope, who took the name of Victor IV.; the public mind throughout all Southern Italy was too well enlightened on the question of the two obediences, and unanimously pronounced in favor of Innocent II. The usurper himself came to St. Bernard, during the night; the saint caused him to put off the Pontifical vestments which he had worn for some days, and led him to the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff. The Vicar of Christ received the wandering sheep with kindness, forgave his fault, and restored him to the communion of the Church (May 29th, A. D. 1138). The schism was at an end. On the following day, St. Bernard wrote to Geoffrey, prior of Clairvaux: "On the octave of Pentecost, a day of blessings and of mercy, God granted our prayers to the full, by giving back union to the Church and peace to Rome. On that day, all the sons of Peter de Leone humbled themselves at the feet of the Pope, and swore fidelity to him as his true children. Now there is nothing more to keep me here I do as you desire; instead of saying: I shall start; I say now: I start. Yes, I set out, and bear with me, as the reward

of my long absence, the victory of Christ and the peace of the Church. I come laden with the fruits of peace. These are happy tidings; but the facts are still better. Senseless or very impious must he be who does not rejoice." Within five days, the Abbot of Clairvaux was quitting Rome for the last time, tearing himself away from the gratitude and tears of a people who prostrated themselves as he passed, entreating a last blessing from his hand.

19. For the more thorough extirpation of all the disorders arising from the schism, Innocent II. convoked, for the month of April, A. D. 1139, the tenth general council—the second Lateran. Never before had so many prelates met to discuss together the interests of the Catholic world. About a thousand bishops answered the Pontiff's call; among them were noticed the Patriarchs of Antioch, Aquileia and Gradi. "The Pope," says a contemporary French chronicler, "stood in the midst of these prelates, the most venerable of all, as well by his majestic mien, as by the oracles which flowed from his lips." The Pontiff opened the first session with an eloquent address, warning the prelates against the suggestions of a false compassion or of a misplaced esteem, in favor of the schismatics. "Our rule of conduct," said he, "must be that of St. Augustine. When there is question of those rash spirits who have wilfully broken away from the Catholic Church and from the unity of Jesus Christ, we may not adduce their regular lives to cloak a weak indulgence. Let us, then, beware of leaving their boldness unpunished, and of allowing those sacrilegious men the peaceful enjoyment of violated canons and usurped authority." All the Fathers of the council expressed their assent to the views of the Sovereign Pontiff by the unanimous cry: "We annul the acts of Peter de Leone; let those he has ordained be degraded; let them be deposed who were consecrated at his hands." The sentence was executed. All the bishops present in the council, who had favored the cause of the antipope, were called upon by name; and they placed in the hands of Innocent II. their crosier, pastoral ring and pallium. However, the Sovereign

Pontiff restored several of them to their dignity, among them Peter of Pisa, in whose favor St. Bernard had specially written to the Pope. The council then promulgated thirty canons of discipline, renewing, for the most part, the censures already pronounced against the usurpation of ecclesiastical privileges by secular princes, against simony and clerical incontinence. In the closing session the Pope fulminated a sentence of excommunication against Roger, duke of Sicily, who still refused submission to the Roman Church and to its Head. The duke at once marched from Sicily, at the head of an army, and overran Apulia with conquering arms. All the cities of Southern Italy, except Troja and Bari, submitted to his power. Innocent, meanwhile, assembled faithful troops and marched against the enemy, determined to stem the torrent that threatened Rome. The two armies met at the foot of Monte Cassino; but, before coming to an engagement, a parley was held. The conditions of a treaty of peace had already been drawn up, when, in contempt of all international law and of plighted faith, the son of Roger surprised the Pope by an ambush, and took him prisoner (July 10, 1139). Thus was Innocent II., by an unforeseen mischance, thrown back into the greatest peril; the worst fears might well be felt for the peace of the Church. Providence ordered otherwise. Roger dared not avail himself of his triumph. The Pope, though in chains, seemed to him perhaps more formidable than unfettered and in arms. He accordingly resumed with his august captive the negotiations which had been so treacherously broken off. The chief clauses of the treaty were that the Pope should grant him the title of King of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia for one of his sons, and for the other, the principality of Capua. When all the terms had been finally concluded, the king and his two sons threw themselves at the feet of Innocent, begged his forgiveness for the violence inflicted upon him, and swore to be ever true to his authority. The treaty was signed by both parties on the 25th of July, 1139, and the Pope made it known to the whole Catholic world by a bull, stating the conditions of its ratifica-

tion. It is the first title of erection of the kingdom of Naples.

20. The Pontificate of Innocent II. seemed fated to fulfil, throughout, the prophecy made by the cardinals at its opening In 1140 the war of investitures threatened to revive in France, with greater violence than ever. At the death of Alberic, archbishop of Bourges, Louis VII. attempted to interfere in the election and to effect the promotion of a cleric whose only recommendation was the royal favor. The chapter deemed the qualification insufficient and elected Peter de la Châtre, whose lofty virtue fitted him for the eminent dignity. Louis refused to confirm the election. Peter de la Châtre repaired to Rome; the Pope, finding his election canonical, consecrated him with his own hands, and sent him back to take possession of his diocese. But the king had forbidden that Peter should be received at Bourges, or in any other part of his realm. The proscribed prelate found a home at the court of Theobald, count of Champagne: all the king's domain was placed under interdict and the sentence strictly enforced. These troubles were complicated by a difficulty of another kind. Ralph, count of Vermandois, and a relative of the king, had long been united to a niece of the Count of Champagne; and now he would have annulled the contract, on some groundless pretext, to marry the Princess Petronilla, sister of Queen Eleanor of Guienne. He found three accommodating bishops, of whom one was his own brother; the others, his creatures. These courtier-prelates made oath that there existed between the parties a relationship within the forbidden degrees of kindred, and they declared the marriage null. Ralph then repudiated the niece of the Count of Champagne, married Petronilla, and thus became brother-in-law to the king. Theobald of Champagne and the holy Abbot of Clairvaux both appealed to the Pope, entreating him to guard the sanctity of the marriage-tie against the attempt of Ralph, as he upheld the independence of episcopal elections against the encroachments of King Louis VII. Innocent directed Cardinal Yvo, his legate in France, to excommunicate the Count

of Vermandois, and renewed the interdict already laid upon the whole kingdom.

21. This act of Apostolic firmness threw the whole of France into a state of consternation. The effects of the interdict—the closed churches, the deserted altars, the absence of ecclesiastical ceremonies, the privation of the sacraments, granted only *in extremis*, Christian burial unhallowed by religious rite—struck terror into the heart of a people whose faith was their very soul and life. St. Bernard interposed between the king and the Sovereign Pontiff. "We do not pretend," he wrote to the latter, "to excuse the king. Pardon him, if it be possible to do so without detriment to the freedom of the Church and the respect due to an archbishop consecrated by the hands of the Pope." Louis, in the heat of youthful passion, and misled by evil counsels, had rashly sworn never to acknowledge the Archbishop of Bourges. The excommunication of the Count of Vermandois added fuel to the flame. To punish the Count of Champagne for daring to bestow hospitality upon the offensive prelate, but angered more especially by the appeal to Rome, in the case of Ralph, Louis led his army into the domain of Theobald. Becoming master of Vitry, in 1142, he gave the barbarous order to set fire to the city. The ill-fated place was burned to the ground. The flames reached the church; thirteen hundred human beings, men, women and children, who had sought an asylum within its walls, perished in its fall. The memory of the cruel deed was perpetuated by the name of the unfortunate city, thenceforth known as Vitry-le-Brûlé. Louis VII. in after years atoned for this savage deed by hours of stinging remorse and a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. For the time being, he carried on the war with varied fortune. Innocent II. did not see the end. Domestic strifes now stained the streets of Rome with blood. That light and fickle people, unmindful of its debt of fidelity and gratitude to the Holy See, would have thrown off the Sovereign Pontiff's authority. Memories of the Roman Republic began to disturb the popular mind. A senate was established in the capitol, as if the

glorious mission of Christian Rome, which, by the cross, rules the world, was not a royalty more worthy of a Roman's highest ambition than the traditionary tumults of the Forum and of the Gracchi. In the midst of these troubles Innocent II. passed away, after a reign of eight years (September 24, A. D. 1143).

22. We have been compelled to follow Innocent II. so closely, through the course of his stormy Pontificate, that our attention has necessarily been withheld from the consideration of the errors scattered, like cockle, in the field of the Church. Abelard was followed to his retreat in Provins by three thousand disciples, who took up their abode in the neighboring hovels, as the city was unable to accommodate such an increase of population. The popular teacher soon quitted this field, and withdrew to a solitary spot, near Nogent-sur-Seine, which he afterward called the Paraclete, the place of rest and comfort after his troubles, and here Eloise, at a later date, came to settle with her religious. The Paraclete was also visited by the same eager throng of Abelard's admirers. A multitude of private cells were soon built around the great monastery, the abode of the illustrious teacher. St. Bernard had examined Abelard's *Theology*. This duty he felt to be imposed upon him by the cry which was raised against it on all sides. He saw that it contained formal errors. No less than thirteen censurable propositions were found in the work. Abelard laid down the following doctrine: "In God, the names Father, Son and Holy Ghost are only figuratively used as emblematic of the fulness of the Sovereign Good. The Father is the full power; the Son is a certain power; the Holy Ghost is no power. The suggestions of the evil spirit in men are operated by purely physical means. We do not inherit from Adam the guilt of original sin, but only its punishment. Concupiscence, delectation and ignorance are but natural dispositions; we commit no sin by them." The first conference between St. Bernard and the impeached doctor proving fruitless, Abelard demanded the privilege of defending his orthodoxy against the Abbot of Clairvaux, in the council which was to meet at Sens. The council was

held in 1140; but Abelard, instead of arguing his case, simply appealed to the Pope and then quitted the assembly with his partisans. The bishops respected the appeal, and withheld judgment upon Abelard himself. They were content to condemn the doctrines submitted to their examination, and sent the sentence to Pope Innocent II., with a letter informing him of the appeal to his supreme tribunal. Every thing leads to the belief that Abelard was sincere; before leaving for Rome, he published a written disavowal of all the errors imputed to him. On reaching Lyons, he learned that the Pope had confirmed the sentence of the council, and condemned his work; whereupon, he wrote to the Pontiff in the most humble and submissive strain, declaring that he withdrew his appeal and explicitly subscribed the condemnation pronounced against him. Then, hastening to Cluny, he threw himself into the arms of Peter the Venerable, beseeching the holy abbot to take him under his guidance and help him to end in pious retreat a life shattered by so many storms. St. Bernard applauded his generous resolve, and wrote him the most touching letters, to exhort him to persevere. Thoroughly disabused of the illusions which had filled his days with bitterness and grief, Abelard ended his life in the practice of penance and of the highest virtues (A. D. 1142). Peter the Venerable undertook to make known the event to Eloise. "I cannot recall," wrote the abbot, "a truer model of humility and mortification. I marvelled to see a man, whose name was known throughout the world, lower himself to such a degree. In his food and bodily care, he showed the same simplicity as in his garb. His time was wholly given to the Sacred Scriptures and prayer; his silence was unbroken, save by the sermons and conferences he gave to the community. Since his reconciliation with the Holy See, he daily offered up the Holy Sacrifice, and, when sinking under the illness which carried him off, he asked to see all the brethren, begged forgiveness for the scandal he had given, professed his attachment to the Catholic faith, made a humble confession of his sins, and received the Holy Viaticum, with

every sign of the most fervent piety. Thus did Abelard surrender his soul to God, his Creator." Happy age, when faith furnished retreats for the erratic intellect; when genius expiated its vagaries in the arms of penance; when the Church, though often weeping over illustrious falls, was equally consoled by illustrious examples of penance!

23. The republican theories of pagan Rome, which some factious spirits sought to revive in the city of the Popes, owned as their apostle and tribune one of Abelard's scholars, Arnold of Brescia. The war of investitures, which had so long kept Europe in a ferment, turned the popular mind into an opposing current. Reasoning from the principle of the mutual independence of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, some innovators had worked out the consequence, that, "just as spiritual goods belong to the Church alone, so temporal goods belong exclusively to princes, and are incompatible with the exercise of the ecclesiastical authority." Such was the thesis defended by Arnold of Brescia, and so often reëchoed even in later days. On his return from France, where he had heard the lectures of Abelard, the false teacher traversed the Italian provinces, declaiming against the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, against ecclesiastical domains and fiefs, against the wealth of clerics and abbots. "All these estates," said he, "can, by right, belong only to secular princes, who can justly dispose of them only in favor of laymen. The clergy should be supported by tithes and the spontaneous offerings of the faithful." The tenth general council condemned the doctrine of the sectary. Arnold quitted Italy, crossed the Alps, and continued to teach his errors in Zurich. We shall meet his name again in the blood-stained annals of civil strife.

24. While false teaching thus joined its blighting power to that of schism, a generation of holy doctors and able writers rose up on the side of truth. William, abbot of St. Thierry of Rheims, who had first pointed out the poison lurking in the works of Abelard, wrote an admirable treatise on the Eucharist, a precious monument which carried on the chain of

historical testimony in favor of the real presence. Algerius, a canon of Liége, wrote at the same period and on the same subject. His name is likewise favorably known in connection with a little work on Grace and Free-Will. The city of Liége was illustrated by another writer, of whose works Bossuet says that "he loved them as he did those of the Fathers of the Church;" this was Rupert, abbot of Tuy. He tells us himself that in his youth the pursuit of knowledge was, to him, a seemingly impossible task. Full of confidence, however, in the Blessed Virgin, he threw himself on his knees before one of her statues in the abbey church of St. Lawrence, near Liége, and there earnestly begged the gift of understanding from the Mother of the Uncreated Wisdom. His prayer was heard; the most hidden mysteries of holy writ were revealed to him. His first production was the Treatise on the Divine Office, which was soon followed by the work on the Trinity and Its Operations, an immense compilation, including commentaries on nearly all the sacred writings. The series was completed by the works On the Glory of the Trinity, and the Procession of the Holy Ghost; The Triumph of the Word of God; The Glory and Honor of the Son of Man. Another light of the twelfth century—Hugh of St. Victor, so called from the abbey of St. Victor, in Paris, where he had made his religious profession—taught theology to a numerous and admiring audience. He followed the plan of Boëtius, striving, like his great master, to reconcile philosophy and faith. Happier than Abelard, because more humble and obedient to the Church, Hugh of St. Victor spent a peaceful life amid the pure delights of science and virtue. Among his other important works, particular mention is due to a book which treats of the method of learning, and which might be called the Treatise on Studies. The great eagerness for learning, which the age was now beginning to develop, required prudent guidance to bring forth good fruit. The illustrious religious classified the various branches of human knowledge, and sought, by a process at once synthetic and analytic, to

raise the mind first to the whole, to general principles, and then to lead it down to details and consequences. He places the idea of God on the highest summit of the world and of science, and would have all things tend to Him from Whom all things flow. "Philosophy," he says, "is the love of that infinite wisdom which is the living intelligence and first cause of all things. It is divine wisdom; infinite because it contains and contemplates in itself all things—past, present and future; living intelligence, because it is the increate, eternal substance; first cause of all things—because every thing is created to its image." Beside this general method, applicable both to divine and human science, Hugh of St. Victor wished to resume all theological teaching in one system, which he called the *Summa Sententiarum;* an idea afterward realized by St. Thomas Aquinas in his immortal master-piece, the Summa of Theology. While these lights of the Church shed abroad the bright beams of faith, its humbler walks were trod by St. Isidore the laborer, near Madrid in Spain, and St. Aibert, a solitary of the diocese of Cambray. The twelfth century was enlightened by every variety of glory, and recalled the brightest days of the Church by the fruitfulness of its institutions and works.

§ III. Pontificate of Celestin II. (September 26, A. D. 1143—March 9, 1144).

25. The death of Innocent II., amid the storms of popular passion aroused in Rome by the fanatical preaching of Arnold of Brescia and his partisans, might have been a signal for yet more serious troubles. Under existing circumstances, an election seemed threatened with insurmountable obstacles. But divine Providence, ever watchful of the Church's destinies, triumphed over human passions and the difficulties of the situation. The cardinals raised to the chair of St. Peter Cardinal Guido de Citta di Castello, who took the name and title of Celestin II., while the people, forgetting their dis-

sensions, came in crowds to hail the new Pontiff. A few weeks after his promotion, he simultaneously received two embassies, one from King Louis VII., the other from Theobald, count of Champagne. The king prayed for the removal of the interdict laid upon the French kingdom by his predecessor. The count entreated his mediation with the king. Louis agreed to recognize the Archbishop of Bourges and to restore the freedom of episcopal elections. When all these conditions had been duly settled, the ambassadors were admitted to a public audience with Celestin. They swore obedience to him, in their master's name, and begged that the kingdom might be freed from the interdict which weighed upon it. The Pope, rising from his throne, stretched out his hand toward France, gave his blessing to the whole land, and raised the interdict. This was the only public act of Celestin's Pontificate. He died on the 9th of March, A. D. 1144, after a reign of five months.

26. Celestin II. is the first of the Popes connected with the famous prophecies on the Sovereign Pontiffs, attributed to St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, in Ireland, whose friendship for St. Bernard drew him to Clairvaux, where he died in 1148. These prophecies were first published in 1595, by Arnold Wion, a Benedictine monk, four hundred and fifty years after the death of their supposed author. This circumstance favors the belief that they were forged to further party interests in the conclave of 1590, which elected Gregory XV., for the prophecies relating to that Pontiff's predecessors are remarkably clear and precise. No mention is made of them by any contemporary of St. Malachy. In the life of the illustrious archbishop, written by St. Bernard, these verses are not noticed, though the holy abbot speaks of some other prophecies made by his friend, far less important in every respect. The learned world has been divided in opinion respecting the origin and value of these oracles, amounting in number to one hundred and twelve, and claiming to reach the reign of the last Pope who shall govern the Church at the end of the world. "No

reasonable man," says M. Artaud de Montor,* "whether Catholic or of the so-called Reformed religion, pretends to believe them now, or ventures to say that he persists in such an error." "Though we make no account," says M. Henrion, "of the prophecies relating to events anterior to 1590, still we cannot but wonder how a forger, at that time, could have so truly conjectured, for example, what was to happen in the eighteenth century to Pius VI."†

§ IV. Pontificate of Lucius II. (March 10, A. D. 1144—February 25, A. D. 1145).

27. The reign of Lucius II., who was elected on the 10th of March, A. D. 1144, was to be short and stormy. Arnold of Brescia, the seditious tribune, who, in the twelfth century, represented the revolutionary ideas which in later days brought countless woes upon the world, had left many partisans in Rome. The short sojourn of Celestin II. on the Papal chair was like a lull between two fierce tempests. His death was immediately followed by the re-appearance, at Rome, of Arnold of Brescia, bolder and more vehement than ever. The popular mind was filled with fevered fancies by the cry of liberty. The names of Roman citizen, Republic, Comitia, Tribune, and Forum were restored. Rome might have thought herself once more in the times of Cato, less their sterling heroism. To complete the pagan resurrection, a senate was created and the title of Patrician bestowed upon Jordanus, a brother of Peter de Leone. The new government celebrated its inauguration by a triumphal procession, like those of the ancient conquerors, to the capitol. What a singular spectacle is presented by these popular reactions which, from time to time, startle the reader of historical annals, break off the onward march of civilization, and throw back the world into the darkest by-ways of the past! The would-be patriots demanded that the Pope, renouncing all

* Histoire des souverains Pontifes romains, t. II., p. 245.
† Histoire de la Papauté, t. II

right of suzerainty, should, like his predecessors of the early Church, depend upon the voluntary offerings of the faithful. They accordingly seized upon all the revenues and property of the Pontifical States. Lucius made an effort to check the course of the disorder. He sent legates to ask help from Conrad, who had just succeeded Lothaire II. on the throne of Germany. But before their return, he was severely wounded in a popular tumult, and died a martyr to his courage in defending the rights of his See (February 25, A. D. 1145). While his own rebellious subjects were trying to wrest from Lucius the sceptre of his apostolic power, Alphonso I. (Henriquez), proclaimed king of Portugal upon the field of Castro-Verde, after a brilliant victory over the combined forces of five Moorish kings (A. D. 1139), sent a solemn embassy to Rome, declaring the kingdom of Portugal feudatory to the Roman See, and engaged to pay to St. Peter a yearly tribute of four ounces in gold.

§ V. Pontificate of Eugenius III. (February 27, A. D. 1145—July 8, A. D. 1153).

28. The critical circumstances of the times did not admit of delay in giving a head to the Church. Two days after the death of Lucius, the cardinals elected Bernard of Pisa, once a monk of Clairvaux and afterward abbot of St. Anastasius, a monastery founded at Rome by St. Bernard. He took the name of Eugenius III. His consecration was solemnized on the 4th of March, in the monastery of Tarfa, whither the disordered state of Rome had compelled him to retire. Thus did Eugenius III. begin his reign, an exile. The new Pontiff had been one of St. Bernard's dearest sons. When the tidings of his election reached Clairvaux, the holy abbot felt all his paternal love rekindled within him. "What have you done?" he wrote to the cardinals. "You have brought back among the living a man already entombed! You have dragged back into the midst of the world's struggles and dangers one who was flying the world and its dangers! You have made the last first; and now his

latter state is worse than the former! But the same God who chose David, His servant, a lowly shepherd, to rule His chosen people, has also, by your voice, called Eugenius to the government of His Church. Yes, the finger of God is there!" His letter written on the same occasion, to the new Pope, is a master-piece of tenderness and delicacy. "The tidings of the great things which the Lord has done unto you have reached our desert-solitude. I expected a word from you; I hoped to be *prevented by you with blessings of sweetness.** I hoped that one of my children would come to assuage my grief with the consoling words: 'Joseph thy son is living, and he is ruler in all the land of Egypt.' I will speak, then, to my lord; for I no longer dare to call you my son, since my son is now become my father and I his son. Yes, if you deign to remember it, 'I have begotten you by the gospel.' And are you not now my hope, my joy, my crown, my glory, before God? True, you shall no longer bear the name of son, but rather the 'new name' which 'the Lord has given you.' Though I have lost the title of father, in your regard, yet I still keep all a father's love and fears;' I behold your elevation, and tremble lest you fall. Who shall give me, ere I close my eyes in death, to see the Church clothed again in the splendor of those early days, when the Apostles cast their nets, not for draughts of gold and silver, but to save immortal souls! Oh! that I could hear you address every simoniac in the words of him whose chair you hold: 'May thy money be with thee unto perdition!' What your mother, the Church, asks of you, what all her true children ask, is that every tree which was not planted by the Heavenly Father be uprooted by your hands; for you are set over nations and empires, to pluck up and to destroy, to plant and to build. Stand firm, then, in the defence of those possessions which the Lord has given you. Yet, remember that you are but a man, and that God holds in His hand the fate of kings. How many Roman Pontiffs have passed away, within

* "Prævenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis."—Ps. xx. 4.

a short time, before your eyes! Their little reign warns you that yours will be so too. As you have succeeded them upon the throne, so must you soon follow them to the grave!"

29. Eugenius III. was true to these lofty counsels. His Pontificate was marked by the watchful firmness recommended by St. Bernard. His first Pontifical act was the excommunication of Jordanus, the revolutionary patrician, with Arnold of Brescia, and their partisans. The Roman people were not long in learning, by bitter experience, that the rule of their so-called liberators was a yoke of iron. They longed to feel once more the paternal care of their Pontiffs. A reaction soon showed itself in the city; deputies were sent to lay at the feet of Eugenius III. the expression of the submission and repentance of his people. They abolished the order of patricians; Jordanus and Arnold of Brescia sought safety in flight. The merciful Pontiff pardoned all the guilty, and blotted out the past by his fatherly indulgence. "Then," says Otho of Freisingen, a contemporaneous author, "by the mercy of God, the city was filled with joy at the news of the Pope's unexpected return. He was met by thousands bearing green branches in their hands. They prostrated themselves on his way, kissed the marks of his footsteps, and even every portion of his garments. Banners waved in the air; the officers and judges pressed forward in a body. The very Jews shared the general gladness, and came forward bearing on their shoulders the law of Moses. The Romans joined their voices in harmonious strains, chanting their welcome in the words: 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!'" (A. D. 1145.) St. Bernard, in his motherly solicitude for Eugenius, dedicated to him his magnificent work *De Consideratione*, which might very fitly be styled the Manual of Pontiffs and Kings. He points out all the duties and all the perils of sovereignty. St. Pius V., of undying memory, held this work in such high esteem, that he had it read to him every day, while at table.

30. Meanwhile, tidings had reached Europe of the capture of Edessa by Zenghi, emir of Mosul, whose son Noureddin now

threatened Antioch. At Jerusalem, Fulk of Anjou, son-in-law and successor of Baldwin II., after a reign of uninterrupted struggles against the Infidels, died of a fall from his horse, leaving but two sons of tender years. Their mother, Queen Melisendra, had obtained the coronation of the elder, a boy of twelve, under the name of Baldwin III. The Saracens deemed the opportunity favorable for driving the Christians from their conquered territory. They took Ascalon and threatened the Holy City. The Bishop of Gabael, in Syria, was sent to bear the sad tidings to the West. He told with tears, how all the Christians in Edessa had been massacred, the churches desecrated and plundered, the relics of saints trampled under the hoof of the Moslem war-horse. The threatening danger awaked in every heart the old chivalric spirit which, fifty years before, found vent at the Council of Clermont, in the well-known battle-cry, God wills it! Eugenius III. commissioned St. Bernard to preach a second Crusade. The illustrious Abbot of Clairvaux advocated a military expedition like that of Godfrey de Bouillon, to be led by the King of France. Suger, however, did not share his views. While Louis was wavering between these two weighty authorities, the Bishop of Gabael turned the scale. "The kingdom of Jerusalem," said he, "was founded by the Franks; the Franks alone can save it." The new Crusade was decided. St. Bernard preached it before an immense multitude, at the great assembly of Vezelay, on the festival of Easter (A. D. 1146), with an impassioned eloquence, which roused a religious enthusiasm in all his hearers. "The cross! the cross!" was the universal cry. The large supply prepared for the occasion was soon exhausted, and the zealous preacher tore his own habit in pieces, to supply the deficiency.* Louis VII. was the first to take the cross, and was followed by Eleanor, his queen, Robert, count of Dreux, his

* Pons, abbot of Vezelay, to perpetuate the memory of this great day, founded a church, dedicated under the title of the Holy Cross, upon the hill where the knights and barons had met. The platform on which St. Bernard stood was long exposed to the veneration of the faithful.

brother, the Counts of Toulouse, Champagne, Soissons and Nevers, with an innumerable host of other nobles. Among the prelates were Geoffrey of Langres, Simon of Noyon and Arnold of Lisieux. They loudly called for St. Bernard to lead the great expedition; but the successful power of his eloquence had not enkindled in his own breast an enthusiasm like that of Peter the Hermit. The saint entreated Pope Eugenius not to make him play a part for which he was not fitted. "Who am I," he wrote, "to appear as the commander of an army, to marshal troops and lead them to battle? And even though, by some prodigy, I were now gifted with the capacity and physical power necessary, what could be more foreign to my profession?" Bernard's zeal was not satisfied with seeing the whole of France rise up, as one man, in answer to his call; he went to preach the Crusade in Germany. The German tongue was unknown to him; he was compelled to use an interpreter, who rendered his discourses as he preached. Still his very presence, his reputation, but above all, his miracles, worked wonders everywhere. At Spires, before King Conrad and all his court, among whom was an ambassador of the Eastern emperor; at Friburg, Basle, Schaffhausen, Constance, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Maestricht, and in most of the villages through which he passed, miraculous cures marked the footsteps of the man of God. These wonders were manifest, constant, of public notoriety and witnessed by thousands; and so firmly built is their historical truth, that not even Protestant writers have tried to shake it. Divine grace seemed to have made him the channel through which it would pour itself out upon the world. At Spires, the king interrupted St. Bernard in the midst of one of his soul-stirring appeals, and demanded the cross, with tears of deep emotion. The same eagerness was displayed by his two brothers, Henry, duke of Suabia, and Otho, bishop of Freisingen, the historian of his times, by his nephew Frederick, and a multitude of princes and nobles. The Duke of Bohemia, the Marquis of Styria and the Count of Carinthia took the cross soon after. The king, in a few months, found

himself at the head of two hundred thousand warriors, all eager to march against the enemy. St. Bernard thus wrote to the Sovereign Pontiff, in giving an account of the mission entrusted to his zeal: "You commanded and I obeyed; your authority has made my obedience fruitful; cities and castles are emptied of their inhabitants; everywhere we meet widows and orphans made so by absence, and not by death." To hinder the disorders attending the expedition of Peter the Hermit, and counteract the cruel fanaticism of the German monk, Rudolph, who, in preaching the Crusade at Cologne, Mentz and the other cities of the Rhenish provinces, advocated the massacre of the Jews as the worst enemies of the gospel, the Abbot of Clairvaux particularly insisted upon the obligation, binding on all the Crusaders, to respect the lives of the Jews. "They are," said he, "the living figures and letters, which remind us of the mysteries of our religion. Besides, they dwell peacefully in our midst. In warring against the Unbelievers, we repel force by force; but it ill befits a Christian warrior to strike an unarmed foe."

31. The German Crusaders moved in three great divisions. The first sailed in two hundred English and Flemish ships to Portugal, where the Moors still held Lisbon. The city was taken after a siege of four months, and restored, with the rest of the kingdom, to Alphonso Henriquez (A. D. 1147). Their mission thus happily crowned, they returned to their homes. The second division turned its arms against the heathen Sclaves, who had been for two centuries past ravaging Saxony and Denmark. After spreading terror and desolation among the barbarians, an honorable peace was at length concluded; but its provisions were violated immediately upon the departure of the Crusaders. The third body was destined for the East, to take part in the real Crusade. Louis VII. and Conrad were discussing the route to be followed. Roger, king of Sicily, whose long contests with the Eastern Empire made him thoroughly acquainted with Greek treachery, strongly urged the two kings to accept his offer of a sufficient number of ships

to convey their troops by sea. The advice was dictated by wisdom and experience; but it was unheeded, and bitterly did its contemners rue their self-willed course. The kings determined upon following the path first traced by Peter the Hermit, which would lead them by the way of Constantinople. Conrad started first, and marched through Hungary. Louis followed close in his rear, leaving France under the regency of his able minister Suger, who saw the coming evils, and loudly bewailed his inability to ward them off (1147). The combined forces of the two monarchs numbered about four hundred thousand warriors. Had Roger's counsel been received, a Sicilian fleet would have landed this immense army on the shores of Joppa, and Jerusalem had been saved; Palestine, Syria, and indeed the whole of Asia, would have been rescued from the thraldom of the Prophet, and safely sheltered under the standard of Christ. The German and French armies, while traversing Constantinople, learned to their cost the irretrievable mistake they had made. The Emperor Manuel,* with that duplicity which characterized the Comneni, received Conrad and Louis with such exaggerated professions of devotedness and admiration that the indignant prelate of Langres could not forbear exclaiming: "Prince, why speak so repeatedly of the glory, the majesty, the wisdom and piety of the king? He knows himself, and we, too, know him; tell us at once and plainly what you wish." Manuel required of the Crusaders an oath that all the Asiatic cities taken from the Turks should be immediately made over to the empire of Constantinople. In the course of a council held by the Latin

* Manuel was the grandson of Alexius, and the son and successor of John Comnenus, whose noble virtues won him a surname strangely in contrast with his swarthy complexion, harsh features and diminutive stature—Kalo-Johannes, or John the Handsome. His modest piety is evinced by the following trait. On his return from a successful expedition against the infidels, Constantinople awarded him the honors of a triumph. He was awaited at the city-gate by a gorgeous car, bright with gold and gems. The emperor refused to enter it, but ordered a statue of the Blessed Virgin to be placed upon it, and gave the triumph to Mary in thanksgiving for the protection she had bestowed upon his arms. The pious conqueror modestly walked at the head of the procession with a cross in his hand. His son Manuel inherited his crown, but not his virtues.

chiefs on the subject, the Bishop of Langres broke out into these eloquent words: "You now hear it yourselves. The Greeks demand that you acknowledge their authority and obey their laws. Now must weakness dictate to strength, cowardice to valor! What has this nation done, what have its ancestors achieved, to warrant this overweening pride? To say nothing of the snares which have beset our march, we have seen the priests of Byzantium, adding insult to injury, purify by fire the altars upon which our priests had offered up the Holy Sacrifice; and now they would extort from us engagements which honor forbids. Is it not time to put an end to their treachery and their outrages? Hitherto the Crusaders have had more to suffer from faithless friends than from avowed enemies. Too long has Constantinople been an offensive wall between us and our brethren in Palestine. Now, at length, we should open a free passage to Asia. The Greeks have been able to defend neither the sepulchre of Christ nor any Christian city in the East. Constantinople itself must soon, unquestionably, become the prey of the Turks and Barbarians, and with wonted baseness open to them the gates of the West. Necessity, your country, religion,—all demand the course I propose. God Himself calls us into the city of Constantine; He opens its gates to us, as He opened to our fathers those of Edessa, Antioch and Jerusalem." Had the voice of Geoffrey been heeded, the second Crusade would have been successful. While Manuel received a friendly greeting in the Christian camp, while he lavished honors and adulations upon the King of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and feasted the eyes of the French knights with the sports of the hippodrome and brilliant tournaments that recalled such vivid thoughts of home, he dared to sell them flour mixed with lime, held secret communications with the Sultan of Iconium, and kept the Turks informed of every project of the Christian chiefs. While his lips spoke the fairest words of love to the Crusaders, Manuel's treacherous heart would have rejoiced to see them swept away by some violent stroke of fortune. From the day on which they crossed

the Bosphorus, which the chroniclers called the channel of St. George, Byzantine faith took care that they should ever be beset with hidden foes: at one time the Christian host was led astray by treacherous guides, well paid with Byzantine gold; at another, the emperor's spies, who followed in their train, led on the expectant Turks to where they struggled through the deep defiles and gorges, a caged and easy prey. History can tell that it was not the fate of arms, but Greek treachery, that wrought the unhappy fate of the second Crusade. "I may not utter the name of that man," says a chronicler, speaking of Manuel, "for that name is not written in the book of life!"

32. The hatred of the Greeks was to be the source of fatal disasters to the Crusaders. On leaving Constantinople, Conrad pushed forward into the plains of Anatolia, following the guides given him by Manuel. These false leaders entangled the army amid the lonely mountain passes, and left them there, without resource, to the fury of the Turks. The Sultan of Iconium, acting upon information received from Manuel, raised a formidable army. At the head of these acclimated and light-armed troops, he fell upon the famished and exhausted Germans. The Turks hovered about the Christian flank and rear, within bow-shot; they sent their arrows with impunity, from the peaks and crags; every dart bore certain death to some warrior of the Cross. Spear, sword, battle-axe, all the bravery of the heavy-armed Germans, were of no avail against an enemy who ever kept out of reach. There could be no thought, now, of victory—they could but die. The bearing of this martyr-host was truly heroic; but the disaster was fearful; scarce a few thousand men escaped its fatal sweep. Conrad himself was wounded by two darts, while in the midst of his knights, powerless to shield him; he, however, succeeded in reaching Nice, where he rallied the remnants of his shattered army. Not a word of complaint ever passed his lips. "God is just," he said; "we alone are guilty." Louis was not more fortunate. After defeating the Turks on the banks of the Meander, the French army crossed Laodicea and marched for-

ward in three divisions, the advanced guard commanded by an Aquitanian baron, Geoffrey de Rançon. The road seemed to hang in mid-air, between steep precipices and over huge rocks piled up in high and shapeless heaps. Geoffrey had been ordered to halt on the summit of the mountain, to await the other two divisions. Unhappily, he failed in obedience. Having crossed the most perilous defiles and perceiving a fertile plain on the opposite declivity, he marched on and encamped in it. The remainder of the army was meanwhile following slowly. The centre, consisting of the baggage and the unarmed multitude, hemmed in by the narrow passes and deep precipices, was soon in a state of fearful disorder. The Turks seized the favorable moment, which they had been expecting, and poured down upon the terrified throng of pilgrims. The defenceless victims were pitilessly mowed down by the Turkish scimitar. Their piercing cries of agony and terror, repeated by every echo of the mountains, carried the fearful tidings to the king, who accompanied the rear-guard. Louis, with the knights whom the warning of peril had drawn around him, spurs forward to the scene of action. After a desperate struggle the centre is freed from the attack of the Mussulmans and continues its march; the king and his knights alone remain to meet the fearful odds. One by one his gallant comrades fall around him; finding himself alone, Louis seizes the pliant branches of an overhanging tree and swings himself upon a lofty rock. There his stout cuirass receives the darts of the baffled Turks, and his heavy sword lops off the head or hands of the daring foe who seeks to scale his rocky stand. Undaunted valor and falling darkness saved the King of France. He hurried, under the friendly cover of the night, to the camp, which he found in tears over his supposed loss. A march of twelve days, through a region wasted by the Turks, brought them to the gates of Satalia, a seaport town inhabited by the Greeks and governed in the name of the Emperor of Constantinople. They were closed against the Crusaders; a part of the army embarked with the king and sailed to Antioch. The re-

mainder formed in line of battle to cross Cilicia and return to Constantinople; but most of them were butchered by the Turks. "God alone," say the old chronicles, "knows the number of the martyrs and the streams of blood shed by the scimitars of the Unbelievers and even by the Grecian sword." Bereft of their army, Louis and Conrad continued their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visited the sacred spots they had come to rescue, and then set out for Europe. They had been outstripped by the tidings of their sad mischance. For a moment, the old enthusiasm seemed to burn again, with the desire of vengeance; the Sovereign Pontiff raised his voice; even the prudent Abbot Suger, who had refused to have any part in the Crusade, formed the project of going to the East to redeem the honor of the French arms and free Jerusalem. But the clergy and nobles were too nearly ruined by the first expedition and were unwilling to risk new dangers. St. Bernard, grieved at the fatal issue of the war, for which he was held answerable, refused the help of his eloquence to this second enterprise. His silence and the death of Suger, which occurred at this period, served to restrain the ardor of the West, about to break forth anew (A. D. 1148).

33. During the whole of the second Crusade, Eugenius III. had dwelt in France, where he was forced to take refuge, in 1146, from the partisans of Arnold of Brescia, still stirring up the passions of the Roman people. In the two Councils of Paris and Rheims (A. D. 1147–1148), Eugenius condemned the errors of Gilbert de la Porée, bishop of Poitiers. Like Abelard, he would discuss the mystery of the Holy Trinity. He was arraigned on four propositions, of which the two following are the most intelligible: "The divinity is not God.—The divine nature did not become incarnate." Two of Gilbert's archdeacons pointed out his errors to the Pope. They were solemnly examined before Eugenius III., in the Council of Paris. St. Bernard, who was ever present when the cause of truth needed a champion, convinced Gilbert, who, in turn, gave a noble example of submission, by submitting to the sentence of the council and anathematizing

his heresy. The Council of Rheims was called upon to condemn a fanatical sectary, led by gross ignorance into an extravagant schism. A nobleman of Brittany, called Eon de l'Etoile, believed himself the Son of God and judge of the living and the dead, because he often heard, in the prayers of the Church, the words: "*Per eum* (then pronounced *eon*), *qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum per iguem.*" This vagary would have been simply ridiculous, had it not found, among the people, some minds credulous enough to make a serious matter of it. Followed by a lawless rabble, Eon exercised his assumed rights as Son of God and universal Lord, stripping churches, plundering castles and monasteries, and spreading terror everywhere. The public safety required his arrest. The fanatic was brought before the council, leaning upon an ivory staff which diverged into two branches at the upper extremity. "This is a deep mystery," said Eon to the Pope. "This staff is an emblem of the power which is granted to me. As long as these two branches point heavenward, God holds two parts of the universe and leaves me the third. But when I reverse it, turning the double branch toward the earth, then I take to myself two parts of the world, leaving only the third to God." There was no discussing such an absurdity. Eon was placed in the hands of Suger, who ordered him into custody, to put an end to his disorders. The most lamentable feature of all was the unyielding obstinacy of some of his followers, who, when called up before the civil tribunals, persisted until death in their criminal folly.

34. This was the period of the great religious and social schisms which, spread abroad under the various names of Petrobrusian, Bulgarian, Henrician, Albigensian and Catharian, revived the principles of the early Manicheans, and ravaged the south of France and the chief cities of Germany.* Their doc-

* The Petrobrusians were so called from the name of Peter de Bruys, their leader; the Bulgarians were named from the country in which their sect first took its rise; the Henricians, from Henry, a disciple of Peter de Bruys; the Albigenses, from Albi, a city in Languedoc, the head-quarters of the sect, in southern France; the Cathari, derived their title from the Greek word καθαρὸς (*pure*), pretending to assimilate themselves to the principle of good by always rejecting the evil.

trine was nothing more than a total overthrow of all doctrine; their civil and religious code inculcated a denial of all authority, hence insubordination and anarchy; their morality necessarily involved the destruction of the family, under the pretext that the marriage-tie, by its very perpetuity, is incompatible with Christian holiness; and an absence of all law, and consequently of every call of duty, on the theory that laws are the work of the evil principle. Utopian dreamers of our modern school may here learn that they have invented nothing new, at least in respect to final results. They reach the same point, though by a different route; the error is essentially the same in both cases, simply adapting its shape and color to suit the shifting tide of the thoughts and passions of the times upon which it successively exerts his seductive power. For twenty-five years Peter de Bruys infested the provinces lying along the banks of the Rhone and the Garonne. Emboldened by success and by the number of his followers, he carried plunder and conflagration to all the churches and monasteries of Languedoc, and at length crowned the measure of his excesses by burning, upon the public square of St. Giles, a pile of crosses which he had broken down. This spectacle roused the indignation of the faithful beyond endurance; they seized him, raised another pile upon the same spot, and avenged the outraged honor of their faith by throwing the iconoclast into the flames (A. D. 1147). The enemies of the Church would make a martyr of this wretched impostor. The summary act of justice which put an end to his disorders and his life, they represent as a disgraceful and gratuitous atrocity. Unbiassed history can see, in Peter de Bruys, only a rebel in arms against every civil and religious law of his time. The flames of St. Giles, kindled by the just indignation of a people, were a protestation against the outrage offered to the sacred sign of salvation, the standard under which thousands of Crusaders were shedding their blood on the battle-fields of Palestine. Peter the Venerable and St. Bernard met the heretics with other weapons. The Abbot of Cluny visited the southern provinces of France, teaching the misguided people the true doctrine of the gospel.

We have still a tract of his, in which he eloquently refutes the errors of the sectaries, and proves, against them, the divinity of the hierarchy and sacraments of the Church. But all the wonders of conversion, at this epoch, were held in reserve for St. Bernard, whom divine grace seemed to have marked as its chosen minister. The passage of the holy Abbot of Clairvaux through Albi, Toulouse, and the principal cities of Languedoc, was a real triumph. The churches were unequal to the multitudes that thronged to hear his words. His voice, his very presence scattered the clouds of prejudice and error, which yielded to the holy light of faith. The many miracles wrought through his prayers were more convincing than even his burning eloquence; and when he quitted Languedoc, he seemed to have left not a single heretic there. Unhappily, however, the root of the evil remained; many combats, fresh struggles and labors were needed to pluck it out entirely. Peter the Venerable did not limit the efforts of his zeal to the struggle against the Albigenses: he undertook two important works which would alone have been enough to illustrate his name. The first is a complete refutation of the Talmud, in which he proves, against the Jews, the divinity of Jesus Christ. The second is a similar work against the Koran and the Mussulman doctrines. For the latter undertaking, the venerable abbot had the work of Mahomet translated into Latin—the first attempt of the kind ever made in the West. The spirit of heresy and error, so ably combated by the zeal and learning of the pious Abbot of Cluny, could not check the generous impulse which led many souls to the practice of the highest virtues. The brightest era of saintliness and virtue that adorned the Church's early years seemed now revived in Northern Europe, by St. Henry, bishop of Upsal; St. Eric, king of Sweden; St. Vicelin, bishop of Oldenburg; in Germany, by St. Hildegarde, a nun of Disemberg, in the county of Spanheim, so renowned for her wonderful revelations; St. Leopold, margrave of Austria; in France, by St. Stephen of Obasine; in England, by St. Gilbert of Sempring-

ham; in Ireland, by St. Malachy, the friend of the Abbot of Clairvaux.

35. Eugenius III. was at length enabled to return to Rome. Before leaving France, he visited the monastery of Clairvaux, in which ten years before he had dwelt a simple monk. As he spoke a few words to the community, he could not restrain his tears. He exhorted and consoled the companions of his earlier years with the affection of a father. Under his Pontifical robes, he ever wore the hair-shirt. Embroidered cushions were borne before him; his bed was decked with purple and costly stuffs; but within it was furnished with a straw mattress and cotton sheets. The Sovereign Pontiff never forgot to live the austere disciple of St. Bernard. Eugenius reached the Pontifical city only to find it still a prey to popular anarchy; yet the ingratitude of the Romans did not lessen his generosity. He endowed his capital with costly monuments, rebuilt the church of St. Mary-Major, with the addition of a splendid portico richly ornamented with designs, in mosaic. The reign of Eugenius plainly showed the hand of Bernard at the helm. The holy abbot once wrote to him: "They say that I am Pope, and not you. Those who have business of weight to transact, pour in upon me from all sides, and I cannot escape their importunity." Eugenius III. displayed the zealous piety, disinterested prudence and devoted care in the government of the Church, in the progress of religion and the extirpation of error, which make up the character of a great Pope. He sought out true worth, and knew how to reward it. To his care we owe the Latin versions of many of the Greek Fathers, among others the works of St. John Damascene, on the orthodox faith. Eugenius died on the 8th of July, 1153, after a reign of eight years. During the preceding year, Conrad III., the first emperor of the house of Hohenstauffen, had ceased to reign, leaving the throne of Germany to his nephew, Frederick Barbarossa, whose name, so fatal to the Church, was destined to a dark renown.

§ VI. Pontificate of Anastasius IV. (July 9, A. D. 1153—December 2, A. D. 1154).

36. The very day on which Eugenius died witnessed the election of his successor, Conrad, archbishop of Sabino, who took the name of Anastasius IV. The new Pontiff was well advanced in years and virtue; his charity displayed itself during the ravages of a famine then desolating Italy. The length of his Pontificate was not proportioned to the just hopes awakened by his promotion. Anastasius died on the 2d of December, A. D. 1154.

37. The first days of his reign were marked by an event which plunged the whole Church into the deepest grief. St. Bernard had now reached the age of seventy-three years. Deeply afflicted by the disastrous issue of the Crusade, broken down by disease and toil, his only remaining strength was the burning zeal that still struggled against the flagging energy of his frame. His last act was one of charity. The city of Metz was torn by civil discord; the dying saint was carried to the scene. In tones deadened by disease, but ever powerful by the living faith that gave them utterance, he spoke of peace to the excited people. Thoughts of enmity, hatred and revenge fled before the influence of that eloquence which, for half a century, had controlled the passions and thoughts of the multitude. The saint brought together the leaders of the two parties, on an island in the Moselle, and there made them sign a treaty of peace. After this triumph, worthy close to forty years of ceaseless combat, he returned to Clairvaux. A few days before his death, he wrote to his friend Arnold, abbot of Bonneval, who had sent him some fruit: "I received the gifts of your charity with gratitude, but without pleasure; for what can please when all is bitterness? Still the spirit is free, in the weakness of the flesh. Pray to our Lord not to delay my departure from this world, and to be merciful to me in that hour when I shall stand, worthless and empty-handed, before

Him. I have written these few lines, weak as I am, with my own hand, that, recognizing the hand, you may also recognize the heart." The heart of St. Bernard had, in its charity, embraced both the East and the West. The whole world wept his loss (August 20, A. D. 1153). The nobility and people of all the neighboring places, startled by the tidings of his death, crowded the hills that look upon Clairvaux and filled the valley with the sound of their mourning. In expectation of the time when the Church would grant him public honors, the remains of St. Bernard were buried in the chapel of his monastery, before the altar of the Blessed Virgin, to whom the saintly abbot had always shown a most tender devotion.* "The whole universe," says a chronicler, "seemed to have lost its light, its joy, its happiness and life. A king of Sardinia came down from his throne, to spend the remainder of his life near St. Bernard's tomb at Clairvaux. Eskil, archbishop of Lunden and primate of Denmark, followed the devoted example. The North and the South, the East and the West, all met to show love and honor to him who had so much loved and honored God and his fellow-men!"

* The devotion of St. Bernard to the Blessed Virgin is one of the best-established facts in his history. Protestant writers have endeavored to call it in question, on the strength of an isolated incident. In 1140, the Canons of Lyons, without any sanction from the Apostolic See or any episcopal authority, and on their own responsibility, established in their church the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. St. Bernard wrote them a long letter, censuring their proceeding, for three reasons: 1. For instituting a *new* feast; 2. Because he sees no legitimate ground for it; 3. Because they should not have solemnized it before consulting Rome." "However," says the Saint, in conclusion, "I leave the question entirely to the judgment of the Holy See, ready to retract whatever I may have uttered contrary to its decision." Since then, the Roman Church has not only adopted the pious belief, but also encouraged it by numberless spiritual favors. She has authorized the addition, in the solemn preface of the feast, of the word *Immaculate*. It cannot be doubted that Mary's most fervent client, were he now on earth, would join his prayers to those of the Catholics who humbly entreat the Holy See to give a dogmatic decree in favor of the Immaculate Conception.

(The Church has now pronounced upon the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The glorious decree of Pius IX. is one of the most splendid monuments of the Church's history.—NOTE OF JUNE 1, 1855.)

CHAPTER VII.

§ I. Pontificate of Adrian IV. (December 3, A. D. 1154—September 1, 1159)

1. Election and antecedents of Adrian IV.—2. Punishment of Arnold of Brescia.—3. Political state of Italy under Adrian IV. William the Bad, king of Sicily. Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany.—4. Coronation of Frederick Barbarossa.—5. Restoration of peace between Adrian IV. and William the Bad.—6. The Pope's letter to Frederick Barbarossa.—7. Meeting at Roncaglia.—8. Separation of Louis VII., king of France, and Eleanor of Guienne.—9. Intellectual movement during the Pontificate of Adrian IV. The scholastic system. Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences. Decree of Gratian.—10. Military orders in Spain.

§ II. Pontificate of Alexander III. (September 7, A. D. 1159—August 30, 1181).

11. Voltaire's eulogy of Alexander III. Schism of the antipope Victor III.—12. The false Council of Pavia issues a sentence of deposition against Alexander.—13. The lawful Pontiff is supported by the majority of the Catholic world.—14. Destruction of Milan by Frederick Barbarossa.—15. Alexander retires into France, to escape the fury of Barbarossa. Conference between Louis VII. and the deputies of the German emperor.—16. Council of Tours.—17. Death of the antipope; is succeeded by Guy de Crême, under the name of Paschal III. Return of Alexander III. to Rome. Restoration of Milan. Frederick Barbarossa takes Rome. The Pope withdraws to Anagni.—18. Congratulatory letters sent to Pope Alexander after the retreat of Frederick Barbarossa.—19. Death of the antipope Paschal III. John, abbot of Strum, succeeds, as Calixtus III. Siege of Ancona.—20. Frederick Barbarossa submits to the Pope. Ratification of the peace. Interview between the Pope and the emperor.—21. Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.—22. Council of Northampton.—23. Thomas à Becket visits France and is taken under the protection of Louis VII.—24. The King of England excommunicated by Thomas à Becket. Alexander III. confirms the sentence. Reconciliation of the prelate and the king.—25. Martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket.—26. Penance of the King of England.—27. Eleventh general council and third Lateran.—28. Death of Alexander III.—29. Holy persons of his Pontificate. Beguinages.

§ III. Pontificate of Lucius III. (September 1, A. D. 1181—November 24 1185).

30. Final treaty between Frederick Barbarossa and the Lombard cities.—31. Bull of Lucius III. against the Albigenses, Cathari and Patarini. Origin of the Inquisition.—32. The Humiliati, or Poor Men of Lyons. Waldenses —33. Death of Lucius III.

§ IV. Pontificate of Urban III. (November 25, A. D. 1185—October 19, 1187).

34. Election of Urban III. Accession of Isaac Angelus to the throne of Constantinople.—35. Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa, crowned king of Italy.—36. Jerusalem taken by Saladin. Death of Urban III.

§ V. Pontificate of Gregory VIII. (October 20, A. D. 1187—December 15, 1187).

37. Election and death of Gregory VIII.

§ VI. Pontificate of Clement III. (December 19, A. D. 1187—March 25, 1191).

38. Departure of Frederick Barbarossa for the Holy War. His successes and death.—39. Death of Clement III.

§ VII. Pontificate of Celestin III. (March 28, A. D. 1191—January 8, 1198).

40. Coronation of the Emperor Henry IV.—41. Departure of Philip Augustus and Richard the Lion-hearted, for the Crusade. Siege of Ptolemaïs.—42. Capture of Ptolemaïs.—43. Philip Augustus returns to France. Successes of Richard in Palestine.—44. Return of Richard to Europe. Death of Saladin.—45. Unjust detention of Richard by Leopold, archduke of Austria, and by the Emperor of Germany. Efforts of Celestin III. to obtain his release. Death of the Pope.—46. Saints of this period.

§ I. Pontificate of Adrian IV. (December 3, A. D. 1154—September 1, 1159).

1. Nicholas Breakspear, the only Englishman who ever sat in the Apostolic chair, was elected to succeed Eugenius III. on the 2d of December, A. D. 1154, and took the name of Adrian IV. The extraordinary circumstances attending his promotion plainly betrayed the workings of the Almighty Hand. His

father was a servant in the monastery of St. Alban's, and was supported by the charity of the religious. Driven from his home by penury and the harsh treatment of his father, Nicholas wandered about the country for some time, but at length passed over to France; but he was led by the unseen, yet ever-present hand of Providence. The monastery of St. Rufus, near Arles, afforded him hospitality. His studious and regular habits, his lofty and generous disposition, and the genius which displayed itself even in his lowly station, induced the monks to make him abbot. Envy never yet spared the noblest character; some of the monks soon afterward complained of Breakspear to Eugenius III. "Go," answered the Pope, "and choose an abbot with whom you may be able, or rather with whom you are willing to live in peace; your present superior shall not long be a burden to you; I appoint him Cardinal of Albano." The new dignitary of the Church was sent, as Apostolic legate to the northern kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. His eloquence, tact and gentle manners endeared him to these half-savage people. He was also the bosom friend and fellow-worker of St. Henry, bishop of Upsal, and of Eskil, bishop of Lunden. On his return to Rome, whither his high reputation had preceded him, he was unanimously elected to succeed Eugenius III., just deceased. The poor English exile, led by such wonderful ways to the highest earthly dignity, must now make ready to struggle against popular passion and royal encroachments; and we shall find him equal to the task of upholding, amid stormy conflict the grandeur and dignity of St. Peter's chair.

2. Arnold of Brescia was still in Rome, busy with his plans of pagan revival and republican government. Adrian IV. found himself compelled to lay the Eternal City under interdict. Such a punishment had never yet been inflicted upon that august capital, even in the stormiest struggles of the Church. The celebration of the Holy Mysteries and the solemn ceremonial of the sanctuary were interrupted until the 23d of March, A. D. 1155. But at length the senators, unable longer to

withstand the entreaties of both clergy and people, made their submission to the Sovereign Pontiff, in St. Peter's church, swearing, upon the holy gospels, to expel Arnold of Brescia and his adherents from the city and territory of Rome. The schismatic chief anticipated them by a voluntary flight, but fell into the hands of the troops sent by Frederick Barbarossa to the Pope's assistance. He was handed over to the Prefect of Rome and beheaded in the castle of St. Angelo (1155). Protestant and sectarian writers, hostile, on various grounds, to the Papal power, have labored to surround the name of Arnold of Brescia, the forerunner of modern revolutionists, with the halo of martyrdom in the cause of freedom. He was but fairly judged and punished according to the laws of his country, which he had persistently and flagrantly outraged. He aimed at the overthrow of society and order; he fell in the name and by the award of order and society. What would become of the world, if the sword of justice were withheld from striking the avowed enemies of all justice and rightful authority?

3. The same month which had witnessed the election of Nicholas Breakspear to the throne of the Vatican was signalized by the coronation of Henry Plantagenet, the second of his name in the English realm. On learning the exaltation of his subject to the Papal chair, Henry wrote him a congratulatory letter. "The tidings of your promotion," wrote the king, "have been received with transport in your Western home, proud of having given to the world this new luminary, the light of Christendom. May the hand of God, which has transplanted you, as a tree of life, from the soil of England to the midst of His paradise, in the Church, likewise shelter you from the fury of the winds!" John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres, the friend and fellow-countryman of Adrian, was intrusted with the grateful mission of bearing this letter to the Pope.* The

* John of Salisbury was instructed to ask the Pope's permission for the King of England to enter and hold Ireland, with a view to the restoration of the Christian religion, crushed down by native idolatry. Adrian granted the request by a bull in which he thus

heart of the humble Pontiff was not unduly elated by prosperity; he poured forth without restraint, into the bosom of friendship, the cares which racked his breast. "Our Lord," he said to John of Salisbury, "has ever kept my course between the anvil and the hammer; and now I beg of Him to help me to bear the burden with which He has loaded me, otherwise it must overcome my weakness." Adrian was indeed surrounded by threatening dangers. William the Bad (A. D. 1154) had just succeeded his father Roger, on the throne of Sicily. The prince's surname is a sufficient indication of what must have been his stand in regard to the Holy See. He became the avowed protector of the revolutionists in Rome, and seized the principality of Beneventum by armed force. Adrian hurled a sentence of excommunication against the unscrupulous invader. Meanwhile Frederick Barbarossa was crossing the plains of Lombardy, at the head of a vast army, marking his path by blood and ruins. Since the days of Otho I., Northern Italy had received no lasting marks of the imperial power; at certain intervals, the German armies, like a destructive torrent, swept along this great highway of nations, to have their Cæsars crowned in Rome; but the passing inroad left no permanent trace. The Italian nationalities would then resume the work broken off, for a moment, by hostile arms, and strive to build up their own independence. Thus, under the nominal suzerainty of an uncertain German emperor, always an absentee, Lombardy was split up into a number of petty republics, insignificant in size, but whose ambition far exceeded their bounds; governed by their own laws, choosing their own chiefs, ready to make war or peace, without once consulting the emperor's wish. Milan was the most powerful of these republics. Fred-

addresses Henry II.: "It is universally known, as you are aware, that Ireland, as well as all the other islands which have received the faith of Christ, belong, as fiefs, to the Roman Church. We, therefore, gladly allow you the right which you seek for the spread of our holy religion." The bull was accompanied by a gold ring, set with a costly emerald, as a mark of investiture. This fact, together with the express words of Adrian IV., perfectly established the existence of the public law which gave to the Popes of the middle-ages a species of sovereign protectorate and universal suzerainty.

erick Barbarossa had ascended the imperial throne with a determination to restore the universal monarchy. He indulged the dream that the fallen greatness of the Roman Cæsars might be again displayed in his person. "Let the Pope," said he, "but confirm, by his authority, the lawfulness of my undertaking, and the whole world shall form but a single empire, with the Sovereign Pontiff as its spiritual and the emperor as its temporal chief." Such an achievement was possible only to a genius equally correct and lofty, of equal virtue and power. But Barbarossa knew no justice, no law, other than his ambition, no higher virtue than that of arms. The project called for another Charlemagne; Frederick Barbarossa was but too often a second Attila. Beside, this chimera of a universal empire, which has ruined greater heroes than Frederick, would be, at best, but the overthrow of all rights, the destruction of all nationality, the annihilation of every patriotic sentiment, for the sake of a single people, of a single man. Would the result compensate the torrents of blood that must necessarily be shed in its achievement?

4. However, Frederick thought to begin the execution of his vast design, by bringing back to his sway the Italian peninsula, which he esteemed the patrimony of the empire, and which, in its decline, was still the fairest portion of its territory. Full of such ambitious hopes, he crossed the Alps in October, A. D. 1154, at the head of a formidable army. Milan, Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, open their gates to the conqueror. Tortona dares to resist; the merciless victor gives it to the flames and passes the ploughshare over its smouldering ruins. Heralded by the terror now coupled with his name, he soon stands before the walls of Rome. "He was eager to feel the weight of the crown of the Roman Empire, and of the whole world." Such are the significant words of the chronicler bishop, Otho of Freisingen, his uncle. His approach revived the hopes of the revolutionary faction, and their deputies met him in his camp at Sutri. "Stranger as you were," they said, "we have made you our fellow-citizen and our prince. It remains for

you, now, to rescue Rome from the Pontifical yoke, to confirm our ancient customs, and to give back to the Eternal City its early splendor by restoring the senate and the order of knighthood." "What!" exclaimed the irritated monarch. "Is Rome, then, to-day the Rome of Cæsar and Augustus? No, you have made me neither citizen nor prince. Charlemagne and Otho conquered you by force of arms. It does not become subjects to dictate to their sovereign." Adrian had also come to meet the German prince at Sutri. To set the Sovereign Pontiff at rest upon his ultimate intentions, Frederick had, through his deputies, promised him inviolable fidelity. Yet, in their very first interview, a seemingly trifling incident threatened to break off all their friendly relations. Frederick refused to conform to the usual etiquette in such cases, and would not hold the stirrup while the Pope dismounted.* Adrian, in turn, refused to admit Frederick to the kiss of peace. The point was discussed; the emperor submitted, was solemnly conducted by the Pope to the church of St. Peter, and there received the imperial crown from the Pontiff's hands; "Whereupon," says a chronicler, "the Germans gave vent to their joy in acclamations like the rolling thunder" (June 18th, 1155). The Roman revolutionists, seeing all their projects foiled by this union of the Papacy and the empire, sallied forth from their stronghold in the castle of St. Angelo, rushed upon the emperor's attendants and slew them in the very basilica. The imperial troops at once engaged the revolters; a fierce struggle

* They who treat as puerile the firmness displayed by Adrian IV. in maintaining the rights of his predecessors, show themselves unacquainted with the workings of human nature, which always strives to assert its independence in apparently insignificant matters. The homage withheld by Frederick was not due to the person of the Pope,—in this case, a poor English exile, raised, as he used to say of himself, from his lowly rank to the royalty of the Church,—it was directed to the Pontifical dignity itself, to the Vicar of St. Peter, the representative of Jesus Christ. By the honor paid to the highest earthly exponent of authority, princes, kings and emperors honored themselves and gave to their own power a higher sanction in the eyes of their subjects. The emperors, from Charlemagne to Charles V., understood this truth and ever paid their tribute of veneration to the Papacy. All Europe has learned, by bitter experience, what it costs to forget that the authority which springs not from a divine principle is no longer an authority at all.

ensued, and the reign of Frederick Barbarossa was inaugurated amid streams of blood.

5. Adrian, placing but little dependence on the faith of his new ally, hastened, after his departure from Rome, to make a treaty of peace with William the Bad (A. D. 1156). He recognized William as king of Sicily, on condition of his continuing to pay the yearly tribute, as his predecessors had done, and to do homage to the Pope for the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, the principality of Capua, and all their dependencies. During the preliminary negotiations, Adrian IV. gave a proof of his generosity and of his lofty views of policy, by refusing the help offered by Manuel Comnenus, against William of Sicily, in consideration of the suzerainty of three seaports on the Italian coast. The Pope saw that such a system would throw Europe back to the time of Narses, and complicate a situation of already doubtful issue. He rejected Manuel's proposals, but availed himself of the relations thus established between the Holy See and the court of Constantinople, exhorting the emperor to work earnestly for the re-union of the Latin and Greek Churches, which had stood apart since Michael Cerularius had dragged the Greeks from the pale of Roman unity. The chief points on which they were, and are still, divided, were: 1st The dogma of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and the addition of the *Filioque*, made by the Latin Church to the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creed; 2d. The Pope's primacy and jurisdiction over the whole Church; 3d. The consecration of unleavened bread in the Eucharistic sacrifice. Adrian's endeavors to restore union, though not openly opposed, failed to arouse the indifference of the Greeks and remained fruitless. The hour marked by God was not yet.

6. The alliance between the Pope and William the Bad was a source of deep irritation to Frederick Barbarossa, who had nourished a secret hope of possessing the whole of Italy by means of the misunderstanding between the Holy See and the kingdom of Sicily. The revolt of Lombardy (A. D. 1158) caused his anger to break forth openly. He crossed the Alps once

more, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and laid siege to Milan. Against such fearful odds resistance was out of the question. True to the Italian policy which had never failed them yet, the Lombard republics yielded to force, swore to the terms of peace imposed upon them by the emperor, and thus saved their existence, in the hope that circumstances might yet bring them the occasion of regaining their freedom. Master of Lombardy, the emperor thought to treat the Pope as he would treat a conquered prince. Adrian wrote to him in a tone of fatherly tenderness: "We have always felt for you the affection of a tender father for a beloved son. You cannot already have forgotten the heartfelt welcome extended to you by the Holy Roman Church, your mother, when she *bestowed* (contulit) *upon you the imperial crown.* We do not regret having granted all you desired; were it possible, we could wish that your Majesty had received even greater *benefits* (beneficia) at our hands." Frederick was not a Latin scholar; his chancellor was obliged to translate the Pope's letter for him into German; the word *beneficia* was rendered by *fiefs* and *contulit* by *conceded.* The emperor was thus led to think that the Pope deemed the empire but a fief of the Roman Church and the imperial crown a gift of his benevolence, revocable at will. It was historically true that the German empire, re-established by the Roman Church, to be its sword and its arm, did derive immediately from the Popes. This honorable condition was accepted by the immortal Charlemagne, when he received the diadem from the hands of Leo III. But Frederick Barbarossa knew as little history as his chancellor did Latin. Adrian had used the words in their natural acceptation: *beneficia* meant *benefits.* When he spoke of the imperial crown, he merely wished to recall to the ungrateful emperor the pure and simple fact of his coronation in St. Peter's. His explanations were vain; Barbarossa heard but the counsels of his anger. After a warm debate, Roland, the legate who bore the Pontifical rescript, was compelled to fly from the imperial wrath. The Count Palatine of Bavaria,

Otho of Wittelsbach, even drew his sword upon the prelate, in the emperor's presence. An imperial edict forbade the clergy and faithful of Germany to hold any further communication with the Sovereign Pontiff.

7. The dream of universal sway was still uppermost in the mind of Barbarossa; he thought to realize it best by such deeds of violence. In 1158, he convoked a general diet of the empire at Roncaglia; thirty-two jurists, summoned by the emperor from Bologna, declared null and void all previous donations to the Popes, to bishoprics and monasteries. "The emperor alone," they said, "has a right, as temporal lord, to hold lands and fiefs." Thus the flattery of the courtier was no less radical than the revolutionary madness of the partisans of Arnold of Brescia. The courtier granted all to the emperor, the revolutionists to popular sovereignty. The former thought only of Cæsar, the latter remembered only the republic of Brutus. Both equally disregarded the lessons conveyed by the many changes effected in the world, during the past ten centuries, in empires, in religion, in the manners and various relations of individuals and nations. The arguments of the jurists, backed by a hundred thousand German spears, were unanswerable. The Archbishop of Milan in his address alluded to Frederick as the only and universal emperor of Rome and of the world. "Your Majesty," said the pliant prelate, "has deigned to consult us about your rights and the honor of the empire. Your will is right, justice and law." We are outraged at such language from the lips of a minister of the altar. Unfriendly writers have never been wearied in lavishing calumnious imputations upon what they are pleased to style Papal encroachments. But not one of them has ever thought of recording the invasions of the temporal power. And yet the Popes have ever upheld, even at the peril of their lives, the rights of nationalities and the freedom of the world. Adrian excommunicated the Archbishop of Milan, and feelingly reproached the bishops of Lombardy for their slavish compliance. Adrian IV. was one of those men that know not how to flinch when

justice and truth are at stake. It is impossible to calculate the length to which the emperor would have carried his revenge against him, had not death come to the rescue of the unyielding Pontiff (September, A. D. 1159). The Church found, in his successor, the same fearless spirit and undaunted courage.

8. More favored in his relations with France and England, Adrian succeeded in keeping up a friendly spirit between Louis VII. and Henry II. The mutual attitude of these two monarchs was singularly perplexing. Eleanor of Guienne, wife of Louis VII., had accompanied her royal husband to the Holy Land. The influence of Eastern manners acted upon the light and passionate princess. On their return (A. D. 1552), Eleanor demanded from the Council of Beaugenci a divorce, on the plea of kindred. Though his honor was thus compromised, yet the King of France unmurmuringly submitted to the decree of the council. Adrian IV. had not been consulted. He easily perceived the fatal consequences of such a decision, which might have been averted by the conciliatory mediation of his authority. This divorce deprived Louis of the vast provinces brought to him, as a dowry, by Eleanor. The southern portion of France was again to be separated from the north. It was in the power of a woman to give to whom she chose the preponderance in the West. Two months after the dissolution of her first marriage, Eleanor became the queen of Henry Plantagenet, grandson of William the Conqueror, already duke of Anjou and Normandy, and soon afterward king of England. France afterward redeemed herself, but only at the cost of streams of blood. Amid the complicated difficulties naturally arising from such a state of affairs, the influence of Adrian and the tact of his noble-hearted friend, John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres, were powerful enough to effect an alliance between the daughter of Louis VII. and the son of Henry Plantagenet.

9. The intellectual current which was bearing on the twelfth century toward study and science continued, with glory, under the Pontificate of Adrian IV. The method of the Fathers, whose last representative was St. Bernard, now gave

way to the scholastic system which should henceforth control all minds and long reign as queen of theology, thanks to the genius of St. Thomas Aquinas. It has been objected that the scholastic method, by its close adherence to strict classifications, syllogisms, deductions and consequences, effectually shackles inspiration, eloquence and poetry. The method, as its name clearly shows, is a method of teaching, not a system of invention or of inspiration. But, in order to teach, it is necessary to give clear and precise notions of the matter to be taught; to give these notions, we must first have them ourselves. Could an Aristotle rise up to-day, and resume, with the clearness and precision of the great philosopher of old, in intelligible language, all the existing sciences, thus presenting all the branches of human knowledge in one exact whole, he might justly claim an immortal glory. This immense task was achieved for theology by the scholastic method, in the middle-ages. It bears to poetry and eloquence the relation of the matter to the form, of the skeleton to the body blooming with grace and freshness. Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris, and known as the Master of the Sentences, was the first to apply the scholastic system, in his celebrated work entitled Liber Sententiarum (A. D. 1100—1164), so called from the fact that all the arguments it contains are supported by sentences drawn from the Scriptures and the Fathers. This work met with a complete success; it became the hand-book of theologians and the text of every professor. It numbers no less than a hundred and sixty commentators. It boasts such interpreters as William of Auxerre, Albertus Magnus, St. Bonaventure, William Durand, Giles of Rome, Scotus, Ockham and the great St. Thomas Aquinas, whose name was destined to take the place of Peter Lombard's, though not to blot it out entirely. The world of science gave, at the same period, an enthusiastic reception to a similar work on canonical jurisprudence—the *Decretals* of Gratian, a professor in the university of Bologna. This collection, even at its first appearance, eclipsed all its predecessors, not excepting the great work by Yvo of Chartres,

which had until then been the standing authority. From the schools of Bologna it soon passed into France, Germany and England, and became the only text used by the professors of canon law, in their lessons and writings. Gallican authors object that Gratian has quoted passages from the *False Decretals*, favoring the supremacy and authority of the Popes. We have already answered these objections when treating of the *False Decretals* themselves. Peter Lombard and Gratian were not the only jewels that shone in the Church's crown at this period. Among the Greeks, Euthemius was publishing his Panoply. Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, illustrated his name by learned commentaries on the Iliad and Odyssey, and treatises on the hymns of the Greek liturgy; these works were lately found and given to the world among the many valuable contributions of the learned Cardinal Maï. Zonoras, a celebrated annalist, was compiling his chronicles, reaching from the beginning of the world to the death of Alexius Comnenus, in 1118. In the West, Peter the Venerable left worthy inheritors of his talent and zeal for the defence of the Church. John of Salisbury dedicated to the Lord High Chancellor of England, Thomas à Becket, afterward the martyr-archbishop of Canterbury, his two works called the *Polycraticus* and the *Metalogicus*. Richard of St. Victor produced his works on the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Power of Binding and Loosing. Peter de Blois, one of the most finished and pious theologians of his day, taught in Paris, amid the enthusiastic applause of the youth who frequented the schools. Thus did Catholic science oppose its worthy representatives to the Jewish and Mussulman schools of Spain and of the East, which held up the celebrated doctors Solomon Raschi of Troyes Eben-Ezra of Toledo, called the Wise, the Great, the Admirable; Moses Maimonides, and, in fine, Averroës, the only great philosopher that Islamism can boast.

10. The Christian sword was as ably wielded as its pen. In the Pontificate of Adrian IV. Spain witnessed the rise of the new military orders of Calatrava, Alcantara, Evora, St. Michael

and St. James of Compostella. Religion was arming, on the frontier of Catholicity, a band of heroes ready to die in its defence.

§ II. Pontificate of Alexander III. (September 7, A. D. 1159—August 30, 1181).

11. "The man who, in the middle-ages, deserved perhaps the highest tribute from the human race, was Pope Alexander III. He it was, who, in a council held in the twelfth century, abolished, as far as lay in his power, the curse of slavery. It was he, again, who, in Venice, triumphed by his prudence over the violence of the Emperor Barbarossa, and compelled Henry II., king of England, to ask pardon of God and of men, for the murder of Thomas à Becket. He restored the rights of nations and curbed the passions of kings. Before his time, all Europe, save a small number of cities, was divided into two classes of men: the lords of the land, ecclesiastic and lay, and the *slaves*. The men of law who assisted the knights in their judgments, and the bailiffs, were but mere serfs by origin. If men have recovered their rights, it is chiefly to Pope Alexander that they are indebted for it; to him so many cities owe their new or recovered splendor." The writer who thus eulogizes a Pope is Voltaire, the mortal enemy of the Papacy. Alexander III. purchased, if we may so speak, the glory of such a eulogy by twenty years of persecution, exile, struggle and proscription borne with heroic constancy and unshaken courage. His patience was equalled only by his sufferings; triumph never touched his modesty. The very day of his election was marked by the premonitory symptoms of the storm that awaited his Pontificate. After the obsequies of Adrian IV., the cardinals met in the basilica of St. Peter, and their joint suffrage called him to the Papal chair. Three only protested against the election, and hastily named Cardinal Octavian, who forced the doors of the church and took the name of Victor III. Thus did a factious minority inaugurate a schism fraught with the most deplorable consequences.

12. Alexander III., yielding to the violence of the faction, quitted Rome, and was consecrated in the monastery of Santa Nympha (September 20, A. D. 1159), by Hubald, bishop of Ostia. On the 4th of October following, the antipope had himself crowned by the Bishop of Tusculum, in the monastery of Farfa. They both wrote at once to the Emperor Frederick, each claiming the recognition of his own election. The prince cherished personal motives of hatred against Alexander. It was he who had been sent by Adrian IV. to Barbarossa, as bearer of the famous letter which set the two sovereigns at variance. The emperor accordingly recognized the antipope: but, desirous of keeping up an appearance, at least, of neutrality, he wrote to both candidates that, to put an end to the schism, he had determined to call a council at Pavia and to examine the question before uttering his final judgment. The Bishops of Prague and Verdun bore to Alexander III. the expression of the imperial will. "We recognize in the emperor the armed defender of the Roman Church," replied the Pope; "but never shall the prerogative given by Jesus Christ to St. Peter be violated in Our person. The Roman Church judges all others, and is subject to the judgment of none. We are prepared to give Our life in defence of her rights." These noble expressions produced the effect that might have been expected; the imperial envoys repaired at once to the antipope, threw themselves at his feet and did him homage in their master's name. A council of venal bishops met at Pavia (February 5, 1160), approved the election of Victor, and excommunicated the Sovereign Pontiff, "who refused," said they, "to appear before a council to which he had been regularly summoned." The emperor approved the sentence; he did homage to the antipope, led him in person to the Pontifical throne, and proclaimed throughout Germany and Italy that all bishops should recognize the authority of Victor on pain of perpetual banishment. Alexander replied by solemnly excommunicating Frederick, with the antipope and his partisans.

13. This conflict aroused the whole of Europe; the Kings

of France and England acknowledged the lawful Pontiff. Spain. the kingdoms of the North, the Latin princes of Jerusalem, Edessa and Antioch, followed the example. John of Salisbury distinguished himself by his attachment to Alexander III. and his zeal in defence of the right. "The conventicle of Pavia," said he, "irregularly convoked, held in contempt of all canonical rules, could utter no sentence that was not entirely null and void. Have they forgotten the prerogative of the Roman Church, founded upon a constant tradition, acknowledged by the Fathers, confirmed by all the councils? Who has undertaken to arraign the Universal Church for judgment before a national church? Who has made the Germans judges of the other nations?" In the East, William, archbishop of Tyre, and Amaury, patriarch of Jerusalem, spoke in the same strain. The patriarch thus wrote to Alexander III.: "With filial love and reverence We received the letter addressed to Us by Your Holiness. It is God Who has chosen you, by the voice of the Roman clergy and people, to rule His Church. We excommunicate the antipope Octavian with his abettors." All the most enlightened and virtuous men of the West expressed the same sentiments in favor of the rightful Pontiff. The whole order of Citeaux, which counted more than seven hundred monasteries in Europe, acknowledged his authority. To crown all, the Kings of France and England convoked a council at Toulouse (A. D. 1161), in which they solemnly renewed their recognition of Alexander III.

14. To meet this universal uprising, Frederick appealed to arms. Milan had displayed the greatest energy in resisting the German emperor's schismatic tyranny. Twice during the year (A. D. 1161), Barbarossa ravaged the Milanese territory by fire. The prisoners taken by him, if allowed to live, were at least deprived of their hands; such mutilation was in the course of a single day inflicted upon twenty-five peasants, taken while conveying provisions to the beleaguered city. Famine at last achieved what force had failed to accomplish. After a siege of fourteen months, the magistrates, constrained

by the famished and dispirited population, appeared in the emperor's palace at Lodi (March 1st, 1162), laid their arms at his feet, and surrendered the city at discretion. The court, and even the army, were moved to tears at the sight of such misfortunes so nobly borne. Frederick alone was unmoved at the scene; he ordered all the inhabitants to be removed from within the walls; men, women and children, all were torn from their homes, and Milan was left an untenanted city. The population, wandering in homeless destitution over the plain, awaited in cruel suspense the final sentence of the emperor. He uttered it at length: Milan was to be razed to its very foundation, and its name blotted out from the list of cities. This heartless decree, which a Vandal would have been ashamed to issue, was put into immediate execution. "We are filling the moats," wrote Frederick himself to the Count of Soissons; "we are overthrowing the walls and towers; we shall leave Milan but one vast heap of ruins." This deed of barbarous revenge was the beginning of a powerful reaction against Barbarossa. The Milanese refugees, scattered throughout the different Italian cities, spread a general horror of the German name. While Frederick was congratulating himself that his rigor must annihilate the Lombard league, that very rigor was making the league more firm and formidable.

15. Alexander III. became the head and the leader about whom all the Italian cities rallied, now that they saw their independence in danger. The whole Peninsula, unmindful of personal motives for dissension, feuds and wars, leagued together against the common foe. The Pope, in excommunicating Frederick Barbarossa, the destroyer of Milan, became, in the eyes of all Europe, the avenger of wrong, the protector of the oppressed. He quitted Rome, at the conqueror's approach, but his flight was a real triumph. The King of Sicily, all the Italian republics, even the Emperor of Constantinople, sent deputies to assure him of their devotion and sympathy. Manuel Comnenus repeated the propositions he had made to Adrian IV., promising to protect him against the unjust aggres-

sion of Barbarossa, on condition that the Holy See should recognize the claim of the Greek empire upon Italy. Like his predecessor, Alexander III. intended to foster the spirit of independence which was beginning to mark the political career of Europe since the final expulsion of the Greeks. He accordingly wrote to the emperor: "Your propositions are too important and touch too nearly the interests of the Western sovereigns, to allow that we alone should pronounce upon them. It is enough for us to have received so clear a testimonial of your good will. We avail ourselves of it to call your serious attention to the restoration of peace and union between the two Churches." There was something truly great and noble in the Pope's refusal to accept the proffered help of a foreign prince, because it might have imperilled the destinies of Europe and the peace of the world. Alexander, on leaving his capital, turned instinctively to the shores of France, ever hospitable to the proscribed Papacy (A. D. 1162). At Montpellier, he received the ambassadors sent forward by the Kings of England and France to meet the Vicar of Christ. At Coucy-sur-Loire he met the two sovereigns, who held, on either side, the bridle of the Pontiff's horse, and never did Pope seem greater than the exile who thus received the homage paid by two crowned heads to the majesty of the Sovereign Pontificate. The honors heaped upon the Pope whom he refused to acknowledge, stung the emperor to madness. Followed by the antipope, he came forward to Saint-Jean-de-Losne, a little town in Burgundy, which was then on the boundary between the states of the empire and those of France. He invited Louis to meet him there, that they might discuss together the claims of the two competitors. The conference was to be held upon a bridge thrown across the Saône. Renold, archbishop of Cologne, and Imperial chancellor, spoke in the name of Frederick: "My master, the Emperor of the Romans, claims the sole right of pronouncing upon the validity of Pontifical elections; he seeks not to interfere in any questions that may arise between princes and bishops in other

kingdoms. He therefore expects from you an entire submission to his will and to the sentence already pronounced by him." "I am surprised," answered Louis, with a smile, "to hear such words from a bishop, and in the name of a Christian emperor. When Jesus Christ charged St. Peter, and, through him, all his successors, to *feed His lambs*, did He mean to exclude the kings and bishops of France? Are not we too the lambs intrusted by the Son of God to the Prince of the Apostles?" And without further discussion Louis broke off the conference. In the language uttered through his chancellor, Barbarossa showed himself still bent upon his principle of universal despotism. In his system, the Popes would become merely German bishops, and all Christendom must bow to the imperial decrees.

16. The King of France received the Pope in Paris, with all the pomp of a triumph. On Easter-Day (A. D. 1163) the Pope laid the corner-stone of the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, of which the bishop, Maurice de Sully, had just laid the foundation. Then, repairing to Tours, where he had convoked a council, he met a hundred and twenty-four bishops, more than four hundred abbots, and ambassadors from every Christian ruler except Barbarossa. Arnold, bishop of Lisieux, was appointed to deliver the opening address: "If we stand united," he said, "we are invincible. We really constitute the Church of God, as formidable to its adversaries as an army in battle-array. On our side are the citizens of heaven, the devotion of Catholic princes, and the almost unanimous support of all that bears the name of Christian. Before all this host, what is the protest of a single sovereign? And even yet, by the mercy of God, he too will bow his mind and heart to the laws of justice, for his name would be great, and his glory unparalleled among the princes of the earth, had he not attempted to rise above the Church, his Mother. May he yet humble himself beneath the hand of God, and learn that to serve Him is to reign!" The council renewed the excommunication of the antipope and his schismatical adhe-

rents, forbidding the recognition of any authority other than that of the lawful Pontiff, Alexander III.

17. Meanwhile, the antipope died at Lucca (April 22, A. D. 1164). The canons of the cathedral refused to grant him burial in their church. When the news of this death reached Sens, where Alexander was then holding his court, the cardinals hastened to congratulate him upon the event. The Sovereign Pontiff wept as he answered: "Instead of rejoicing, weep with me at the loss of a soul; and beg of God to grant mercy and eternal rest to one who has so deeply afflicted the Church." Frederick filled the vacancy by the election of Guy de Crême, one of the schismatical cardinals, who took the name of Paschal III. Upon the book of the gospels, the emperor swore fidelity to his creature, promising to acknowledge him and his successors as the only lawful Popes (1164). Rome did not bend according to the emperor's wish. Money, entreaties and threats were lavished to draw the Romans into the schism; but all in vain. A deputation of the clergy and people came to Sens, entreating the Pope to return to his faithful subjects. Alexander journeyed through France amid uninterrupted acclamations and songs of joyful triumph; he landed at Messina, where the King of Sicily held a fleet in readiness to receive and bear him to Rome. His return was the occasion of an unexampled display of exultation and reverence. Italy felt that she was greeting her liberator. Verona, Vicenza, Padua and Treviso, entreated him to help them, by his all-powerful influence, in winning back their lost liberties. In their oath of confederation, they contracted a league of twenty years, and pledged themselves to raise up the city of Milan from its ruins. The Milanese fugitives came together from all the provinces of Italy. As they looked upon the spot where their flourishing home once stood, they shed tears of deep emotion, and swore to revenge its wrongs. Different portions of the walls are assigned to the various divisions of workmen. With the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other, they built up the ruined city (1167) and effaced the

marks of Frederick's savage fury. Not satisfied with this triumph, the grateful Lombards founded a new city at the junction of the Tanaro and the Bormida, which they called Alexandria, in honor of the Pope, the chief of their league and the father of the faithful. Frederick felt that his hold on Italy was lost; yet he would make another desperate effort to regain it, and appeared at the head of a formidable army before Ancona (1166). For a year the city held out with heroic courage; but at length famine obliged the inhabitants to open their gates to the emperor. Elated by this first success, he marched straight upon Rome, burned the basilica of St. Peter, attacked and captured the castle of St. Angelo. Alexander, forced to dabanon the Lateran palace and the city, escaped under the disguise of a pilgrim. Frederick and the antipope, Paschal III., took possession of the Eternal City. The emperor was solemnly crowned, with the Empress Beatrice, in the church of St. Peter ad Vincula; and the triumphant schism might revel in the delusion that it was about to rule the world; but the scourge of God's wrath was at hand. On the day following the coronation, a fearful mortality swept the ranks of the imperial army; Renold, the chancellor, was the first victim; they fell in such numbers that the living were too few to bury the dead. Barbarossa hurried in dismay from a city in which he was pursued by divine vengeance, more powerful, by far, than armed hosts.

18. A remarkable feature of these times of intestine and bloody strife, was the fact that the Pope, conquered and stripped of his possessions, still wielded a power which could crush the conqueror. Alexander III., in his retreat at Anagni, received the homage of the world. Rome was the prey of an imperial barbarian; from every quarter of the world arose one unanimous cry of indignant rebuke against the outrage. The illustrious Thomas of Canterbury, whose martyrdom we shall soon have occasion to relate, hearing of Frederick's retreat. wrote to congratulate the Pope. He compares the retreat to the defeat of Sennacherib; and declares his belief that the

excommunicated emperor has no longer any princely authority. "Who," he exclaims in conclusion, "would be willing to submit to the decrees of a tyrant now persecuting the Church? Dare it who will! I could never consent to incur the vengeance of Heaven by such a cowardly compliance." John of Salisbury, another champion of the Papacy, speaks still more plainly. "The Pope," he says, "after waiting in vain for some sign of repentance from the German tyrant, has released his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and stripped the despot himself of all kingly power. Then, may the unworthy emperor henceforth meet but defeat in battle, and taste neither peace nor rest, until he acknowledge the lawful authority of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, established by God over the nations and kingdoms to *waste and to destroy, to build up and to plant.*" Such words as these tell how deeply rooted was the work of St. Gregory VII. in Europe.

19. The antipope, Paschal, had, in the mean time, expired in Rome (September 20, A. D. 1168). His death did not end the schism; his partisans gave him a successor in the person of John, abbot of Strum, in Hungary, under the name of Calixtus III. He made Viterbo his usual residence; but the schism, now fallen into general disrepute, and successfully combated by the Lombard league, had wearied out even the Germans themselves, whose bishops were returning in crowds to the Catholic fold, and making submission to Pope Alexander III. It is in truth a singular spectacle; on the one hand, the Emperor of Germany destroying cities, spreading everywhere blood and terror, to oppress the Holy See; on the other, the populations of Italy, headed by the chief of the Catholic Church, raising up the smoking ruins of their cities, founding a new one, to which is given a name that shall immortalize their love for the Church, and for true freedom, of which she is the mother and patroness. Frederick had exhausted his powers in the struggle against the Pope. An aged man, bending under the weight of years and infirmities, had been able to curb the proud ambition of a monarch aiming at universal em-

pire. As if to console himself for his failure to revive, in his own person, the great Charlemagne, Frederick gave himself the fruitless satisfaction of disentombing the ashes of the hero. A full court was convened at Aix-la-Chapelle; the antipope, Paschal III., pronounced the decree of canonization, and the remains of Charlemagne were triumphantly enshrined for universal veneration. All this pomp was powerless to revive a scheme which the breath of divine indignation had stricken down in death. Still Frederick did not yield without a desperate struggle. Ancona was again besieged by a German army (1171). The fury of the assailants was equalled only by the heroic resistance of the besieged. The severity of the famine had reduced the supplies of the twelve thousand inhabitants to five measures of flour; but their growing distress only heightened instead of weakening their courage. A widowed mother had seen her two sons nobly fighting upon the ramparts for a whole day, without having tasted food; entering her home, she opened a vein, and mingling her blood with some herbs, thus prepared a dish of food, which she carried to her exhausted children. The wives and daughters of this heroic city appeared before the magistrates, and said, "Is not our flesh as good as that of lambs and beeves? Then, eat us, or cast us into the sea. We would rather die than fall into the hands of an enemy who knows not how to spare." Ancona was worthy of the freedom it so well defended; a Lombard force came in time to rescue the city, and drive away the besiegers. In the month of May, 1176, Frederick once more threw himself upon the Milanese territory, wasting all with fire and sword. The Lombards gathered their forces; the standard of Milan was raised upon a car; nine hundred warriors, the flower of the army, called the *The Squadron of Death*, swore to bring back their banner in triumph to the walls of their native city. The armies met at Lignano. Frederick, while fighting in the foremost rank, was unhorsed, and disappeared in the confusion of the fray; his army, believing him killed, fled in dismay, utterly routed; a few days later, Barbarossa, almost alone, reached

Pavia. The army he had proudly thought to lead in triumph through the world was flying in disorder beyond the Alps. His fleet had, meanwhile, been defeated by the Venetians upon the Adriatic.* It was utterly impossible for him any longer to carry on the struggle. The nobles, both ecclesiastical and lay, who had hitherto adhered to him, declared that they would forsake him now, unless he speedily made his peace with the Church. The ambitious tyrant felt at length that he must bow, and that only prompt submission could now save his authority.

20. Veremond, archbishop of Magdeburg, Christiern, archbishop of Mentz, and Conrad, bishop-elect of Worms, were deputed by the emperor, and met Alexander III. at Anagni; they asked, in their master's name, forgiveness for the past, and peace for the future. "No earthly message could have been more grateful to Us," replied the Pope. "We never refused to recognize Frederick as the first among the princes of the earth. May the peace he offers be final and irrevocable." Negotiations were begun. The Pope stipulated for peace, not only for himself, but for his allies, the Lombards, the King of Sicily, and the Emperor of Constantinople. The deputies pledged their master's word to recognize the authority of the lawful Pope; to restore to the Roman Church the territory of the Countess Matilda, and all other Pontifical estates seized by Frederick in the course of the war. Finally, it was agreed that the treaty should be solemnly ratified at Venice, by a personal conference between the Pope and the emperor. Alexander III. set out from Anagni; on his arrival at Venice, he met the Archbishops of Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia, and the deputies of all the Lombard cities. The appearance among them of a Pontiff so repeatedly and unjustly proscribed, recalling memories of past struggles, of the twenty years of persecution and exile,

* "To perpetuate the memory of this naval victory of the Venetians, Pope Alexander III. sent a gold ring to the doge, telling him to cast it into the Adriatic, which he gave him as his bride. Hence arose the ceremony of wedding the sea, practised by the doges at their installation."—President Hénaut. *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France.*

by which he had won the final triumph of the Church, drew tears from every eye. "Well-beloved sons," said Alexander, who shared the general emotion, "it is a miracle of God's power, that an aged and unarmed priest should have resisted the rage of the most powerful king on earth; by this let all men know that it is impossible to war against the Lord, and against His Christ. You shared all our dangers, it is just that you should partake in our triumph. We would sign the treaty of peace only among our faithful Lombards." The Pontiff's words were hailed with general acclamation. The treaty was signed by the two sovereigns. On the 23d of July, A. D. 1177, six cardinals came, in the Pope's name, to absolve Barbarossa from the excommunication he had incurred. Before them, he renounced the schism of Calixtus III., and promised obedience, on his own and his successors' behalf, to Pope Alexander. The German nobles and prelates all tendered a similar pledge. The emperor then repaired to the church of St. Mark, where the Pope awaited his arrival. Frederick Barbarossa, laying aside his royal mantle, bowed his forehead to the dust and kissed the Pontiff's feet. Alexander affectionately raised him up and embraced him, with tearful eyes; he celebrated Pontifically, and the emperor received communion from his hand. At the close of the impressive ceremony, the Pope mounted his horse, Frederick held the stirrup and led the horse by the bridle to the palace of the doges, amid the acclamations of the multitude, and the solemn chant of the *Te Deum*. A Pontifical bull carried the joyful tidings to all the bishops of Christendom. The antipope, Calixtus III., threw himself at the Pontiff's feet, begged forgiveness for his crime, and abjured his schism. Alexander thought only of mercy, and received the prodigal with all a father's affection. A few obstinate sectaries made a fruitless effort to prolong the schism, and elected a new antipope in the person of Lando Sitino, who took the name of Innocent III. The Romans themselves inflicted a just punishment upon the usurper, and Lando wore out the rest of his days in the monastery of La Cava (1178).

21. A kindred struggle had, meanwhile, been going on between a cruel monarch and a heroic prelate; its end was martyrdom. Thomas à Becket, chancellor of England, had been raised, in spite of all his own opposition, to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury (A. D. 1161). To Henry II., whose intimate friend and confidant he had hitherto been, he had said; "Since you compel me, I will be archbishop; you have known Thomas as a courtier, you shall henceforth know him as a pontiff. Your friendship for me will soon be changed into deadly hatred." The sad prediction was but too soon fulfilled. Henry II., true to the tyrannical traditions of William Rufus, withheld the revenues of vacant sees, and protracted the vacancies, for the benefit of the royal treasury. Beside, secular judges, in contempt of the canons, summoned ecclesiastics to their tribunals, claiming to take cognizance of their causes before they had been submitted to the judgment of the bishops. In fine, the estates attached to monasteries and bishoprics were openly held by secular nobles, and administered, in their name, by laymen. The Archbishop of Canterbury, on taking possession of his see, became a new man. Hitherto, he had lived amid the display and luxury of courts, surrounded by the pomp and splendor that became a chancellor of England. When archbishop, he took the habit of the monks of his cathedral, under which he always wore a rough hair-shirt; he was present at all the night-offices, and became by the austerity of his life, his regular observance, his zeal for discipline, and his pastoral energy, the model of prelates. His office of chancellor he resigned into the hands of the king. This first step brought him into disgrace with Henry; the difficulty about the oath filled the measure of the monarch's anger. The king wished to exact from Becket an oath to observe all the customs of England, under which name were included all the abuses mentioned above. A council was summoned to meet at Clarendon, to arrange the matters in dispute (1164). All the bishops gave the required oath; Thomas à Becket alone refused. The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, on their

knees, conjured him to yield, and to spare the church of England all the woes which must necessarily follow an obstinate resistance. Their tears and prayers moved the holy prelate; he knew, better than any other, the violent and passionate nature of the king. "His passion," says Lingard, of Henry II., "was said to be the raving of a madman, the fury of a savage beast. We are told, that, in his paroxysms, his eyes were spotted with blood, his countenance seemed of flame, his tongue poured a torrent of abuse and imprecation, and his hands were employed to inflict vengeance on whatever came within his reach." The archbishop thought that the good of the Church required him to yield a little to such a man. He made the concession against his own judgment; and thus began his career of strife and struggle, by an act of weakness, which was quickly redeemed by sincere repentance. As he was leaving Clarendon, where he had just uttered the oath, he overheard a cleric in his train giving free expression to his thoughts on the transaction. "What is now to become of innocence?" said the cleric. "Who shall defend it, when its natural supporter has been overcome?" "To whom do you refer, my son?" asked the archbishop. "To you, my lord," replied the cleric, "to you, who have this day compromised both honor and conscience; who have left to posterity an odious example by stretching forth your consecrated hands to swear to the observance of those execrable customs!" "This," says Bossuet, "was the cock-crow that aroused St. Peter." The archbishop wept bitterly. "I feel the full horror of my fault!" he exclaimed. "I shall not again approach the holy altar, until I have received absolution from the Pope." He accordingly sent deputies to Sens, to solicit absolution from Alexander; and, on the following day, sent to the king a recantation of his oath.

22. Henry II. summoned him to appear before the Council of Northampton to answer for his rebellion. The archbishop appeared with his great pastoral cross in his hand. "I carry this cross myself," he said; "it is my standard and safeguard; it recalls the King of Heaven, whose cause I defend." The

court-bred bishops were unable to appreciate such language All, save Roger, archbishop of York, pronounced Thomas à Becket a perjured traitor. On hearing this sentence, the holy prelate rose and addressed the king: "Hear me once more, my liege. The soul must rule the body; the Church must command kings in spiritual matters. I do not recognize your jurisdiction, but appeal to the Sovereign Pontiff, who, alone, can judge me on the part of God; under his protection I place the church of Canterbury, my dignity, my honor and my faith. And you, my brother-bishops, who have preferred to obey a mortal monarch rather than your God, I summon you also to the judgment of the Pope; and thus, I withdraw, protected by the authority of the Church and of the Apostolic See." Then raising his cross, he went forth from the assembly. The crowd pressing around the palace gates, led him in triumph to his abode.

23. On the next day, November 2, A. D. 1164, several pilgrims landed at Boulogne. Among them was Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. He hastened through Normandy, to escape the pursuit of Henry, and reached Sens, where Alexander received him as a confessor of the faith. Meanwhile the envoys of the King of England reached Compiègne, and demanded of Louis the Younger, that he should give up to their master "the perjured Thomas à Becket, *formerly* archbishop of Canterbury." "And who has since deposed him?" asked the King of France. "Surely I am as much a sovereign as Henry II., and yet I could not depose the meanest cleric in my realm." The Pope and the French monarch thus took under their protection the august fugitive, who withdrew to Pontigny, a monastery of the Order of Citeaux. At the archbishop's departure, Henry confiscated all his property, banished his kinsmen, his attendants, and all who were found to have been in the slightest degree connected with him. The wretched exiles flocked to Pontigny, to increase the anguish of the heroic prelate by the sight of their collected sufferings. To anticipate the interdict which he expected the Pope to lay upon his kingdom, Henry

caused the following proclamation to be published along the whole English coast: "If any religious attempt to bring Pontifical letters into England, he shall lose his feet; if a cleric, his eyes; if a layman, he shall be hanged, and if a leper, burned." The barbarous order was also promulgated in Normandy and throughout the English possessions in France. The king at the same time wrote to the general chapter of Citeaux, in a threatening tone, complaining of the hospitality shown to Thomas, whom he called his deadly enemy. "Drive him quickly forth," said the tyrant, "from all the houses of your order, if you would not see all your monasteries in my dominions burned and destroyed." The Abbot of Citeaux came to Pontigny and acquainted the holy primate with the tyrant's order. "I have not a stone whereon to lay my head," replied the august exile; "but I shall not allow the holy religious, who have offered me a hospitality so generous, to suffer, on my account, from the royal vengeance. I go, trusting that He who feeds the birds of the air, will have a care of me and of my companions in exile." On learning this event, King Louis exclaimed: "O Religion! Religion! where art thou? Men whom we thought dead to the world, fear the threats of the world; they forsake the work of God, and drive out those who are in exile for His glory! Go, tell the Archbishop of Canterbury that the King of France will never forsake him. I will not lose the ancient prerogative of my crown: it has always been my kingdom's proudest right to protect down-trodden innocence, to shield those who suffer for justice' sake." Such words are bright honors upon a nation's historic page, and adorn the king who speaks them. Under the protection of the pious monarch, St. Thomas made his abode at Sens, which the Pope had just quitted to return to Rome.

24. It was time to act with rigor. Henry II. had filled the measure of his iniquities. By his authority as archbishop, and in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff, who had appointed him legate in England, Becket fulminated an excommunication against the king and against all those who, by his order, had

seized upon the estates and revenues of the archbishopric of Canterbury. The letters containing these censures were brought into England by some intrepid monks who succeeded in eluding Henry's tyrannical precautions. They threw the whole kingdom into a state of consternation; the excommunicated king could not find a priest to celebrate the Sacred Mysteries in his presence. It was in vain that he plied the Pope with every influence at his command, to obtain the raising of the interdict; Alexander simply confirmed the sentence of the archbishop. Henry saw that he could not carry on the struggle with any hope of success. A reconciliation followed, through the mediation of the King of France. Henry II. came in person, to Sens, to meet the august exile. He saluted him first, with uncovered head, and embraced him with many tears. The holy archbishop promised to forget the past, and ascribed all the king's faults to wicked counsellors rather than to the royal will. The whole day was spent in the same familiar intercourse that marked their relations when Becket was but chancellor of England. Still it might be feared that the king's reconciliation was but feigned. The friends of the prelate urged him to protract his sojourn in France. "No, no!" he replied; "by the help of God I shall go back to England, where I know that martyrdom awaits me."

25. He was right. Yielding to the false counsels of his courtiers, Henry soon resumed his course of violence and threats. "Is there no one," exclaimed the King in a fit of irritation, "who will rid me of this turbulent priest!" Four knights, William Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, Richard Brito and Reginald Fitzurse, who were present when the king uttered the fatal exclamation, taking it for the royal license, set off at once to execute the murderous deed. They made their assault upon the cathedral church at the hour of vespers, as St. Thomas, in full pontificals, entered the choir; they rushed into the church with drawn swords and loud cries of: "Where is the traitor?" No answer was returned; but to the question: "Where is the archbishop?" Becket replied in a firm voice,

"Here I am, the archbishop, but no traitor. What is your will?" "Die!" exclaimed the assassins. "I am ready," returned the prelate, "to die for the cause of God and the Church. May my blood be the price of her peace and independence!" Then as he recognized one of the murderers, he reproachfully addressed him: "Reginald, I have heaped favors upon you, and now you come to murder me at the foot of the altar." "Die," replied the ungrateful wretch. Then falling on his knees before the altar, he joined his hands and bent his head in the attitude of prayer, and uttered the words: "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." They were his last; the assassins fell upon him with their swords, and one of them, more inhuman than his fellows, drawing the brain out of the skull with the point of his weapon, scattered it around upon the bloody pavement. The news of this atrocious murder plunged all Europe into a deep melancholy. Alexander III. gave bitter tears to the memory of the prelate whom he had honored with his friendship; he refused to see any Englishman. "Hold! hold!" exclaimed the Pope, to one who was about to utter the king's name in his presence; "such a name may not be spoken before a Sovereign Pontiff." During the solemnities of Holy Thursday, Alexander excommunicated, in general terms, the assassins, with all their advisers, abettors and protectors. Henry disavowed the deed and entreated the Pope to receive his justification. Two legates were sent to England. In their presence Henry made the following oath: "I neither designed, nor knew, nor commanded the death of Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. The news pained me as deeply and as truly as if he had been my own son. Yet I cannot but plead guilty of having involuntarily given occasion to the deed by an unthinking word of anger. As a reparation, I swear to take the cross for three years and to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I declare null and void the unlawful customs introduced by me into my States, and I forbid any of my subjects henceforth to observe them." After signing the protestation, Henry knelt at the entrance of the church, the two

legates pronouncing over him the sentence of absolution in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff.

26. God now seemed to smite Henry in what was dearest to his heart. Discord rent the bosom of his family; Queen Eleanor and his three sons leagued against him; the revolt was supported by the King of France and several other princes. Humbled by this chastening blow, Henry had recourse to the Pope. "I throw myself at your feet," he said, "and entreat your support. The kingdom of England is under your jurisdiction, and by feudal right I derive only from you. Let England now feel the protecting power of the Sovereign Pontiff, and since he wields no temporal weapon, let him shield the patrimony of St. Peter with the spiritual sword." The teachings of misfortune had borne their fruit in the heart of the stricken ruler. On the 12th of July, A. D. 1174, he entered Canterbury barefoot and clothed in a pilgrim's dress; descending to the crypt he prostrated himself, all bathed in tears, before the tomb of his victim. One whole day and night he fasted and prayed before the martyr's remains; and at his own command every religious inflicted three blows with a discipline upon his bare shoulders. Henry II. thus expiated the crime committed to revenge his anger, and, by the rigor of his penance, removed much of the odium attached to his name.

27. The domestic strife which had shaken the Pontificate of Alexander III. produced a sad state of disorder in the Church. Under cover of the long struggle with Frederick Barbarossa, the Albigensian heresy strengthened its position in the South; the bonds of discipline were loosened; the people became accustomed to disregard the authority of the Holy See, when they saw it trampled upon by the emperor. To check these disorders and establish a lasting peace, as well as with a view to restore its unity and power to the Pontifical government, the Pope convoked the eleventh general, which was the third Lateran, council. It was opened in March, A. D. 1179. Three hundred and two bishops from all the provinces of the Catholic world, with a great number of abbots, met

together in this general congress of all Christendom. The attention of the council was especially called to two fundamental points: the freedom of the Church, and the peace of Christian kingdoms. To secure the former, the Pontifical elections must be guarded against the dangers of schism, the bonds of discipline must be drawn tighter, and the canonical laws restored to their former honor. To accomplish the second object, the foundations of society were to be secured against the efforts of revolutionists, and the dangerous principles of the Manichean heresy, which was, in effect, but the total denial of all authority. Such was the task set before the eleventh general council. To prevent schism, it was decreed that in case the suffrages of the cardinals were not unanimous, the candidate who obtained a two-thirds vote should be declared elected. The ordinations conferred by the antipopes Octavian, Guy de Crême, John of Strum, and Lando Sitino, were declared null, and the titularies appointed by them deprived of all ecclesiastical dignities.—No one can be made bishop before the age of thirty years.—Laymen are forbidden to assume the right of investiture for ecclesiastical benefices.—No tribute or gift of any kind shall be required for the installation of bishops or abbots.—Vacant benefices must be filled within six months after the death of the incumbent.—All existing regulations, relative to simony and clerical continence, are renewed and confirmed.—Lords and vassals may not levy fresh taxes or tributes, without the previous consent of their suzerain.—The last canon of the council is expressed in the following terms: "*The Church*," says St. Leo the Great, "*while deprecating bloody executions, has a right to call upon temporal princes to vindicate the honor of her laws; and the fear of corporal chastisement has often induced a recourse to spiritual remedies.* Under the names of Cathari and Patarini, the heretics have secured so firm a foothold in Gascony, and in the territory of Albi and Toulouse, that they now rise up in open revolt; while the heretics in Brabant, Aragon, Navarre and Biscay, the Coterelli and Triaverdini, respect neither churches nor monasteries,

spare neither age nor sex, neither orphans nor widows. They renew all the excesses of the heathens and barbarians. We declare them solemnly excommunicated. We enjoin all the faithful steadily to resist their ravages and to defend the Christians against their inroads. We grant the usual indulgences and the forgiveness of their sins, to all who arm for this holy Crusade." The Church, queen of the European nationalities, and confirmed in this supremacy by the public law of the middle-ages, was thus arming her children against the eternal enemies of all law, order and society. She did not usurp, but only guided the temporal authority.

28. The Pontificate of Alexander III. was fitly crowned by the eleventh general council. After twenty years of struggle, persecution and exile, the great Pontiff rested at length in victory; he died on the 30th of August, A. D. 1181, bequeathing to the Church, the repose he had won by so many combats. As he looked, for the last time, over the Catholic world, his eye rested with sorrow upon one spot alone—the Holy Land. The disasters of the Latin kingdoms in the East, the conquering and ever-growing power of Saladin, known in Europe through the sad accounts of returning pilgrims, had struck a pang into the heart of the heroic Pontiff. He died, deeply regretting his inability to repair these evils, and to secure, in Palestine, the glorious fruits of Godfrey's conquests. Alexander was preceded to the grave by Louis VII. of France, and by Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople. Louis had blotted out the disgraceful record of Vitry-le Brûlé, by thirty years of piety and glory, and left the French throne to a hero, Philip-Augustus (1180). Manuel Comnenus had done much to redeem his treachery toward the Crusaders, by his attachment to the Holy See, in the struggle between Alexander III. and Barbarossa. He was succeeded by Andronicus Comnenus, who inherited all Manuel's vices without a single redeeming trait of virtue.

29. The reign of Alexander III., so fearfully shaken by fierce storms, was nevertheless fruitful in splendid examples of

holiness. In Italy, St. Peter of Tarentaise; St. Galdin, archbishop of Milan; St. Ubald, bishop of Gubio; in France, St. Anthelm, bishop of Belley; in England, St. Robert, abbot of Newminster; St. Lawrence, archbishop of Dublin; St. Bartholomew, a hermit in the isle of Farn; St. Aelred and St. Walthen, in Scotland; in Germany, St. Elizabeth of Schœnau, so famed for her revelations; St. Eberhard, archbishop of Saltzburg, and Blessed Frederick, abbot of Mariengarten, proved to the world that the divine virtue of the Church was not yet exhausted; that amid the wild tempests that beat upon the bark of Peter, the grace of God was still as strong to save immortal souls. At this period, a holy priest of Liége, Lambert-le-Bègue (the Stammerer), brought together into large communities a great number of pious women, who, without making any perpetual vows, like other religious, devoted themselves to the service of God, in silence and retreat; this was the origin of the *béguinages*, so named from their founder Lambert-le-Bègue. They are still found in Belgium. In the single city of Ghent, there are two celebrated *béguinages*, containing more than 1,500 persons, who practise the virtues of the cloister amid the din and distractions of the world around them.

§ III. Pontificate of Lucius III. (September 1, A. D. 1181—November 24, 1185).

30. At the death of Alexander III. the cardinals, assembled at Velletri, conformed to the decrees of the eleventh general council, touching the Pontifical elections. Ubaldo Allucingoli, of an illustrious family of Lucca, received two-thirds of the votes, and was raised to the chair of St. Peter, under the name of Lucius III. The Romans had not given up the republican theories taught by Arnold of Brescia. The Papacy, controlling without opposition the whole Catholic world, was shut out from its own capital alone. Lucius left the shadow of a Roman senate to die a natural death, by its own innate weakness, and

fixed his residence at Verona, where he was visited by Frederick Barbarossa. Though a peace had indeed been concluded between Alexander III. and the emperor, the Lombard league had not yet laid aside its arms. Barbarossa had familiarized the world with perjury by too many examples, within a single day, to justify Italy in trusting its destinies to the imperial pledge. But the teachings of experience and misfortune had changed the heart of Barbarossa, and the last years of his life were a condemnation of the first. In A. D. 1183, at Constance, the emperor signed a final treaty of peace with the Lombard cities and republics. This treaty became the groundwork of the public law of Italy, and is comprised in the body of the *Roman Law* which it completes. Frederick yielded to the cities all the rights of regale which he had previously claimed. He acknowledged their right to raise armies, and to exercise, within their own bounds, civil and criminal jurisdiction. The bishop of each city was empowered to decide, ultimately, the questions which might arise between the municipalities and the empire. Thus, the Popes, in struggling to uphold the independence of the Holy See, had been really combating for the cause of the Italian nationalities. The fact is granted, and the learned writings of Guizot unanswerably prove that the Lombard republics owe their freedom and their very existence to Alexander III.

31. Lucius III. nobly carried out the fearless policy of his predecessor. In a council held at Verona (A. D. 1184), in the presence of the emperor, he promulgated a severe decree against the Western Manicheism which struck at both religion and social order. "By the authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul," said the Pope, "and before our beloved son, the Emperor Frederick, at the request of the Christian rulers, assembled from all parts of the world, we anathematize all the heretics known as the Albigenses, Cathari, Patarini, and those also who falsely style themselves *Humiliati, or Poor Men of Lyons.* At the formal request of the emperor and the lords of his court, we enjoin every bishop to visit, in person or by

deputy, those parts of his diocese suspected of leaning toward heresy. He shall call the accused parties before his tribunal, and if they refuse to justify themselves, they shall be deemed heretics, and, as such, given up to the secular power." In this concurrence of the Church and the secular rulers, we find the permanent establishment of what is known as the *Inquisition* against heretics, which had already been, at least temporarily, ordered in Rome, in the fifth century, by St. Leo the Great, against the same Manicheans. Both the principle and the action of the Inquisition have been deeply calumniated by writers hostile to the Church. It has been described as, in principle, an encroachment of the spiritual power, upholding, by armed force, the teachings which concern only the conscience and spiritual rule. Its action has been taxed with a refinement of cruelty truly barbarous and altogether unheard-of in the treatment of other crimes. The hour of justice has at length arrived, and these odious charges have vanished before the deeper and more impartial study of historic facts. The Church, clothed in the middle-ages with a protective power, was in duty bound to guard public order and the peace of society, equally threatened by the heretics, whose blows were aimed both at civil and religious institutions. A weak indulgence at such a moment would have proved the Church false to its mission, and unworthy of the people's confidence. As a spiritual society, using first but spiritual weapons against the enemies of order and religion, when her censures were disregarded, then, at the formal request of the emperors and princes of Christendom, she gave up to civil justice the rebels she could not subdue. Insurrections, at the present time, fall within the jurisdiction of the civil courts alone. In the middle-ages, the guilty parties enjoyed the guarantee of two jurisdictions. They fell under the sword of civil justice only when they had cast off the merciful intervention of the Church. Time has swept away, in its course, the public right of the middle-ages; who shall say that humanity has gained by the change? The sentences decreed by the Inquisition were, indeed, uttered by

a civil tribunal. In form, they were such as accorded with the criminal law of the age. Personally, we may be moved to pity by the fate of the unfortunate wretches who suffered at a period when civil discord gave birth to scenes of horror unknown even to the ages of barbarism. But inflexible history, the accomplice of no party, rejecting all *a priori* systems, bears unquestionable witness that the punishments of the Inquisition were those inflicted by every tribunal for other crimes. Can we forget that the torture was not abolished in France until the reign of the martyr-king, Louis XVI.? And yet France had lived through the age of the *Grand Monarque*, with all its glories, without hearing a solitary voice raised to protest against these remains of barbarism still perpetuated in her laws. It might not be too wide of truth to say, that the period which is most ready to weep over the cruel fate of criminals is that in which crime stalks abroad most frequent and most unharmed. Under one name or another, the Inquisition necessarily exists in every community that seeks its own preservation. A community can exist only inasmuch as it watches and punishes all who plot or who attempt its overthrow. But, in the middle-ages, the fundamental law of society was the Catholic faith. This law took precedence of every other. He who was not a Catholic was not a citizen. The Church, then, by protecting its faith, upheld social order, secured the peace of kingdoms and defended the sovereign law of civilization.

32. The Humiliati, or Poor Men of Lyons, mentioned by Lucius III., were a new sect, known also as the Waldenses, who owed their origin to Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons (A. D. 1160). Following the literal interpretation of the words of Scripture: "Beati pauperes," he sold his property, preached the poverty of the Apostles, and maintained that the Church had fallen away from its divine institution by receiving a princedom and temporal estates. Mgr. Charvaz, archbishop of Genoa, in his learned work entitled "Historical Inquiries into the true origin of the Waldenses and into the nature of their primitive doctrine" (Paris, 1839), thus resumes their er-

rors: "1. They rejected the episcopal authority, and assumed the right of preaching. 2. They taught that any layman could hear the confessions of the faithful and consecrate the Eucharist. 3. They maintained that the Church of Rome was not the true Church, they themselves being the only true disciples of Jesus Christ. 4. They denied the existence of Purgatory and the efficacy of prayers for the dead. 5. They asserted that the priestly power was not granted exclusively to men, but that women likewise might lawfully receive it. 6. That any sacrament, administered by a priest in the state of mortal sin, is null and without effect. 7. Every Crusader is guilty of homicide. 8. All clergymen holding ecclesiastical benefices, *filii sunt dæmonis*. 9. All the rites, ceremonies and chants of the Church, the worship of Saints, or the veneration of their relics and images, are acts of idolatry. 10. Divorce is lawful under all circumstances." The teachings of the Waldenses prove them the forerunners of Luther; hence it has always been a favorite argument with the Protestants, that the Waldenses were not a new sect, and that their doctrines could be traced back, through successive ages, to the time of the Apostles. These interested pretensions of Protestantism have been triumphantly refuted by the learned Archbishop of Genoa, in the work already quoted, and later by Monsignore Palma, secretary to His Holiness Pius IX., in his *Prælectiones Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*. The Waldenses, like every other heretical body which has, at any time, thrown off the yoke of the Church, were positively a new sect; they broke off from the great Catholic unity. The words addressed by Tertullian to the Marcionites, may with equal fitness be applied to the Waldenses: "Are they of Christ? No; they date from *Peter Waldo*."

33. Lucius III. died a few months after the close of the Council of Verona (November 24, A. D. 1185). He, too, had given more than a thought to the deplorable state of Palestine; but time failed him to organize the force he purposed to send to the help of the East.

§ IV. Pontificate of Urban III. (November 25, A. D. 1185—October 19, 1187).

34. Cardinal Hubert Crivelli was unanimously elected Pope, at Verona, on the 25th of November, 1185, and took the name of Urban III.; while in the East, Andronicus, driven from the throne of Constantinople, expiated his usurpation by capital punishment. He was succeeded by Isaac Angelus, whose name was doomed to bear the brand of history and the curse of the Crusaders, as that of a traitor. The Eastern Empire was thus sinking into ruin, in crime and disgrace, instead of joining its efforts to those of the West, to break the yoke of Islam and avenge the honor of Christendom.

35. For a moment, the struggle between Frederick Barbarossa and the Holy See threatened to break out anew, with more fierceness than ever. The King of Sicily, William the Good, who had, in 1166, succeeded his father, William the Bad, died at this period, leaving his daughter Constance sole heiress to his possessions. The princess was the wife of Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa. The emperor at once caused his son to be crowned king of all Italy, by the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Archbishop of Vienna. A formidable power was thus centred in the person of the future emperor of Germany. Though Sicily depended immediately upon the Holy See, the Pope had not even been consulted in this important affair. After repeated and fruitless complaints to Frederick, Urban excommunicated the two prelates who had ventured, without his knowledge or consent, to crown the young prince (A. D. 1186). Every thing foreshadowed an inevitable strife, when a report from the East fell upon Europe like a thunder-clap, and filled all minds with thoughts of another nature.

36. Saladin, the renowned sultan, whose lofty character is the theme of Eastern song and chronicle, and to whom even Christian authors grant the praise of noble and chivalric gene-

rosity, had again planted the Prophet's standard upon the walls of the Holy City. Guy of Lusignan had succeeded Baldwin V. upon the throne of Jerusalem. The weakness of Baldwin's rule, his want of experience, joined to a soft and effeminate mode of life, hastened the downfall of a kingdom founded at the cost of so much blood, upheld with signal glory, a monument, in the East, of the superiority of the Latin arms and civilization. Guy of Lusignan was defeated in a pitched battle and made prisoner by Saladin. The remains of his army, the children of the warriors slain on the field, a multitude of Christian families driven by the Mussulmans from their ruined homes, fled for shelter to Jerusalem. One hundred thousand persons were crowded within the walls of the Holy City. Such a multitude of old men, of women and children, only increased the distress without swelling the number of defenders. Jerusalem was invested by the troops of the sultan, who swore to overthrow its towers and ramparts and to revenge upon the Christians the memory of the Mussulman blood spilled by Godfrey de Bouillon. The beleaguered Christians chose for their leader Baléan d'Ibelin, an old soldier, whose fearless valor had stood the test of twenty battle-fields. The resistance of the besieged was at first determined, and their courage seemed equal to the danger. But the evidently fruitless issue of their efforts against an ever increasing force filled them with despair. They no longer dared, at night, to man the walls which hourly threatened to crumble to pieces before the powerful engines of Saladin. Queen Sibylla offered to capitulate; and thus did the weakness of a woman surrender to the enemies of the Christian name the noblest conquest of heroism and faith. The treaty was signed on the 2d of October, A. D. 1187, after a siege of only a fortnight. The Christians were allowed forty days to evacuate the city. At the end of the fatal term, Saladin, seated upon a splendid throne, caused the wretched population to defile before him. The sad procession was headed by the Patriarch, with his clergy, bearing the sacred vessels and the ornaments of the Holy Sepulchre.

They were followed by the Queen of Jerusalem, accompanied by the chief barons and knights. Saladin respected her grief and spoke to her a few words of kindly sympathy. The queen was followed by a number of women carrying their children in their arms; several of them approached the throne of Saladin and said to him: "You see at your feet the wives, mothers and daughters of the warriors whom you hold in captivity. We are now quitting our homes which they nobly defended; they helped us to bear life; with them we lose our last hope." Moved by their tears, Saladin promised to mitigate the sufferings of so many desolate families. He gave back the husbands, fathers and sons to their bereaved kindred, and allowed the Hospitallers to remain in the city to attend to the pilgrims and the Christians wounded in the last war. Of the hundred thousand persons who had been besieged in the Holy City, only fourteen thousand remained as prisoners. All the churches were changed into mosques, the Mussulman rite was once more practised, as in the days of Omar, in the temple which covered the ruins of the once splendid pile of Solomon. Such was the end of the kingdom founded by Godfrey de Bouillon, after an existence of eighty-eight years. The royalty of Jerusalem was thenceforth but an empty title; for the ephemeral rule of the Emperor Frederick II. was but a chimera and made no lasting impression (1187). Urban III. died of grief on hearing of the capture of Jerusalem (October 19, 1187).

§ V. Pontificate of Gregory VIII. (October 20, A. D. 1187—December 15, 1187).

37. It was a solemn moment; the Holy See remained vacant but a single day; on the morrow of Urban's decease, Cardinal Albert of Beneventum received a unanimous vote and ascended the chair of St. Peter, under the name of Gregory VIII. Immediately upon his exaltation, he addressed an eloquent letter to all Christendom, appealing to every sentiment of honor and faith, in behalf of wretched Jerusalem. Europe

responded by a universal cry of grief; whole populations called for the cross; the days of Peter the Hermit seemed to have come back to them. Gregory VIII. did not witness the effect of his powerful appeal. He died after a reign of little more than a month (December 15, A. D. 1187).

§ VI. Pontificate of Clement III. (December 19, A. D. 1187—March 25, 1191).

38. Cardinal Paulinus, bishop of Palestrina, was elected, on the 19th of December, A. D. 1187, to succeed Gregory VIII. and was enthroned under the name of Clement III. The West had been aroused by the tidings of disaster from Palestine. The republic of Pisa was first in the field, and equipped a fleet of fifty sail. Clement III. intrusted to Archbishop Ubaldus the standard of St. Peter; and the Crusaders landed at Tyre, where they seconded the Marquis Conrad of Montferrat in repelling the attacks of Saladin. The Kings of France and England, Philip Augustus, and Richard the Lion-Hearted, who had lately succeeded his father Henry II., took the cross and levied an extraordinary tax in their realms to meet the expenses of the Holy War. This tax received the name of *Saladin's tithe*, as it consisted of a tenth part of the income of each private individual, and was destined to maintain the war against Saladin. The Emperor of Germany, Frederick Barbarossa, and his son, the Duke of Suabia, led forth an army of a hundred thousand men under the standard of the cross. Barbarossa, so long the scourge of Christendom, was now to become its champion. He was the first to set out, and took the route by way of Constantinople. Isaac Angelus had secretly concluded a treaty offensive and defensive with Saladin. His double-dealing and treachery toward the Crusaders could almost make them regret the odious memory of Manuel Comnenus. The German army found its march retarded by broken roads, dearth of provisions, the military occupation or material obstruction of the mountain passes. The ambassadors sent by

Frederick to complain at Constantinople of these hostile proceedings were thrown into a dungeon. In the transport of indignation excited by this infamous violation of international law, the Crusaders called aloud to be led against Constantinople, to avenge the honor of the Christian name. But Barbarossa was no longer the emperor who could vent a fit of rage by the destruction of cities, and pass the ploughshare over the smouldering site of Milan. Sincere faith had opened his heart to sentiments of true greatness. He pacified his followers, reminding them that the end of their pilgrimage was Jerusalem, not Byzantium. Through all the obstacles thrown in his path by Greek treachery, he made his way to Adrianople. Isaac Angelus was too sanguine when he wrote to Saladin: "I have made the European pilgrims powerless; I have clipped the wings of their victories." He speedily released the ambassadors of Frederick, who exclaimed, on beholding them again: "I thank God who has given me back my sons!" Isaac now sought to make a treaty of peace with the German emperor. The Greek deputies thus addressed Frederick: "The holy emperor, our master, expects you to swear fealty to him as your suzerain. Your own interest demands it; for we hold you and your army hemmed in as by a net." "I too am an emperor," answered Frederick, "by the election of my subjects and the confirmation of the Pope; but, mindful of my sins, I do not claim the title of holiness. The toils in which you think to have bound us, we shall break as we would a cobweb." Isaac deemed it prudent not to bring the storm upon his already crumbling empire. He promised to furnish a sufficient number of vessels to transport the Crusaders to the shores of Asia, betrothed his daughter to Prince Philip, a son of the German Emperor, and pledged himself by oath, in the church of St. Sophia, faithfully to fulfil every article of the treaty. The army embarked at Gallipoli. Frederick was the last to quit the shores of Europe, and entered his boat only when the last soldier was fairly embarked upon the fleet. As they stepped upon the sands of Asia: "Be of good heart," said the emperor

to his troops, "this soil is yours." Frederick of Suabia, the emperor's son, led the van, the baggage was placed in the centre, while Barbarossa himself, in command of the rear-guard, covered the column's march. The envoys of the Sultan of Iconium had promised, in the name of their master, to furnish the Crusaders with supplies. This was but a stratagem concocted with Angelus, to destroy the Christian host. On the 14th of May, 1190, while the Crusaders were slowly working their way through a narrow valley, they suddenly beheld the surrounding heights swarming with Turkish troops, sent by the Sultan of Iconium, who hoped to crush the Christian army, jaded by the toilsome march, exhausted by hunger and thirst, amid the burning sands of the desert. The sultan had intrusted the general command of his troops to the Saracen Melek, a skilful and experienced warrior; but he was present, in person, to enjoy what he deemed a certain triumph. At the sight of the enemy, Frederick called out to his followers: "Conquer or die! we can hope for safety only in victory!" Then dashing forward at the head of his troops, his fearless courage supplying the vigor of youth, the aged hero threw himself upon the enemy. Cheered and encouraged by his example, the Crusaders signalized their courage by prodigies of daring. Ten thousand Turks bit the dust; the remainder fled in dismay, and sought safety in the defiles of the mountains. The victory was complete; but on returning to their camp, at night, the triumphant army found no provisions, and famine, more terrible than the weapons of the Mussulman, threatened these unconquerable warriors with an inglorious death. Their sinking hopes were raised by an order of the day, in which Frederick promised them a new harvest of laurels. "Soldiers of Christ!" said the emperor, "to-morrow, by the help of God, we shall pitch our tents in the gardens of the Sultan of Iconium: there we shall find abundance of food and fountains of gushing water. To-morrow, at dawn, let every man, then, be at his post!" On the morrow, accordingly, the Crusaders, in line of battle, debouched upon the fertile plain

of Iconium. A detachment, led by the Duke of Suabia, invested the walls of the city; the remainder of the army, under the personal command of the emperor, took up a position in the sultan's gardens, and prepared to meet the onset of the foe. Barbarossa had chosen for himself the post of honor. The Turks soon came in sight; their cavalry covered the neighboring hills. "Follow me!" cried Frederick. "To Christ be the glory! To Christ the empire! To Christ the victory!" All opposition fell before the spirited charge; fifteen thousand fallen Turks attest the keenness of the Christian blades. While joyful pæans rise from the ranks of all the Latin host, the standard of the cross is thrown to the breeze from the towers of Iconium. The young Duke of Suabia, worthy son of a hero, had made himself master of the city (1190). The victory of Iconium secured to the Crusaders a means of communication with Europe and a much needed supply of provisions; the way to Palestine was open; the day of Jerusalem's redemption seemed again to dawn. Saladin himself, dismayed by the news of this brilliant victory, sent ambassadors to Frederick to ask for peace and promise the restitution of the holy places. Yet all this glorious success was doomed to a fruitless end. When the army reached the Cydnus, Frederick, heedless of the entreaties of his followers, spurred his steed into the waves which had already well-nigh proved fatal to another hero. Though covered with sweat, the intrepid old warrior would swim the stream. His strength failed him ere he reached the shore, and the icy billows of the Cydnus rolled above the lifeless form of Frederick Barbarossa (June 10, 1190). The deepest consternation and despair seized upon the German army. They had lost their emperor, their general, their father. The echo of their groans and lamentations resounded throughout all Europe. "Weep!" exclaims Peter of Blois, in an eloquent letter; "weep, unhappy warriors, faithful subjects of the greatest earthly king. Your life, your safety, your light and your defence, your security and your strength, the anchor of your hope, your refuge and your help—all, alas! has been stricken

down by the pitiless hand of death!" Peter of Blois was not a subject of the Emperor Frederick; he dwelt in the states of the King of England. His letter is a spontaneous expression of the common grief and regret of all Europe. It is a noble witness of the brotherly ties by which the Crusades had knit together all the Catholic nations. Frederick of Suabia took command of the bereaved army, and died like a hero, before the walls of Ptolemais; but he could not revive the genius of his father. The death of Frederick left the German empire in the hands of Henry VI., who inherited only his father's faults, and showed himself the most inveterate enemy of the Holy See.

39. Clement III. hardly outlived Frederick Barbarossa; he died on the 25th of March, A. D. 1191, just as, through his means, Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion were setting sail for Palestine.

§ VII. Pontificate of Celestin III. (March 28, A. D. 1191—January 8, 1198).

40. Cardinal Hyacinth, a member of the powerful family of the Orsini, was raised to the chair of St. Peter (March 28, A. D. 1191) as successor to Clement III. The first act of his Pontificate was the solemn coronation of Henry VI. and the Empress Constance. The new Cæsar pledged himself to the Pope to respect all the rights of the Roman Church; to follow, in his rule, the laws of justice and right, and to restore all the estates unjustly wrested by his predecessors from the patrimony of St. Peter. Henry VI. soon forgot his oath.

41. The whole attention of Europe was now fixed upon the Crusade. Its future historian, William, archbishop of Tyre, had preached it in England and France. He related to astonished Europe the woes of the East, and the cruel disasters he had himself witnessed. His was the eloquence of a broken heart; his tears, yet more eloquent than his burning words, had

rallied nearly three hundred thousand men to the standard of the cross. Philip Augustus intrusted the government of his kingdom to Queen Adèle, his mother, and his uncle, the Archbishop of Rheims. Richard left the regency of the English realm to his chancellor, William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely. The two kings had agreed to meet, with their respective forces, at Vezelay. The fate of the first two Crusades, with the more recent experience of Frederick Barbarossa, convinced the Europeans that they could no longer trust the degenerate Greeks of Constantinople. They determined to go by sea, and the port of Messina was appointed as the place of general embarkation. Since the capture of Jerusalem, Guy of Lusignan, released from Saladin's fetters, had succeeded in gathering together nine thousand warriors, the last remains of so many proud hosts, whose bones lay bleaching beneath the rays of the Syrian sun. This was a small force to stand against the whole of Asia, and against Egypt too, whose united powers obeyed the orders of Saladin. Lusignan hoped against hope, and led his little band to the siege of the immense city of Ptolemais, or Acre. The Pisan fleet, equipped in the Pontificate of Gregory VIII., joined him here; and, soon afterward, twelve thousand warriors from Friesland and Denmark unfurled their banners beside those of the King of Jerusalem. Another fleet landed more than twenty thousand Flemings under James d'Avesne, already renowned in the Lombard wars, and destined to win the martyr's palm on the soil of Palestine. Thus did the West arise, as one man, and pour into Asia the flower of its knighthood to meet the enemies of the Christian name. Nearly sixty thousand warriors lay encamped about the walls of Ptolemais; the fearless daring of Guy of Lusignan was rewarded. On learning the arrival of the immense armament, Saladin hastened forward with a countless horde of Egyptians, Arabs and Syrians. The Saracens encamped around the Christian leaguer, like a belt; the besiegers were themselves besieged. The plain before Acre was made a battle-field, which revived the prodigies of valor and heroic feats of Homer's warriors and the

siege of Troy. The fate of the world was to be decided on this confined and narrow theatre.

42. Things were in this state when Philip Augustus, and, soon after him, Richard Cœur de Lion, landed at Ptolemais. This re-enforcement decided the chances of war in favor of the Crusaders. Philip Augustus, brave and magnificent; Richard, whose heroic surname, Cœur de Lion, bestowed by the boundless admiration of contemporaries, sufficiently attests his fearless courage—were adversaries worthy of Saladin. All the Latin chronicles bear witness in favor of the sultan, that he worthily emulated the loftiness and generosity of the two Christian heroes. While the English monarch lay ill of a fever, Saladin sent him fresh fruit of Damascus and other delicacies. Intervals of truce occasionally hushed for a space the din of hostile arms; the Crusaders then indulged their love of knightly sports by holding tournaments upon the plain of Ptolemais, to which they invited their Moslem opponents. In these martial festivities, the Franks feasted at the board of Saladin, to the sound of Arabian music, and the European troubadours entertained the Saracens with their national songs and Christian poetry. The sultan carried his admiration of Richard to such an extent that he would be knighted by the hero's sword. The homage paid to his royal vassal secretly irritated Philip Augustus, nor did the innate pride of the English hero tend to smother this germ of jealousy. It was with difficulty that a collision between the two sovereigns was prevented. It was agreed that, when one of the two kings led an assault upon the city, the other should stay to guard the camp and meet any attack from Saladin, in the rear. This measure restored harmony, and the siege was pushed with redoubled energy. Ptolemais suffered fearfully from famine; the Christian squadron blocked the harbor; the army cut off all communications with the continent. After a resistance of two years, the city offered to capitulate, with a promise to restore the true cross, taken by Saladin in the last war; to set at liberty sixteen hundred Christian prisoners, and to pay two

hundred thousand pieces of gold. A Mussulman soldier succeeded in passing through the Christian camp and carried the news to the sultan. Saladin wept with grief at the tidings; he called his emirs to a council; but at the moment of their meeting, the standard of the cross appeared upon the towers of Ptolemais (July 13, 1191). It was too late to dream of resistance.

43. The surrender of Ptolemais was the signal for Philip Augustus to forsake the army of the Cross, and to return to France. Richard's haughty bearing had chiefly determined this early departure. Philip's feelings toward the English king were shared by several other princes; the Archduke Leopold of Austria showed him a most marked aversion, and afterward displayed his jealous anger against Richard, more like a pirate than like a Christian prince. These intestine strifes did not lessen the ardor of the Lion-Hearted monarch. Under his command, the army advanced to Joppa. In the forest of Arsur, two hundred thousand Turks, led by the valiant Saladin, opposed the passage of the Christian host. The shock was fearful; Richard was ever found where the Christian army was weakest; everywhere the flight of the Turks announced his presence and marked his passage. "No Saracen," say the contemporary chroniclers, "could stand before him; he moved about in this fearful fray like a harvester mowing down the standing grain." His battle-cry: "God, help the Holy Sepulchre!" spread dismay and terror through the enemy's ranks. The battle of Arsur cost Saladin eight thousand of his warriors and thirty-two emirs. The Christians lost but a thousand men. But deep and heartfelt was their grief when they recognized, amid the slain, one of their most skilful and fearless leaders, James d'Avesnes. He was found covered with wounds amid a heap of his companions-in-arms, who had fallen around him. Even when he had lost an arm and a leg, he still continued to fight, and fell at last, exclaiming: "O Richard! avenge my death!" The victory of Arsur was a fruitless one; for Saladin, hopeless of defending Joppa, had left it in ruins.

All its towers and battlements were dismantled, the country was deserted, and the Christian army thus found itself in the midst of a barren waste, destitute of provisions, exhausted by the burning heat of the climate, and incessantly harassed by the Arabs and Saracens, unseen foes, always inflicting hurt, but always safe from pursuit. To crown all these misfortunes, Guy of Lusignan was no more, and ambitious pretenders drew their swords to dispute a nominal heritage: the fictitious royalty of Jerusalem. In this trying juncture, the conduct of Richard was even above his heroic fame. On one occasion, a body of his troops, surrounded by the Mussulmans, were about to be borne down by superior numbers. Richard heard of their dangerous situation. His whole escort comprised but five warriors. Tearing himself away from those who would have withheld him from rushing into the open jaws of death, the hero sprang to the saddle and spurred to the scene of action. "When all these warriors," he exclaimed, "followed my standard to the field, I promised never to forsake them; should they fall without an effort, on my part, to help them, would I be worthy still to command them and to keep the name of king?" Then charging upon the Saracens, he mowed down their ranks with his terrible blade. His presence gave new courage to the Christian soldiers; the unbelievers were scattered and put to flight. Such was the terror inspired by Cœur de Lion, that, for a century after the Crusade, his tremendous name was employed by the Syrian mothers to silence their unruly infants; and if a horse suddenly started from the way, his Saracen rider was wont to chide him with the exclamation: "Fool! dost thou think King Richard is in that bush?"

44. In the spring of the year 1192, the English monarch learned, while on the plains of Ascalon, that his unprincipled brother, John, had profited by his absence to seize his states. The hero then acquainted the council of chiefs that the interest of his crown recalled him to the West. But first he wished to look upon Jerusalem, which he had not yet

had time to conquer. Ascending the heights of Emmaüs, he contemplated the walls and towers of the Holy City, which protected Saladin with his two hundred thousand warriors. At the sight of the august city, Richard burst into tears, and covering his face with his shield, "I am unworthy," he exclaimed, "to gaze upon the walls of Jerusalem, which my arms have not been able to rescue." But Saladin wished for peace; his arm, now weakened by the weight of years, found the sword of war too heavy for its failing strength. A truce of four years was concluded between the King of England and the Sultan. Jerusalem was to be left open to the devotion of the Christians, who might also hold the sea-coast from Joppa to Tyre. The city of Ascalon, which was, by its position, the key of Egypt, became an object of contention between the Crusaders and the Turks. To settle the dispute, it was agreed to destroy the city. The third Crusade was at an end; it left to the Latins a vast kingdom in the East. This result, though incomplete, yet worthily crowned so many deeds of warlike prowess and prodigious daring (A. D. 1192). Saladin did not live to enjoy his triumph; but died at Damascus (1193). Before breathing his last, he directed one of his emirs to display his winding-sheet through the streets of the city, and to proclaim in a loud voice: "This is all that Saladin, the conqueror of the East, takes with him to the grave!" The growing power of Saladin had threatened, like a vast conflagration, to sweep the world in its onward course; the third Crusade stopped its progress and saved Christendom.

45. Richard, on quitting Palestine, set sail from Joppa (A. D. 1192). His vessel, for a long time tossed at the sport of the winds and waves, was wrecked upon the coast of Dalmatia. The King of England, it must be confessed, would have been safer in the power of Saladin than in the States of the Christian princes of Europe. Leopold, archduke of Austria, in contempt of all international laws, seized the unfortunate monarch and confined him in the stronghold of Durnstein. Europe was long unacquainted with the captivity of its favorite

hero. Leopold added a yet more disgraceful outrage to the first, by selling his prisoner to Henry VI., emperor of Germany. Pope Celestin III. excommunicated both tyrants. All the Crusaders were under the immediate protection of the Sovereign Pontiff. Celestin used the thunders of the Church to rescue the hero who had so nobly fought for the holy cause on the fields of Palestine. The shameful intrigue ended in an infamous bargain, by which Henry VI. sold to the English the liberty of their king for a hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver. Celestin renewed the sentence of excommunication, and declared that, unless the emperor and the Archduke of Austria immediately returned the money paid for Richard's ransom, they should be forever cut off from the body of the Church, and at death be deprived of Christian burial. The arm of divine vengeance seemed to take upon itself to execute the sentence of the Sovereign Pontiff. In 1194 Leopold died suddenly, of a fall from his horse. He had time, however, to ask forgiveness for his crime, and commanded that the money received for Richard's ransom should be restored. On this consideration he obtained absolution from the censures he had incurred. In 1197, Henry VI. also died, but without having been released from the sentence of excommunication. Trusting in his treasures and in the number of his troops, he laughed at the thunders of the Church. In spite of the express orders of Celestin III. to the contrary, he had lately seized upon Sicily, by armed force. Queen Sibylla and her youthful son, William, the last heirs of the Norman princes, were condemned to perpetual banishment; the young prince moreover was cruelly deprived of sight. The emperor transferred to his own territory all the treasures and wealth of Sicily; he ordered the bodies of King Tancred and his son Roger to be unearthed, that he might possess himself of the royal crowns with which they had been buried. This inhuman act drew upon him another sentence of excommunication. God Himself undertook to confirm it, and Henry VI. died at Messina (September 28, 1197), cursed by all Sicily and abhorred by the whole world

Pope Celestin forbade him Christian burial. This was the last act of his Pontificate. Borne down by years and toil, he still thought to arm the West for a fourth Crusade; death interrupted his preparations (January 8, 1198). With Celestin III. ends the twelfth century.

46. The impulse which bore on chosen souls to the practice of the highest virtues had not failed in this last period. It may suffice to mention St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln; St. Albert, bishop of Liege; St. Mary of Oignies; St. Homobonus, a tradesman of Cremona; Blessed Peter Acolanto, of Venice; St. William and his son St. Peregrinus, at Antioch, and St. Drogo, patron of shepherds. Thus every rank, every condition of society, gave its tribute to the twelfth century in bright examples of edification and holiness. While the Pontiffs carried on a vigorous struggle with the emperors and kings of the earth, pious souls were triumphing in bloodless warfare, and fought the battles of the Lord in the solitude of the cloister as well as amid the tumult and agitation of the world. The Church is the ark which ever affords a shelter to the faithful dove; and, through defections, apostasies and persecutions, she still holds her triumphant course through the flow of ages, to the shores of endless life.

CHAPTER VIII.

PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT III. (January 8, A. D. 1198—July 16, 1216).

1. Influence of the Papacy in the Middle-Ages.—2. Election and antecedents of Innocent III.—3. Life of Innocent III., after his promotion.—4. State of the world at the time of his accession.—5. Innocent III. restores the Pontifical power in Italy.—6. The Pope bestows the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily upon Queen Constance. Affair of the Four Chapters. Innocent III. becomes the guardian of the youthful Frederick II.—7. Philip Augustus repudiates Queen Ingelberga.—8. Philip Augustus solemnly excommunicated in the Council of Dijon.—9. Philip submits and receives back Ingelberga.—10. The question of succession to the German throne. Guelphs and Ghibellines.—11. Otho, duke of Aquitaine, elected and crowned emperor.—12. Otho, proving false to his oath to the Holy See, is deposed by Innocent III., and the crown is bestowed upon Frederick II., king of Sicily. —13. The Pope calls to his tribunal the question in dispute between Philip Augustus and John Lackland.—14. King John excommunicated by Innocent III. His submission. Battle of Bouvines.—15. Fourth Crusade.—16. Capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders. Foundation of a Latin empire in the East.—17. Success of the Christians in Spain.—18. Crusade against the Albigenses. Simon of Montfort.—19. St. Dominic.—20. St. Francis of Assisi.—21. Twelfth general, and fourth Lateran, Council.—22. Death of Innocent III.

PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT III. (January 8, A. D. 1198—July 16, 1216).

1. The history of the Church is the history of modern civilization. The greatness and power of the one is always the measure of the other's progress. This position has already been justified by the Pontificate of Gregory VII.; that of Innocent III. will afford an undeniable confirmation. These two names and their period of power mark the culminating point of the middle-ages. Never did the Papacy more visibly rule the

world. The various interests of European nations, the claims of rival kings, the imperial elections, the hopes of parties, the prayers of whole populations—all turned to the Sovereign Pontiff as to the centre of authority, the supreme arbiter of all disputes, the distributer of crowns, and the universal mediator. In view of this immense power wielded by the Popes, writers are divided in judgment and opinion. Some can see in Gregory VII. and Innocent III. only ambitious minds, profiting by the credulity of their times to enslave the world and bind it to the footstool of the Apostolic chair. Their theory exhibits the Church, during the whole period of the middle-ages, as straying wide of the right path; the policy of her Popes must be deemed a protracted wandering, and we must strike from its annals those pages bright with so many glorious names. Granting, with Fleury and the other historians of his school, that the Sovereign Pontiffs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were led on only by motives of personal ambition utterly foreign to the true spirit of their divine mission, St. Gregory VII., Alexander III., Innocent III., would have been but illustrious usurpers, using their august character as a cloak to their encroachments and unjust aggressions upon the temporal power. Another view has been offered, in our own time, by the influence of deeper and more impartial study; and the foremost opponents of the hostile prejudices put forth in the last century have been Protestant historians.* They hold, as we have repeatedly observed, that the Popes in question, in bestowing and withdrawing crowns, acted in virtue of a sovereign authority with which they had been clothed by the public law and opinion of the middle-ages. They never sought control; it was bestowed upon them. Nations, kings and emperors sought their arbitration, submitted to their decisions, received their decrees, as those of the highest authority, as expressions of the will of God Himself, Whose earthly representatives they were. Thus viewed, the Church has not lived three centuries

* Voigt, History of the Pontificate of St. Gregory VII.—Hurter, History of the Pontificate of Innocent III.—Ranke, History of the Popes.

in error; she has not deviated from the holiness of her institution; she has not been, for a single instant, forsaken by the spirit of Jesus Christ, Who had said to her: "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the end of the world."

2. In choosing a successor to Celestin III., the votes of the cardinals fell upon the deacon Lothaire, a member of the illustrious house of Conti, and only thirty-seven years old. On his promotion to the Apostolic chair, he took the name of Innocent III. He was evidently the man destined by God to rule His Church. He was endowed with all those qualities which go to make up a great man; a vast and lofty intellect, unwonted skill and prudence, keen perception, premature experience, unflagging energy, and unruffled mildness. The early years of Innocent's life had been devoted to study. The University of Paris, "that fountain-head of all learning," in the words of contemporary chroniclers, "which rivalled the most renowned schools of Greece and Egypt," had seen the youthful Lothaire leading in the paths of science that *people of students who seemed to form a city in the midst of a city.* The celebrated masters Peter Cantor, Melchior of Pisa, Peter of Corbeil and Peter Camestor, numbered him among their most studious disciples. Quitting the capital of France, for which he ever cherished an almost filial love, he repaired to Bologna, which then contained the most flourishing law-school in the world. Providence was thus leading him, by the paths of learning, to the highest point of worldly honor. Clement III. raised him to the cardinalate. Austere, simple, and poor in the midst of wealth, Lothaire showed himself the most unbending censor of luxury and pleasure; and was the author of a work on "The Miseries of Life, or Contempt of the World." When elected Pope, he threw himself at the feet of the cardinals, entreating them not to lay upon him a burden he so much dreaded. "Should the honor of that august dignity," he urged, "be compromised by a young and inexperienced man?" It was that very youthfulness, nourished by solid studies, trained up in meditation, sanctified by the practice of every virtue, superior to its years by a consummate

prudence and a maturity worthy of gray hairs, which had determined the choice of the cardinals (January 8, A. D. 1198).

3. Raised, in spite of his protestations, to the chair of St. Peter, Innocent III. gave his whole mind to the task now before him; his life was entirely devoted to the service of the Church. "There are so few," he used to say, "who can fitly serve a single master; how, then, shall one alone serve all? And yet I am the servant of all the servants; a debtor to the wise and to the foolish!" His tireless energy was equal to the most numerous and varied occupations. Every morning he held a consistory with the most distinguished cardinals and religious, who composed his council, giving his undivided attention to every question proposed, examining them with the strictest care, requiring all the reports, proofs, testimonies and minute documents. His keen perception pierced the most intricate affairs and showed him their future issue, as by a kind of supernatural divination; sound reason and correct judgment were materially helped by a thorough knowledge of history. In the evening he received all those who had petitions to present; gave audience to strangers and royal ambassadors, heard all complaints, investigated every wrong, did justice to all. His judgments, stamped with the seal of solemn grandeur and impartiality, were uttered after mature deliberation, and were always irrevocable. "His love of justice," says Hurter, "was a resolution interwoven, so to speak, with every act of his life." Amid the important duties which consumed his every moment, his active piety still found time to compose works which spoke the retreat and silence of the cloister. One of his works, still extant, full of tender feeling and moving pathos, is entitled: *Innocentii III. de sacro altaris mysterio, libri VI.* The liturgy of the Church is indebted to him for the insertion of that sublime plaint, the STABAT MATER, and the pious petition, VENI CREATOR.

4. The state of the world at the period of his accession opened a vast field to the Apostolic zeal of Innocent III. The Romans, still blinded by the memories of their classic heroes,

could not yet understand the high destiny marked out by Providence for Papal Rome. Political revolutions deluged Sicily with blood; its Norman dynasty was reduced to a queen, widowed and captive, with her royal child deprived of sight; its German dynasty was also represented by a widowed queen and a king five years of age. In Lombardy, the free republics and the Germans were contending for an ephemeral sovereignty; anarchy reigned supreme, unity was utterly lost. In Germany, the imperial sceptre of Henry VI. became an object of strife between three rival claimants: Philip, duke of Suabia, Otho, duke of Aquitaine, and the King of Sicily, Frederick II., son of the late emperor. In France, Philip Augustus, blinded by a criminal passion, forgot his glory to shock the world by an incestuous alliance. In England, Richard Cœur de Lion was doomed to fall by an arrow from an ignoble hand, at the siege of Chaluz, leaving his crown to John, his brother, who possessed the qualities neither of a soldier, a king, nor even of an honest man. In Spain, the bloody victory of Alarcos, won by the Emir Almanzor over Alphonso IX., king of Castile (A. D. 1195), placed the Moors in full possession of all the southern provinces of the Peninsula. The Christian kings of that country, utterly abandoned to the most shameful passions, outraged the sanctity of marriage, and, in domestic strife, turned against each other the weapons they should have borne against the common enemy. In the East, the fate of the world was to be decided by bloody struggles between Christian civilization and Mussulman barbarism; while in the West, a sect more dangerous than Islamism, the Albigensian heresy, under a specious show of Christian orthodoxy, strove to sap the foundation of all religion, morality and social order. Such was the herculean task set before the new Pontiff; Innocent III. will be found equal to the work.

5. On the day following his consecration, he distributed among the inhabitants of Rome nearly four hundred thousand crowns, on the occasion of his happy accession. This Pontifical bounty won the prestige of popularity for his administra-

tion, and he availed himself of it to destroy the remains of the revolutionary institutions established by Arnold of Brescia. Like every nation that has fallen from the zenith of its glory, the Romans still imagined themselves at the height of their greatness, when uttering the names of their ancient heroes, while momentarily reviving social forms long since dead, or weaving themselves crowns with the withered laurels of bygone ages. Innocent III. countenanced this prejudice in as far as it was allowable and not derogatory to the authority of the Holy See. He appointed a senator, charged to represent the interests of the Roman people, but bound, by oath, to protect the possessions of the Roman Church; to undertake nothing, either by counsel or by act, against the life of the Pope; to bear him out in his administration; in fine, to guard, throughout the whole extent of his jurisdiction, the safety of the cardinals. The præfect of Rome gave the same pledge. During a terrible famine which ravaged Italy in 1202, the Romans were convinced that, if Innocent ruled his people with the sceptre of a sovereign, he loved them with the heart of a father. For six months the charitable Pontiff daily provided for the subsistence of eight thousand poor persons. A people's love repaid these deeds of merciful charity; they could not but be faithful to a power which showed itself in acts of generous compassion. While Innocent was dispensing the treasures of the Church with so liberal a hand, he acted with vigor against the spoilers of the Holy See. Henry VI. had, in the last years of his reign, seized upon the marches of Ancona and the Romagna, which he bestowed as fiefs upon his Seneschal Markwald. Innocent sent two cardinals to demand the restoration of the estates to the Roman Church. Markwald refused to comply, and was excommunicated. The people were weary of the German yoke, and longed to obey a Sovereign Pontiff whose rule drew upon him the benedictions of his subjects. They rose up in arms against Markwald, drove him from their territory, and laid the keys of their cities at the Pontiff's feet. Their example was followed by the exarchate of Ravenna.

The duchy of Spoleto, the county of Assisi, and Tuscany, the greater part of which had been bequeathed, by the Princess Matilda, more than a century before, to the Holy See, and which the emperors had hitherto unjustly held, now expelled their German governors and formed a league, of which the Pope was declared the chief and the protector. Thus, in the first year of his reign, Innocent had won back Ancona, Fermo, Osimo, Fano, Sinigaglia, Spoleto, Rieti, Assisi, Foligno, Nocera, Todi, Perugia, Sabinum and the county of Beneventum. Comparing the extent of the temporal domain held by his predecessors with what he had just added to it, Innocent might justly say that "he owed these estates not to the power of sword or spear, but to the marvellous providence of Him Who rules all things."

6. A wider field was opened in Southern Italy to the liberating genius of Innocent III. Constance, queen of Sicily and widow of Henry VI., was beset by powerful factions. She felt that her best hope of strengthening the position of the young king, her son, was to seek a closer alliance with the Holy See, long recognized as suzerain of the kingdom of Sicily. She sent a request to the Pope that he would confirm the claim of the youthful Frederick II. to his states, by bestowing upon him the solemn investiture of them. Before proceeding to a public recognition of the German dynasty upon the Sicilian throne, Innocent III. gave a thought to the unfortunate remnants of the fallen house. He pressed the release of the unhappy Queen Sibylla, of her son, William, and her two daughters. They were restored to freedom, and Europe once more received a practical proof that the Holy See is the natural defender of the widow and the orphan. Another preliminary question was then treated between the Pope and Queen Constance. Adrian IV. had granted to King William I. very extensive ecclesiastical privileges for all the Sicilian provinces. These grants, known as the *Four Chapters*, regarded legations, ecclesiastical nominations, appeals to the Holy See, and councils. Innocent deemed it his most sacred duty to free the Church

from every secular influence opposed to its discipline. He believed, moreover, that after the extinction of the old Sicilian dynasty, it no longer became the suzerain to uphold personal privileges and favors inconsistent with the duties of his high dignity. Queen Constance yielded to the Pontifical judgment; the *Four Chapters* were annulled, and the Pope at once granted the bull of investiture (A. D. 1198). Constance did not live to enjoy the concession. With the self-sacrificing spirit of a mother, she had made heroic efforts to secure to her son Frederick II. the peaceful possession of the Sicilian throne. Even in her last hour, still solicitous for the welfare of the royal youth whom she was leaving without support amid foes of every kind, upon a throne of questionable firmness, she instinctively turned her dying looks upon Innocent III., intrusted to his keeping what was dearest to her on earth, and named him guardian of Frederick II. and of the kingdom of Sicily (November 27, 1198). Receiving this bequest of a mother's tender love, the Pope wrote to the young king: "Dry your tears; God gives you a spiritual father instead of the temporal father you have lost; to fill the place of the Empress Constance, your mother of glorious memory, He has given you a mother that never forgets her children—the undying Roman Church. We will love, protect and defend you with a mother's care, for the honor and dignity of the royal authority, for the safety of your kingdom and the good of your subjects." Innocent accordingly turned his thoughts, at once, upon the interests of Sicily, displaying his personal energy and the vast resources of the Apostolic authority against the ever renewed factions of that unfortunate country. This tutelary watchfulness lasted from the year 1199 until 1208, at which period Frederick attained his majority, and the Pontiff delivered up to him his inheritance in a prosperous and flourishing condition. The office of the guardian was ended; but gratitude made it a duty for the youthful monarch not to break off friendly relations with a counsellor like Innocent III., at an age in which his want of experience made a guiding hand so necessary. We shall find

the Pope still adding new favors to the services already rendered; Frederick repays them only with ingratitude.

7. Celestin III. left unsettled one of the most serious questions of his period—the divorce of Philip Augustus and Ingelberga. The French monarch had seen his first wife, Isabella of Hainaut, daughter of Count Baldwin IV., consigned to the grave in the flower of her age. On his return from Palestine, he wished to contract an alliance which might help his struggle against the power of his rival, Richard Cœur de Lion. He cast his eyes upon Ingelberga, daughter of Vlademar, king of Denmark, hoping thus to turn away that kingdom from the English cause. This union had hardly been solemnized, when Philip began to show an uncontrolled aversion for Ingelberga, whom all contemporary historians agree in describing as a most virtuous and accomplished princess. On a false pretext of kindred, he obtained the annulment of his marriage by a council of venal bishops assembled at Compiègne. The wretched queen, summoned before this tribunal, was utterly defenceless —she knew not the language of her judges. When her sentence was pronounced, it was translated for her by an interpreter; she could only cry in mournful accents: "Rome! Rome!" The cry of outraged innocence appealed to the supreme tribunal, to the champion of the right, to the refuge of the wronged. She refused to return to Denmark. Philip, forgetful of his knighthood and Christian royalty, ordered his victim to be confined in the convent of Beaurepaire, and espoused Agnes of Merania, the object of his criminal passion (A. D. 1196). The case had been brought before the Holy See on the eve of the death of Celestin III.

8. Innocent III. knew no by-ways in the path of duty. The check was as vigorous as the crime had been flagrant "This was not a question," says Hurter, "of temporal domain, or of contested rights, with the Holy See; the great point at issue was summed up in the question: Is the Catholic sovereign amenable to the laws of Christianity which bind his subjects? We may premise here, that if those laws were then

enforced in a different manner, and perhaps more sternly than at present, the fact affords no ground for blaming the conduct of the Pope in the present circumstance. In the matter of this divorce, Innocent III. followed only a just appreciation of his own duty and of that of princes; actuated by a truly Apostolic zeal, he was open to no earthly consideration. He would never consent to sacrifice the high moral importance of his dignity for the sake of a powerful ally in the German troubles; nor to purchase, at the price of a guilty concession, the king's assistance for the Crusade. To call his firmness a crime, would be to make a dangerous example for all ages; it would break down the barrier between power and duty, and release man from every moral obligation. What countless woes would have been spared France and all Europe, had Louis XV. found, in the Apostolic chair, the unbending severity, the unconquerable energy of Innocent III.! The duty of the Pope is to be the pastor of kings, and, thereby, the savior of the people." Peter of Capua was sent to France (A. D. 1198) as legate. He was empowered, in the event of Philip's refusal to return to the path of duty, to lay the whole kingdom under interdict. The monarch's stubborn will would not bend to the arguments and threats of the legate, the counsels of the clergy and the prayers of his true friends. He presented Agnes to the army, crowned her with his own hands, and made his knights and barons swear to shed the last drop of their blood in her behalf. Following the express order of the Sovereign Pontiff, Peter of Capua convoked a council of the bishops of France, at Dijon (1199). Philip refused to appear; he sent two delegates, however, who were instructed, by way of gaining time, to appeal from the decision of the council to the immediate judgment of the Holy See; a subterfuge common to all rebels, who appeal from the sentence of the Pope to the judgment of a council, and from the sentence of the council to the judgment of the Pope. Innocent III., foreseeing this manœuvre, expressly forbade his legate to make any account of the appeal which might be offered. On the 12th of December,

1199, at midnight, the mournful tolling of the cathedral bells summoned the Fathers of the Council of Dijon. The bishops and priests repaired in silence to the Basilica, lighted on their way by flaming torches. The image of the Crucified was covered with a black veil. The sacred relics had been removed to the crypts; the last remains of the consecrated hosts had been burned. The legate, wearing a violet stole, as on the day that commemorates the Saviour's Passion, pronounced the ecclesiastical interdict "upon all the provinces subject to the rule of the King of France, so long as that prince refused to break off his adulterous commerce with Agnes of Merania." At these words, all the torches were thrown to the ground and extinguished, adding the horror of deep darkness to the awe inspired by the impressive ceremony itself; the arches of the cathedral resounded with the mingled groans and sobs of women, children and old men. "The last great day," says a contemporary writer, "seemed at hand." The execution of the interdict threw a veil of mourning over the whole of France; all was consternation, and the writers of the day describe the general grief in the most pathetic terms. Numbers of the faithful thronged to Normandy and other territories of the English king, solely to enjoy the consolations of religion.

9. The French hierarchy, encouraged by the noble and fearless Peter of Arras, proved itself, with very few exceptions, worthy of the Pope who had relied upon its concurrence. In all the dioceses, the churches were closed and the divine office suspended. The wrath of Philip was poured out upon the clergy. The Bishop of Paris, Eudes de Sully, was banished, and his dwelling given up to pillage. The Bishop of Senlis was only saved by flight from a still more severe visitation. Ingelberga, the guiltless cause, and herself the victim, of this storm of royal rage, was condemned to the most rigorous imprisonment in the stronghold of Etampes. The king's violence only embittered the minds of his subjects; the barons appealed to the sword; Philip's attendants shunned his presence and fled from him as from the enemy of God and men. In this extremity,

divided between a sense of duty and the promptings of a passion which seemed to grow by opposition, the king sent some knights to Innocent, to complain of the legate's harshness. "The king, our master," said they, "is ready to appear before judges appointed by the Holy See, and to submit to their sentence." "To what sentence?" asked Innocent. "There can be but one, and that one has been already uttered. Let the king put away Agnes of Merania and restore the queen to all her rights as lawful spouse." This reply only redoubled the fury of Philip. "Happy Saladin!" exclaimed the blinded monarch; "he had no Pope!" Resolved upon making a last effort in behalf of the object of his criminal love, Philip called together the prelates and nobles of the kingdom, to a solemn assembly. Agnes of Merania appeared before them, pale and wasted by the interior grief and struggles which preyed upon her soul. "Like the widowed partner of Hector," says a contemporary writer, "she would have moved the whole Grecian host. The full freshness and glow of youth, the grace with which, five years before, she bestowed the prizes upon the victors in the lists, had fled her wan and haggard cheek." The king hoped that the sad contrast might touch the hearts of his warriors. The barons stood in deep silence. "What must I do?" asked Philip. "Obey the Pope," they answered; "put away Agnes and restore Ingelberga." To this unanimous judgment the king was forced to yield; and never, not even upon the field of Bouvines, did he appear greater; never did he better deserve the title of Augustus; for the noblest, the hardest, the most glorious victory is the triumph over self and over the passions that struggle for mastery in the heart. Agnes was repudiated, and died soon after. The pious Ingelberga reascended a throne of which her virtues made her worthy. Philip now thought only of obliterating the memory of these stormy days by the splendor of his reign and by a wise administration (A. D. 1200–1207). Innocent had achieved his object; the scandal was repaired. "If Christianity," says Hurter, on this subject, "has not been thrown aside as a worthless creed,

into some isolated corner of the world; if it has not, like the sects of India, been reduced to a mere theory; if its European vitality has outlived the voluptuous effeminacy of the East—it is due to the watchful severity of the Roman Pontiffs, to their unceasing care to maintain the principle of authority in the Church."

10. The whole attention of Innocent III. was demanded by events of the highest political import. Germany, convulsed to its very centre, sought from the Pontifical power a rule of conduct amid the domestic strifes which were rending it asunder. The princes of the house of Hohenstauffen, leaders of the Weibling or Ghibelline faction, numbered three successive emperors since Frederick I. The house of Welfs, or Guelphs—a house of longer standing—vied with them in power and splendor.* Philip, duke of Suabia, a brother of Henry IV., represented the Ghibellines; Otho, duke of Aquitaine, was the leader of the Guelphs. The two factions simultaneously elected their respective chiefs to the imperial throne, without any regard to the claims put forward in behalf of the young king of Sicily, Frederick II., upon whom his father, Henry VI., had bestowed the crown, while yet an infant. The two active competitors, Philip and Otho, appealed, at the same time, to the Sovereign Pontiff, to obtain the confirmation of their respective elections. Here again we find an undeniable evidence of the supreme authority with which the public law of the middle-ages invested the Papacy, in all questions touch-

* "There were, in Germany, two powerful families, one of which was known by the name of *Salic* or Weiblingen, from Weibling, the name of a castle in the diocese of Augsburg, among the Hartz mountains, where this race probably originated. The partisans of this house, which had given several emperors to the German realm, were called the *Weibling*. The rival race, whose seat was in Altorf, at this period held Bavaria, and had been successively represented by the princes bearing the name of *Welf*. The Popes had often been engaged in struggles with the Weiblings, while the Welfs frequently espoused the Pontifical cause. Unhappy Italy, already so cruelly torn by its own domestic quarrels, took part in the disputes of strangers. The names Welf and Weibling were poorly adapted to the Italian organs of pronunciation. Each faction fitted its name to the rhythm of the national pronunciation. The Pope's adherents, in Italy, called themselves *Guelfi*—Guelphs; their opponents took the name of *Ghibellini*—Ghibellines."—M. Artaud de Montor. Histoire des souverains Pontifes, t. II., p. 308.

ing disputed successions and the peace of nations. "By intervening in the election of the German emperor," says Hurter, "Innocent III. did not encroach upon the rights of the empire to the profit of the Holy See; he simply complied with the expressed wish of all Europe, which stood in expectation of his decision."* The Pontiff's decision was determined by two leading considerations. He had no more thought, than the German electors themselves, of setting forth the claims of his ward, Frederick II. "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child!" he exclaimed in the famous bull which made known his decision to Germany. "Let it not be said that Frederick II. is under Our guardianship. The imperial throne is elective, not hereditary. Our duty, as guardian, does not extend to placing the orphan in possession of the empire, but only to maintain him in the kingdom of Sicily."

11. The choice was thus limited to Philip of Suabia and Otho of Aquitaine. In an alternative which was equally threatening on either side, the Pope rose to the highest view of public order and the general welfare. He must, on the one hand, guard the rights of an essentially elective empire. He was equally bound, on the other, in his choice of an emperor to secure to the Roman Church a zealous defender, an obedient son, worthy to bear the crown and the sword of Charlemagne. Had the choice fallen upon Philip of Suabia, who was a brother of Henry VI., he would have been the fourth emperor of the

* "Fleury professes to believe that the Popes grounded their claim to authority over kings only upon a false interpretation of the well-known text from the Prophet Jeremias: Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna, ut evellas, et destruas, et disperdas et dissipes, et ædifices, et plantes.' We have already shown that this power was based upon the public law of the middle-ages, nor need we here repeat the proofs. We may, however, add, that the writers hostile to the Papacy have followed a false reasoning, by starting from the scholastic disputations of the day and the words of the Popes leaning upon the interpretation of the Scriptures. They have failed to see that human affairs may always be viewed from two points: the one adopted by men, the other by truth, independent of purely human views. The same case holds with the Popes; all the arguments by which they supported their authority may not be equally conclusive, and yet the admission implies nothing against the principle itself."—COUNT DE BEAUFORT. History of the Popes, t. III, p. 260

house of Hohenstauffen, upon the German throne. He would no longer have been an elective, but simply a hereditary prince. "If brother were now to succeed brother," said the Pope, "as the son was wont to succeed his father, the empire would cease to be conferred by election, and would descend by right of inheritance; and the abuse would speedily grow into a prescription." Besides, Philip had long before been excommunicated by the Holy See for having joined Henry VI. in usurping Pontifical domains and fiefs in Italy, driven bishops from their sees, and imprisoned all the clerics who showed any attachment to the Sovereign Pontiff. Such antecedents gave little promise of faithful championship for the Church. Innocent, therefore, decided in favor of Otho, duke of Aquitaine; thus equally saving the rights of the empire and the elective freedom of the German princes. "To him," says Hurter, "is Germany indebted for the happiness of not having been agglomerated into one single mass, which might, perhaps, have outwardly displayed greater power, but which could never have brought forth, within itself, that wealth and variety of intellectual culture which distinguishes the German race above all others." Philip of Suabia was not prepared to bow to an unfavorable decision; he resolved to enforce his claim by arms. From A. D. 1201 till 1208 Germany was made a battle-field, on which the contending parties struggled with varying success. Streams of blood attested the obstinacy of Philip's ambition. At length the divine power interposed to ratify the Pontifical judgment. On the 21st of June, 1208, Otho of Vittelsbach, count palatine of Bavaria, irritated by a personal grievance received from Philip, rushed, sword in hand, into the duke's apartments in the palace of Bamberg. "Put up your sword," said the duke, "it is not needed here." "I do need it," replied the Palatine, "to revenge myself of your faithlessness." With these words he struck him dead upon the spot. This event closed the struggle. There was now but one party in Germany; the general Diet of Frankfort (November 11th, 1208) solemnly recognized the candidate chosen by Pope Inno

cent III. To strengthen the bonds of peace, it was agreed that Otho should marry Beatrice, daughter and heiress of Philip of Suabia. The new emperor at once set out, with his youthful bride, for the Eternal City, to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope, his benefactor. The ceremony took place in St. Peter's church, with a pomp and splendor until then unparalleled. "Do you desire to live in peace with the Church?" asked the Pope. "I do," replied Otho. "Then do I give you peace, as it was given by our Lord to His disciples," said Innocent, kissing the emperor upon the forehead. "Will you be a true son of the Church?" again asked the Pontiff. "I will," returned the emperor. "Then I receive you as a true son of the Church;" and at these words the Pope covered Otho with the folds of his Pontifical mantle. Otho was not to be more faithful than had been his predecessors to the solemn obligation.

12. As he travelled by Assisi, on his way to Rome, Otho had passed the hermitage of Rivo-Torto, the first retreat of St. Francis of Assisi. The holy solitary did not quit his cell to view the imperial pageant as it passed, but simply sent one of his disciples to bear to the prince this short message: "The glory that surrounds you will be short-lived." The prediction was true, but it was realized through the emperor's own ingratitude. He owed all his prosperity to Pope Innocent III. When fairly seated upon the throne which had cost him so many contests, he deemed himself strong enough to stand in open opposition to his protector. He seized the estate of the Church, in Tuscany, and invaded the territory of Frederick II., king of Sicily. But he was soon to learn that Innocent III. could take back what he had bestowed. The ungrateful emperor was excommunicated. The Pontifical sentence pronounced his deposition from the throne, and freed his subjects from their oath of fidelity. Through the instrumentality of the Pope, the Diet of Nuremberg then gave the crown to the young King of Sicily. The late ward of the Holy See might have learned, in the remarkable circumstances of his elevation and

of the sudden fall of his predecessor, that the Church of God may not be outraged with impunity; but he, too, was deaf to the manifest warning. The deposed emperor appealed to arms; but the justice of God awaited him at Bouvines.

13. The same field was to prove fatal also to John of England. The character of John stands before us polluted with meanness, cruelty, insincerity and suspicion. Arrogant in prosperity, abject in adversity, a traitor to his friends and a coward before his enemies, John had reached the throne by murder. In the strict order of hereditary succession, followed in the feudal states, the crown, at the death of Richard, should have devolved to his nephew Arthur, duke of Bretagne, a boy in the twelfth year of his age. John, who made light of crime, rid himself of his rival by a shocking murder (A. D. 1203). Philip summoned the murderer, as vassal of the crown of France, to prove his innocence in the presence of the French peers. John, however, refused; he was declared guilty of felony, condemned to death and to the forfeiture of all the lands he held by homage. Philip took into his own hands the execution of the sentence. Within a year, he had made himself master of Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Poitou, which he added to the royal domain, leaving only Guienne in the hands of the English. He would have carried his conquering arms still further, and meant to follow up his false vassal into the very heart of England, when John appealed to the Pope, entreating his protection against a powerful opponent. Innocent III., who had styled himself "the representative of Jesus Christ on earth, the supreme peace-maker," thought it fitting to intervene and stop the shedding of blood. In the celebrated bull *Novit Ille*, addressed to Philip, in the name of the spiritual jurisdiction with which he was invested over kings and nations, in the name of the sovereign authority given him by his divine mission, he commanded the King of France to cease hostilities. Calling up the case before his own tribunal, he reserved the rights of both parties until the rendering of a final judgment. The enemies of the Papacy strongly censure the action of In-

nocent III. in this event, and, taking exception to the tenor of the bull itself, they labor to prove that the ground upon which the Sovereign Pontiff rested his assumed jurisdiction, has no foundation either in fact or in right. The best answer to their arguments is that afforded by the facts themselves. Philip obeyed, and concluded a truce of five years with the English king; and he certainly understood the public law of the middle-ages better than the posthumous adversaries of Innocent III.

14. John was unworthy of the Pontifical protection. Within a year of the time at which it had thrown its sheltering mantle over him, he was renewing the contests and cruelty of Henry II., and driving from his see the virtuous Cardinal Langton, archbishop of Canterbury. The same hand that had been so readily stretched out to save was now raised, with equal promptness and power, to hurl the thunders of the Church against the ungrateful rebel. The whole kingdom of England was placed under an interdict. John answered this display of energy by an infamous act of cruelty and derision. He ordered the intrepid Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, who had dared to promulgate the Pontifical decree, to be imprisoned and clothed in a ponderous cope of lead, and in this state the unhappy victim was left without food or assistance, until he expired. In a great chase, a few days later, coming in at the death of a hunted stag, the king could affect to be witty on such a solemn matter as the interdict that weighed upon his kingdom. "That beast was in a very good condition," he said, "though it had never heard a mass." In his rage against the Pope and the Christian princes, he solicited the aid of Mohammed-al-Nassir, who had assumed the usual appellation of the Emir al Moumenim, offering to acknowledge him as suzerain and to embrace the Mahometan faith, in return for his alliance against the Pope. When the English deputies had made known their errand, the emir closed a book which he had been reading, and replied: "I have just been reading a Greek work written by a wise Christian named Paul; and I confess myself much

pleased with his words and actions. The only fault I have to find with him is that he forsook the religion in which he was born. The same I may say against the King of England, who desires, through mere inconstancy, to forsake a law so pure and holy as the Christian. God knows that if I were without any creed, I should certainly choose that one. Your master is a shameless wretch and unworthy of my alliance!" The stubborn persistence of John at length obliged the Pope to resort to the last effort of his authority. He excommunicated and deposed him, absolving his vassals and subjects from their oaths of fealty. Innocent then bestowed the crown upon Philip Augustus, to whom he intrusted the execution of the sentence. The King of France received the charge, and a fleet of seventeen hundred sail met at the mouth of the Seine. Philip might have cherished a hope of emulating the Conqueror; but to what results the invasion would really have led must remain unknown, as it was rendered unnecessary by the submission of John, who entered into arrangements with the Pope. "With the consent of Our barons," wrote the king, "of Our own accord and will, without any violence or constraint, We make over Our person and Our States, Our Kingdoms of England and Ireland, to the Sovereign Pontiff and his Catholic successors, in order to receive them back from their hands, as vassal of God and of the Roman Church." The reparation was full; Innocent accepted it, and the intended French expedition was not prosecuted. But John, enraged at his humiliation, now turned his fury upon the King of France, and raised a hostile feeling against him in all the courts of Europe. The late Emperor Otho IV., the Dukes of Saxony, Lorraine and Brabant, the Counts of Holland and Limburg, at the head of more than sixty thousand men, poured into France, through Tournay Philip had but fifty-five thousand warriors to oppose to the confederate host; but they were the chosen knights of France, led by such chiefs as the Duke of Burgundy, the Count de Saint-Paul, Matthew of Montmorency, and the valiant Hospitaller, Brother Guérin, bishop-elect of Senlis, who was on the field,

without sword or lance, but with counsel that was worth an army. The victory of Bouvines crowned their valor; and Philip Augustus, more powerful than ever, was an object of fear and admiration to all Europe. Otho IV. died without glory in his duchy of Brunswick. John returned to his kingdom, to meet the contempt and defiance of his barons, who at length wrung from him, in 1215, the MAGNA CHARTA, celebrated in history as the basis on which are founded the liberties of Englishmen. The perjured king soon forgot his oath. The barons again took up arms and offered the crown to Louis, the eldest son of the King of France. John died, worthy of his surname, Lackland, as Louis was taking possession of London (A. D. 1216).

15. From the very beginning of his Pontificate, Innocent III. had been meditating a new Crusade to win back Palestine, which the powerful arms of Saladin had lately wrested from the grasp of the Latins. Fulk, the curate of Neuilly-sur-Marne, was the preacher of the fourth Crusade, and awaked some of the accents of Peter the Hermit, to rouse the faith of the people. The most prominent among the French leaders were: Baldwin IX., earl of Flanders, Walter and John of Brienne, Matthew of Montmorency,* Simon of Montfort, a name destined yet to adorn a bright page in the annals of his time, and Jeffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, who has left a most faithful and spirited account of the expedition in which he bore a memorable part; Boniface II., marquis of Montferrat, was proclaimed Generalissimo. The expedition, which had been undertaken with a praiseworthy zeal, was soon turned from its legitimate end by motives entirely foreign to its scope. The Venetians had engaged to furnish the army with ships, but required, as a necessary condition, that it should help them to retake from the Hungarians the city of Zara, in

* "Matthew of Montmorency," says Villehardouin, "was one of the best knights in France, one of the most loved and esteemed." He was never to see his native land again. When he was stricken down by death, before Constantinople, "there was a general mourning throughout the whole army."

Dalmatia. The fleet was still before that city, when another event helped to turn away the Crusaders from their original design. The aged Emperor of Constantinople, Isaac Angelus, had been lately dethroned by his brother Alexius, by whose inhuman order he was deprived of sight and thrown into a dungeon. The son of the unfortunate Isaac appeared before the Latin knights and urged them to avenge the outrage; promising, in his own and his father's name, to help their expedition, to end the Eastern schism, and to effect the reunion of the Greek and Roman Churches. Notwithstanding the express prohibition of Innocent III., who reproached them with "looking back, like Lot's wife," the Crusaders received the proposition of the Greek prince with enthusiasm. They agreed to the enterprise against Constantinople, and the command of the fleet was intrusted to Henry Dandolo, doge of Venice, who, under the weight of eighty years and after the loss of his eyes, showed the effects of old age only by its characteristic virtue and experience. The fleet soon appeared before Constantinople. The Eastern capital then numbered more than a million of inhabitants; its walls enclosed all the power, the wealth and the political life of the Greek empire. It was defended by one hundred and fifty thousand warriors; but their resistance yielded to the heroes of the West, who boasted, says Villehardouin, "that to them nothing less than the fall of the heavens was a terror." The usurper, Alexius, abandoned his capital, his family and his troops, and sought, among the Thracian mountains, a safe concealment for the imperial treasure, which he bore with him in his flight. The Crusaders entered Constantinople after a siege of less than six days (July 18, A. D. 1203). The aged emperor, Isaac Angelus, was brought from his dungeon, utterly ignorant of passing events; and, while he thought himself led to execution, he was borne in triumph to his throne. There he received Matthew of Montmorency and Villehardouin, who said to him, on behalf of the Crusaders: "We have performed our promises; it now remains for you to fulfil those made in your name. You are pledged to bring back the East-

ern Church to the authority of the Holy See; to pay us two hundred thousand marks of silver; to furnish our army with provisions for a year, and to send ten thousand troops with us into Palestine."

16. Isaac swore to fulfil these conditions. But such promises are more easily made than kept. The Byzantines looked upon the Crusaders as barbarians; the Crusaders, on the other hand, regarded the Greeks as an intriguing, treacherous and heretical race. Still the reunion of the two Churches was solemnly proclaimed in the church of St. Sophia. The Patriarch of Constantinople, before all the Western knights and the Byzantine people, acknowledged "Innocent, the third of the name, as successor of St. Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ." The Greeks answered the proclamation by a smothered murmur of disapprobation. Standing between their liberators, who demanded the entire fulfilment of the treaties, and the people of Constantinople, who upbraided them with ruining the state for the benefit of strangers, Isaac Angelus and his son Alexius remained in a state of inaction and displeased all. The occasion was seized by a perfidious traitor, Ducas, known by the epithet of Mourzoufle, which in the vulgar idiom expressed the close junction of his black and shaggy eyebrows; the popular passions answered his expectation, and he was raised to the throne of Constantinople (A. D. 1204). The aged Isaac died of a broken heart, at the tidings that his son had been put to death by the usurper's order. The sudden change of affairs filled the Crusaders with horror and indignation. The Franks, faithful to their suzerains, said to Mourzoufle: "The perpetrator of such a crime is entitled neither to estate nor rank." They swore revenge against the perfidious nation which had thus outraged the imperial honor and dignity; and the siege of Constantinople was again resolved upon. On the 9th of April, 1204, Byzantium, with all its treasures, fell into the hands of the soldiers of the cross.* The usurper was stopped in his flight,

* Of all the Byzantine treasures, those which most excited the pious cupidity of the Crusaders were the holy relics. Martin Litz, a German priest, obtained a piece of the true

and flung from the summit of Theodosius' column. The choice of a ruler for the conquered territory was intrusted to a council composed of six Venetian nobles, six Frankish electors, the Bishops of Soissons, Troyes, Halberstadt, Bethlehem and Ptolemais, and the Abbot Thierry of Loos. Their choice fell upon the Count of Flanders, who was solemnly crowned in St. Sophia (May 23, 1204), and inaugurated the Latin empire of Constantinople under the name of Baldwin I. The kingdom of Thessalonica or Macedonia was established in favor of Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, the conquered provinces were brought under the feudal system, and the final reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches proclaimed. Two passing attempts were made to re-establish the Greek empire; at Nice, by Theodore Lascaris, and at Trebizond, by David Comnenus. These struggles of exiled royalty gave little concern to the victorious Crusaders. Innocent wept to see the Holy Land forgotten in the excitement of an expedition foreign to the lawful end of a Crusade. After the capture of Constantinople, he took every precaution to strengthen the authority of the Holy See in the East. Unhappily, the Latin empire of Constantinople, sole fruit of the fourth Crusade, scarce outlived half a century; its fall once more threw the East into the darkness of schism.

17. If the Pope had failed to bring the knights of the West into contact witd the Saracens in Palestine, he was more successful in establishing a powerful league against the Moors in Spain. His voice checked the intestine strife which dis-

cross, a portion of the bones of St. John the Baptist and an arm of St. James. Galon de Dampierre, a priest of the diocese of Langres, begged, with tears in his eyes, to take home with him the head of St. Mamas; a third priest, from Picardy, having found among the ruins the heads of St. George and of St. John the Baptist, hurried away from Constantinople, with his precious booty, and deposited in the cathedral of Amiens the relics which Providence had placed in his possession. The princes and barons did not disdain these sacred spoils. Dandolo received a portion of the true cross, which Constantine always had carried before him to war; the doge presented the precious relic to the Republic of Venice. Baldwin kept for himself our Saviour's crown of thorns and several other relics found in the palace of Boucoleon. He sent to Philip Augustus a piece of the true cross, a foot in length, the tresses of the infant Saviour, and the swathing bands that wrapped the limbs of the God-man, in the stable of Bethlehem.

graced the land, and, obedient to its call, Peter II., king of Aragon, Alphonso IX., of Castile, and Sancho VII., of Navarre, united their efforts against the Emir Mohammed. The brilliant victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, comparable, in its results, to the battle of Poitiers, crowned the confederate princes with imperishable glory (A. D. 1212). On this memorable field, the Mussulman rule in Spain received a blow from which it never recovered.

18. While Catholic arms were engaged on the frontiers of Europe, in crushing the ehemies of the faith, in the very heart of France, a confederation, powerful in numbers, strong in hate, was preparing to overthrow, at once, every creed and religious principle, civilization and morality. The Albigenses, a monstrous assemblage of the sects so often condemned under the various names of Cathari, Patarini, Waldenses, &c., had survived in Languedoc, notwithstanding the thunders of the Church, and the horror excited by their disorders in every upright heart. Historians have been found, in our own day, to write the apology of the Albigenses, representing them as martyrs in the cause of freedom of conscience and religious independence. But, in truth, these sectaries, having no other principle than the utter denial of all authority, of all hierarchy, of every moral obligation, were simply the forerunners of the various socialistic systems reproduced at every succeeding stage of the world's history. The Albigenses overran the country, plundering churches, burning priests, ravaging the monasteries, outraging and profaning holy things. This destructive body would have speedily disappeared before the public indignation aroused by its crimes, had it not found a powerful leader and avowed protector in the ambitious Raymond, count of Toulouse. By a very plain political calculation, the Count thought that his own power must increase in proportion as the spiritual power was weakened, and he hoped to extend his domain by the addition of all the estates snatched from the Church. For the same reasons, the German princes, somewhat later, embraced the cause of Protestantism. But Raymond VI. was doomed

to become the victim of his own odious policy. The spirit of this revolutionary movement could not escape the watchful eye of Innocent III. The great Pontiff was preparing to engage in the strife from which he should, as usual, come forth triumphant. Still he preferred to enter the field first as an apostle, thus heralding justice by mercy. He named Peter of Castelnau his legate in Languedoc, and gave him several assistant missionaries from the Order of Citeaux. The fatigues of the mission were voluntarily shared by Diego, bishop of Osma, accompanied by a regular canon of his cathedral, whose name was destined to shine forever in the Church's calendar as St. Dominic. These men of God, poor and barefooted, traversed the various cities of Languedoc, everywhere preaching the Catholic faith and winning respect for their teaching by continued examples of the highest virtues. The conversions effected by their zeal drew upon them the vengeance of the leading sectaries. Peter of Castelnau had often said: "The cause of Christ cannot flourish in this country until one of the missionaries has shed his blood for the faith. May I be the first victim of the persecution!" The noble aspiration was heard. On the 3d of January, A. D. 1208, two of Raymond's officers coming upon the legate on the banks of the Rhone, one of them inflicted upon him a deadly wound with his lance; the holy martyr fell, several times repeating the prayer: "O Lord, forgive him, as I do!" The effect produced in France by the account of this tragedy may be easily imagined. Public indignation laid the odium upon Raymond VI. If he was never judicially convicted of the crime, he was, still, according to the expression of Innocent III., "strongly suspected"—*valde suspectus*—since he received into his court the murderers of the holy martyr. The Pope immediately addressed a most energetic letter "to the noblemen, counts, barons, lords and knights of the provinces of Toulouse, Narbonne, Arles, Embrun, Aix and Vienne." The address declared Raymond VI. excommunicated, his vassals and servants released from their oath of fidelity, his person and lands placed under the ban of Christendom. He

enjoined all the faithful to arm against the enemy of the Church, granting for this campaign the same indulgences as for the other Crusades. France answered the Pontiff's call by sending forty thousand men against the tyrant. The Saracens were now not only at Jerusalem; they no longer confined themselves to the southernmost provinces of Spain; they held the fairest portion of France, under a prince who displayed all the cruelty and luxury of an Eastern emir. The chief command of the whole Crusade was given to Simon of Montfort, an equally fearless soldier and skilful captain, one of the finest types of the chivalry of the day. Simon of Montfort claimed descent from the house of Hainaut; he had married Alice of Montmorency, who possessed all the lofty heroism of her name. A more intrepid warrior and faithful Christian could not have been chosen. To the fearless daring of Cœur de Lion, he joined the fervent piety of a religious. Beziers and Carcassona became the prizes of his valor. The counties taken from the heretics were made over to the chief of the Crusade. The whole campaign (from 1209 to 1213) was an uninterrupted series of attacks and assaults on cities and strongholds, and the standard of the cross was borne in triumph through the whole of Languedoc. Raymond, everywhere overcome, called upon his brother-in-law, Pedro II., king of Aragon. Though one hundred thousand men were drawn up to crush the little band of Simon of Montfort, yet this was to be the brightest hour in the life of the Christian hero. His standard rallied but twenty-five thousand warriors; but God was on his side. On the morning of the eventful day, he laid his sword upon the altar, and when the hour had come to bear it to the field, he took it up with these words: "From Thee, O Lord, do I this day receive my arms, since I must wield them in Thy holy cause." The victory of Muret (1213) rewarded this lively faith. The King of Aragon lay a corpse on the field; his army fled; the cause of the Count of Toulouse was lost. The Albigenses still struggled for a while, but finally disappeared in the reign of St. Louis.

19. Simon of Montfort had been the hero of conquest;

St. Dominic was the hero of conversion. God had chosen him to be the father of a generation of saints. The arms which he wielded with powerful effect against the Albigenses were boundless charity, an untiring devotedness, winning eloquence and fervent prayer. Filled with the deepest devotion to the Immaculate Virgin, "Who has destroyed all heresies in the whole world,"* he had recourse to her, to insure the success of his mission against the stubborn heretics. His confidence in Mary was expressed in the institution of the Rosary, the humble and pious prayer which has drawn such showers of graces and blessings upon the world. These continued struggles with the Albigenses convinced St. Dominic of the necessity of a permanent apostolate in the bosom of the Church. This conviction was embodied in the foundation of a new religious order, exclusively devoted to preaching. The Friars Preachers, or Dominicans, were established under the rule of St. Augustine, with the particular modifications required by their special calling. While the military orders defended the Church by the sword, the Friars Preachers warred with the arms of the word. Experience has fully proved the great wisdom of the founder. In most religious orders time has worked reforms which have divided them into different branches; the Dominicans have lived through the vicissitudes of six centuries, without division. The great body has shot forth its strong boughs to all parts of the world; and not one has ever fallen away from the parent stock that gives them life. France has again seen the sons of St. Dominic worthy of their great father; she has blessed their virtue and hailed their lofty eloquence with grateful admiration.

20. Another pillar of the mediæval Church was also raised in Italy at this period. A youth of Assisi, nurtured in the lap of wealth and luxury, was one day unusually struck with these words of the gospel: "Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses." They came to him as an apparition of rich and noble evangelical poverty. "This is what I seek," he

* "Sola cunctas hæreses interemisti in universo mundo."—*Brev. Rom.*

cried, "this is what my heart desires;" then, casting from him his purse and cane, he took off his shoes, put on a coarse tunic girded with a rope, and thus began the career of penitential preaching which has won him a place on our altars as St. Francis of Assisi.* From that day (A. D. 1208), the Order of Friars Minors was established. The disciples of St. Francis, by their evangelical poverty, made a noble answer to the declamations of the Waldenses against the luxury of the Church. Called to live among the people, to subsist upon alms, to bear the hardest toil, their mission was to reconcile the people with faith, to give a living example of Christian patience, devoted sacrifice and self-denial. The rule prescribed by their holy founder might be styled the great charter of poverty. The new order received the sanction of Pope Innocent III. "That poor man," said he, speaking of St. Francis, "is the pillar destined to uphold the Church." What St. Francis had just done for men, St. Clare now repeated in behalf of her own sex. The religious order founded by her took the name of Poor Clares (1212), and received their rule from St. Francis. The love of evangelical poverty became so general and so powerful that all the faithful seemed eager to share the graces and spiritual favors given to this perfect detachment. To meet this general need, St. Francis found it necessary to institute a third order for the benefit of those who lived in the world; they followed certain rules of mortification and penance, which gave to a worldly life something of the regularity of the cloister. It was a happy age for the Church, when not only the spirit of the world did not invade monasteries, but the austerity of the cloister reached the heart of the world, making it bloom with fruits of life and holiness. The two great orders of Franciscans and Dominicans, with the Carmelites and the Augustinian Hermits, formed what were called the Four Mendicant Orders.

* The wonderful life of St. Francis of Assisi, the history of the sacred stigmata which God was pleased to impress upon the person of His servant, have been recorded with equal elegance and erudition by M. CHAVIN DE MALAN. It would be superfluous to speak of the History of St. Dominic, by the illustrious LACORDAIRE.

After being deprived, for nearly a century, of the light of their virtues, France once more feels the hallowing power of its mild radiance. At their first appearance in the world, in the twelfth century, they were hailed by public gratitude and admiration; and they were soon to receive a solemn sanction in the twelfth general council, the fourth held in the Lateran Basilica.

21. Innocent III. would crown his glorious Pontificate by a solemn assemblage of the great assizes of the Catholic Church, in the Lateran Palace. The East and the West represented by four hundred and twelve bishops, either the Patriarchs in person or their legates; the heads of the leading orders, a multitude of abbots and priors; countless deputies from collegiate churches and chapters; ambassadors from the Emperors of Germany and Constantinople, and from every sovereign in Christendom; in short, the light and learning of the Christian world had met under the presidency of the illustrious Pontiff. The points of dogma discussed by the council were those attacked by the Albigenses, the Waldenses, the Patarini, &c.; the anathemas already hurled against the heretics, were confirmed. Raymond of Toulouse, with his son, came to make his submission to the Sovereign Pontiff, who received him kindly and gave him back his domain. The policy adopted by the great Pontiff, in all parts of Europe, was approved and confirmed in every particular. Hitherto the Roman Church had always refused the patriarchal title to the See of Constantinople, notwithstanding the repeated claims of the Greek emperors and of the ambitious incumbents. The foundation of the new Latin empire of Byzantium and the restoration of the East to the unity of the Roman Church had changed the state of things. Innocent assigned to the Bishops of Constantinople the second rank among the Patriarchs, immediately after that of Antioch. Unquestionably, the most remarkable work of the twelfth general or fourth Lateran Council, is the promulgation of the disciplinary canons, which, in one complete body of regulations, meet every want of the Church. The groundwork of

the great reform undertaken by St. Gregory VII., received a new consecration; and the genius of that great Pontiff may be said to have inspired the august assembly, through the voice of Innocent III. The disorders of clerics were solemnly branded by a special canon, which commends ecclesiastical celibacy as the bulwark and support of faith and morals. Simoniacal elections and the abuses still extant in ecclesiastical tribunals were severely condemned and their recurrence prevented by wise regulations. One important decree, which it is necessary to understand well, was published by the Lateran Fathers, regarding yearly confession and the Paschal communion. Until that period, the fervor of the faithful, which drew them frequently to the saving fountains of grace, had made such a canon needless. We know that the Christians of the early Church participated in the Sacred Mysteries as often as they were celebrated. Little by little a coldness came upon their fervor, and some Christians, unworthy of the name, allowed a considerable space of time to elapse without seeking the spiritual strength of divine grace in the sacraments which are its channels. It was this consideration which led the Council of Lateran to promulgate the celebrated canon, by which all the faithful of both sexes are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to receive the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist at least once a year, at Easter. Some heretical writers have asserted that, by this regulation, the council had brought in a new custom, and that, before the thirteenth century, communion was not of obligation. The error has been taken up and repeated by the philosophers and unbelievers of our own time. The most ordinary acquaintance with ecclesiastical history would suffice to refute the calumny. To perpetuate and spread the spirit of vigorous discipline which they inculcated, the Fathers of the council ordained the yearly meeting of provincial councils. They thought, and not without reason, that neither error nor abuse could escape the watchfulness of the bishops thus frequently gathered together in these holy assemblies, and inspired by the Holy Ghost,

according to the promise of Christ: "Where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." As corollaries of the provincial councils, the Lateran Fathers ordered the triennial meeting of the chapters in monasteries and collegiate churches, in order that all the members of the Church's body might profit by the same advantage of internal renewal, and by the uniformity of discipline which should animate the whole. Finally the impediment of kindred in marriage was declared to extend to the fourth degree; and thus closed the canonical legislation which has crowned this council with immortal glory (A. D. 1215).

22. The Pope had directed the labors of the council with his wonted energy. He seemed eager to finish his work; nor did he long outlive this last act of a Pontificate so fruitful in great deeds. All Europe owned his authority. He had bestowed the title of king upon the chief of the Bulgarians, Primislas, prince of Bohemia, and upon Peter of Aragon, who came to do him personal homage for his states, and to receive the crown from his hands. Never had the Papacy shed a brighter lustre over the world. The death of Innocent III. (July 16, A. D. 1216), was an occasion of universal mourning. His Pontificate forms one of the most important epochs in modern history. He knew how to make his own the lofty conceptions of St. Gregory VII., and to give them splendid developments, by the aid of his own great mind. At a distance of three centuries, we find again the same principles which underlay all the great works of Gregory VII. and Sylvester II. This wonderful unity stamps the Papacy with a character of lofty grandeur unattainable by any human institution. Forms of government pass away with the generations that make them; like them, they are borne onward by the stream of time. The unchangeable design of God alone stems the ever-flowing tide, and is reflected upon the Pontifical power, which stands as firm as when it was founded, eighteen centuries ago. The greater any Pontiff has shown himself by the power of his intellect, the more closely has he joined his works to those of his predecessors. The only

way to appreciate the history of the Sovereign Pontiffs, is to follow up this admirable succession in men, principles and events. The true glory of Innocent III. is founded upon this rule. Going back to the fountain-head of Christian morality, he carried on the work begun by St. Gregory VII. Like him, he devoted his life to the realization of three ideas: the development, within the Church, of a spirit of faith and piety, by winning respect for discipline and canonical regulations; the freedom of the spiritual authority from all the bonds of the temporal power; and finally, the introduction of Christian civilization into the East, by means of the Crusades. This threefold design guided all his actions, and forms the glory of his reign.

CHAPTER IX.

§ I. Pontificate of Honorius III. (July 18, A. D. 1216—March 18, 1227)

1. Condition of the East at the accession of Honorius III.—2. Fifth Crusade.—3. Honorius declares himself the protector of Henry III., king of England.—4. Renewal of the Crusade against the Albigenses, by Louis of France, son of Philip Augustus.—5. The Inquisition.—6. Death of Philip Augustus. Louis VIII. carries on the war against the Albigenses. Saint Louis.—7. End of the war against the Albigenses.—8. Death of Honorius III. Saints of this period.

§ 2. Pontificate of Gregory IX. (March 18, A. D. 1227—August 21, 1241).

9. Frederick II., emperor of Germany.—10. Sixth Crusade.—11. Gregory IX. deposes Frederick II. Submission and reconcilation of the emperor.—12. Various works of Gregory's Pontificate—13. Fresh attacks of Frederick II. upon the Holy See. Is again excommunicated. Death of Gregory IX.

§ 3. Pontificate of Celestin IV. (October, A. D. 1241—November, 1241).

14. Election and death of Celestin IV.

§ 4. Pontificate of Innocent IV. (June 24, A. D. 1243—December 7, 1254).

15. First relations of Innocent IV. and Frederick II. The Pope is threatened with imprisonment and takes refuge in Lyons.—16. The thirteenth general council, the first of Lyons.—17. Gengis Khan Oktai.—18. Circumstances determining the seventh Crusade. Its lamentable issue.—19. The *Pastoureaux*.—20. Labors of Innocent's Pontificate. Death of the Pope.—21. Saints of this period.

§ 5. Pontificate of Alexander IV. (December 25, A. D. 1254—May 25, 1261).

22. Contest between Alexander IV. and Manfred, regent, and afterward king, of Sicily.—23. Revolt in Rome. Alexander IV. flies to Viterbo.—24. Constitutional charter of Prussia, promulgated by James Pantaleon, Apos

tolic legate.—25. The Inquisition in France.—26. Dispute of the University of France with the Dominicans and Franciscans.—27. Roger Bacon. Alexander of Hales. Duns Scotus. St. Bonaventure. Vincent of Beauvais. Albert the Great. St. Thomas Aquinas.—28. Death of Alexander IV.

§ 6. Pontificate of Urban IV. (August 29, A. D. 1261—October 2, 1264).

29. Letter of Urban IV. to James III., king of Aragon.—30. The Pope offers the throne of Sicily to Charles of Anjou.—31. Institution of the feast of Corpus Christi. Death of Urban IV.

§ 7. Pontificate of Clement IV. (February 5, A. D. 1265—November 29, 1268).

32. Charles of Anjou crowned king of Sicily, by order of Clement IV.—33. Trial and death of Conradin.—34. Death of Clement IV. *Pragmatic Sanction.* Liberties of the Gallican Church.

§ 8. Vacancy in the Holy See. (November 29, A. D. 1268—September 1, 1271).

35. Eighth and last Crusade. Death of St. Louis.—36. End of the last Crusade. The Christians expelled from Palestine.—37. Remarks on the Crusades.

§ 9. Pontificate of Gregory X. (September 1, A. D. 1271—January 10, 1276).

38. Gregory's projected Crusade. Efforts to bring back the Greek Church.—39. Fourteenth general council, held at Lyons.—40. The Carmelites, Servites of Mary, and Celestins, approved by the fourteenth general council.—41. Cession of the County of Venaissin to the Holy See by Philip the Bold.—42. Rodolph of Hapsburg, emperor of Germany.—43. Death of Gregory X.

§ 10. Pontificate of Innocent V. (January 21, A. D. 1276—June 22, 1276).

44. Election and death of Innocent V.

§ 11. Pontificate of Adrian V. (July 4, A. D. 1276—August 18, 1276).

45. Election and death of Adrian V.

§ 12. Pontificate of John XXI. (September 13, A. D. 1276—May 16, 1277).

46. Election and death of John XXI.

§ 13. Pontificate of Nicholas III. (November 25, A. D. 1277—August 22, 1280).

47. Opposition of the Greeks to the Treaty of Union.—48. Death of Nicholas III.

§ 14. Pontificate of Martin IV. (February 22, A. D. 1281—March 28, 1284.)

49. Treaty of Martin IV. with the Roman people.—50. Sicilian Vespers.—51. Accession of Andronicus to the throne of Constantinople.

§ 15. Pontificate of Honorius IV. (April 2, A. D. 1285—April 3, 1285).

52. Election and death of Honorius IV.

§ 16. Pontificate of Nicholas IV. (February 15, A. D. 1288—April 4, 1292).

53. Election and death of Nicholas IV.

§ 17. Pontificate of St. Celestin V. (July 7, A. D. 1294—December 13, 1294).

54. Election and abdication of St. Celestin V.

§ 1. Pontificate of Honorius III. (July 18, A. D. 1216—March 18, 1227).

1. The Sovereign Pontificate had now become the great central power of the world. But if it was the highest, it was likewise the most fearfully responsible post. Cardinal Cencio Savelli, elected Pope, under the name of Honorius III., two days after the death of Innocent, proved himself worthy of such a heritage, and resolutely followed in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor. His voice aroused Europe to undertake the fifth Crusade. The youthful Frederick II. (A. D. 1221) came to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the hands of Honorius. At the ceremony of the coronation, he promised to take the cross and fly to the rescue of the Holy Land. The promise was as readily forgotten as it had been made. The ward of the Roman Church was already planning to turn against his adoptive mother the power he held from her. The Latin empire of Constantinople could give no help to the Crusade; the Western knights, by whom it had been established,

were too much occupied in maintaining it against the treachery of the Greeks and the inroads of Joannices, king of the Bulgarians. Baldwin I., confined in the dungeons of the barbarian, imitated the heroic chastity of Joseph and died in the most frightful torture. He was succeeded by his brother, Henry of Hainaut, who was poisoned in 1216. The imperial crown was offered to Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, who had married the Princess Yolande, sister of Henry of Hainaut. His many noble alliances made him one of the most powerful lords of Christendom. He was cousin-german to Philip Augustus, king of France.* He had given his daughter Yolande in marriage to Andrew, king of Hungary. Peter of Courtenay was crowned at Rome by the Sovereign Pontiff (April 9, 1217), and set out, in company with the Apostolic legate, John Colonna, to take possession of his new empire. While crossing the mountains of Albania, he was seized by the troops of Theodore, *despot* of Epirus, and died in chains. Robert, his brother, was chosen to succeed him, and received the crown in the church of St. Sophia (March 25, 1221). Amid so many vicissitudes, subjected to the repeated attacks of Theodore Lascaris and David Comnenus, the two Greek Em perors of Nice and Trebizond, Robert of Courtenay could not spare his forces for an expedition into Palestine. Constantinople was taken a century too late. Had Godfrey's warriors, in 1097, followed the counsels of Geofrey, the eloquent bishop of Langres, they would have secured a happier issue for the subsequent Crusades.

2. To preach the fifth expedition, Honorius was without most of the necessary elements of success. Frederick II., notwithstanding his oath, renewed before the Pope in the conference of Ferentino (A. D. 1222), was far more eager to realize the

* Peter of Courtenay was the son of the Prince-Royal of France, Peter, fifth son of King Louis VI., who married the heiress of Courtenay. This branch of the house of France, after giving several emperors to the throne of Constantinople and one titulary empress, became extinct in 1730, in the person of Helena Courtenay, wife of Louis Bénigne de Beauffremont, whose descendants, created princes of the Holy Empire, by Francis I. of Austria, in 1757, still live to revive the glorious traditions of the old French nobility.

dream of a universal monarchy, so fondly cherished by the members of the house of Hohenstauffen, than to rescue the sepulchre of Jesus Christ. Philip Augustus was too far advanced in age to incur the risks of a distant war. Henry III., who had just succeeded John upon the English throne, was but twelve years old, and was kept at home to ward off any attempt of France upon his crown. Spain was herself the field of a perpetual Crusade, and was even obliged to call to her aid the knights of Northern Europe, who helped her to regain Alcazar (1217). The new Christians of Prussia and Livonia were oppressed by Pagan persecution. These wars of Spain against the Moors, of Northern Europe against the Infidels, of France against the Albigenses, and the incessant strifes between the Christian princes themselves, hindered the West from taking as large a part in the fifth Crusade as in those which preceded it. Andrew of Hungary was the only king who answered the Pontiff's call. The Crusade was preached in Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia and Gallicia—provinces but lately hostile to the Christian name. These tribes of wanderers through the northern forests heard the wail of captive Sion, and swore to fight the Infidels. The half-savage warriors of Hungary, who, a century before, had filled with terror the followers of Peter the Hermit, eagerly sought the cross, and followed their monarch to the Holy Land. Accompanied by the Dukes of Bavaria and Austria, Andrew set sail from Spalatro, where he was expected by a fleet of ships from Venice, Zara, Ancona, and other cities of the Adriatic coast. Here he was joined by Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, with his followers; and they both added their forces to those of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem,* before Acre, still beleaguered by the Latin knights who remained from the fourth Crusade. But just as his presence was beginning to throw a ray of hope upon the Christian cause in the East, Andrew suddenly abandoned his companions in arms,

* The purely nominal title of King of Jerusalem had not disappeared with the capture of the city by Saladin. Guy of Lusignan was followed by Henry II., count of Champagne (1194), Amauri of Lusignan (1206), and finally by John of Brienne (1209)

recalled to his kingdom by the unruly conduct of his nobles. Hugh met with a sudden death. Undismayed by these difficulties, John of Brienne conceived the bold project of changing the seat of war, by attacking the Sultan of Egypt, Sapheddin, in the very heart of his dominions. This skilful policy might change the fortune of war, and restore the nominal king of Jerusalem to his throne. It led the Crusades into a new path. Had it succeeded, the name of Islam would have disappeared from the page of history. With high and enthusiastic hopes, the Crusaders raised the siege of Acre, sailed for Egypt, and landed under the walls of Damietta. Here they were strongly re-enforced by troops from Italy, France and England, under the guidance of two cardinals, Robert de Courson and Pelagius, the latter being legate of Honorius III. A siege of seventeen months ended in the fall of Damietta; but on entering the city, the Christians found only the sad traces of plague and famine. They were quickly landed at the mouth of the Nile, almost without a blow. The Saracens, intrenched upon the opposite shore, were not without fear, in spite of the courage of their leader, Meledin Melek-el-Kamel, the eldest son of Sapheddin. But for the repugnance of the Crusaders to treat with the Unbelievers, John might then have obtained the restoration of Jerusalem. The Latin army was surprised by the overflow of the Nile, while in a state of imprudent inaction. Overcome by flood and famine, they were forced, in turn, to sue for peace. St. Francis of Assisi had come to Egypt, in the hope of converting by persuasion those whom the Crusaders were combating with arms. On the day before the last engagement, the defeat of the Christians was made known to the saint by revelation. Francis gave due warning to the chiefs, who slighted his information. Displeased with the indifference of the Crusaders, and devoured by the zeal of God's house, he thought to win a triumph for the faith by his eloquence, and by the unaided arms of the gospel. Proceeding into the enemy's camp, he allowed himself to be seized by the Saracen troops, and led to the sultan. "God

has sent me to you," said Francis, "to show you the way of salvation." Then the holy missionary exhorted Melek to embrace the true faith. He dared all the Mussulman doctors to a discussion, and offered to throw himself into the midst of a blazing pile, to confound imposture and prove the truth of the Christian religion. The sultan, though somewhat surprised, dismissed the zealous preacher, who saw neither of his wishes fulfilled; for he neither converted the chief of the Unbelievers nor won the palm of martyrdom. Melek-el-Kamel met with a triumph where he had looked but for defeat, and showed that he could be generous as well as brave. He freed his prisoners, and the remnant of the Latin army returned to Palestine (1222). John of Brienne sailed to Europe. He bestowed upon Frederick II. the hand of his daughter Yolande, with his title of King of Jerusalem. The fifth Crusade was at an end. It could bequeath to Europe but gloomy memories. Still the impulse which bore on the Christians of the West to engage in these glorious enterprises survived the indifference of rulers and the terror of multiplied disasters. The opening years of the thirteenth century witnessed a sight unparalleled even in those ages of wonders and great events. Fifty thousand children, gathered together in France and Germany, traversed city and country, singing the words: "Lord Jesus, give us back our holy cross." When asked whither they were going and what was their object, "We are going," they replied, "to Jerusalem, to rescue the sepulchre of the Saviour." A great part of this youthful army crossed the Alps, to sail from the Italian ports (1212). Many lost their way in the forests, and perished from heat, hunger, thirst, or fatigue. Of those who actually set sail, some were wrecked, or given up to the Saracens whom they came to fight; others were martyred, and showed the Unbelievers what firmness and courage the Christian religion can give to the tenderest age.

3. Hostilities had not yet ceased between France and England, when Henry III., a boy of ten years, ascended the English throne; on the day of his coronation he was supported by two

bishops and three barons. The remaining English knights had joined the standard of Louis of France, who thus became master of nearly the whole of England. But the royal orphan found a protector and father in the Sovereign Pontiff. The Church had excommunicated his father; the spiritual thunders had fallen upon a guilty head. The son of John was innocent of his father's crimes; the Church took up his cause and insured its triumph before all Europe, in spite of his enemies. The Papacy never failed in the performance of its noble mission. St. Gregory VII. had watched over the early years of Henry IV.; Innocent III. was the guardian of Frederick II.; Honorious III., on ascending the chair of St. Peter, wrote to the English barons: "The law of Jesus Christ forbids that the son should pay the penalty of his father's faults. Any revolt against the orphan is an infamous act of treason. Religion, conscience and honor require you to make peace with your young king, whose age is the best guarantee of his innocence." At the same time, the Papal envoys appeared before Louis. "Command him," said the Pope to his deputies, "by the authority of the Holy See, to cease a war which has now become unwarrantable. The fatherless Henry III. is henceforth the pupil of the Holy See. Should Louis continue his war in England, we shall call down upon him the powers of heaven and earth. The God Who is above all kingdoms and Who bestows them as He pleases, will fight for us." Philip Augustus had learned the results of making war against a Pope. He recalled his son, and, under the auspices of the Pontiff, peace was concluded between the two kingdoms (A. D. 1218).

4. The valor of Louis was soon offered a field worthy of its display; Honorius III. called him to the glorious task of crushing the last remains of the Albigensian heresy in Languedoc. After his submission in the Lateran council, Raymond returned to Toulouse. His intentions were doubtless honest, but no party-leader is a free-agent. The return of the old count awaked the hopes of the Albigenses, a formidable reaction took place, in Languedoc, against Simon of Montfort, who

died a hero's death at the siege of Toulouse (A. D. 1218). Honorius took energetic measures, in concert with Philip Augustus, to crush a heresy which had been, for half a century, shedding torrents of Christian blood. "The secular power," wrote the Pope to Philip, "is to punish rebels by the sword, when spiritual weapons prove ineffectual. It is due to your glory and to your name as Christian prince, to deliver your realm from these obstinate enemies of the faith. We rely upon your piety to achieve this great work." A prompt and willing agreement was then entered into by Philip and Honorius, that the war against the Albigenses should be carried on with renewed vigor, and that Prince Louis should direct the operations in person. St. Dominic was charged with the duty of seeking the heretics and pointing out to the secular power those who obstinately persisted in their wanderings.

5. This was giving a form to the doctrines put forth by Lucius III.; it was the institution of a tribunal of Inquisition. A somewhat similar mission had already been given by Innocent III. to his legate, Peter of Castelnau. It may not be amiss, here, to call attention to two important facts: 1. The Church, wielding a purely spiritual power, did not herself punish heretics. St. Dominic was enjoined to meet them with the arms of persuasion. Faith combated against error; holiness struggled against heresy; the Church was on just ground and did her duty. But the Albigenses were not only heretics; they were also, and especially, rebels in arms against social order; they fought with the weapons furnished by false teachings; the Church alone could not adequately meet revolters. Hence, when peaceful means had failed, the part of civil justice began. The Church at first opened to them her arms, like a tender and devoted mother; if they refused to hear her voice, they fell under the sword of their judges. In the estimation of society, which they had outraged, repentance and abjuration were a sufficient title to mercy; this was an additional chance offered to the accused by the legislation of the middle-ages, more humane, in this point, at least, than our own. 2. The Inquisition

was not the work of the Pope alone*; Philip shared with him in its institution. This twofold character has been overlooked. Instead of a military tribunal, to which Philip might have sent revolutionists, taken with arms in their hands, he preferred, in a spirit of mercy and piety conformable to the sentiment of the period, to soften the rigor of the law by the gentle influence of evangelical persuasion. Thus, punishment was visited only upon hardened criminals. The penalty, when pronounced at all, came from a civil tribunal, and in the regular course of ordinary jurisprudence; even the mode of punishment varied according to the time and country, and was the same as for other crimes. All the furious declamation so lavishly hurled against the Inquisition, must fall powerless before these two facts. The Inquisition was so thoroughly a political institution, that we shall hereafter find it set up in Spain, in spite of the protestations of Pope Sixtus IV., who regarded it as an encroachment on the rights of the Church; and its existence in the republic of Venice was an exclusive means of government, with very little, if any, religious character. The illustrious Count de Maistre has proved that, in justice, every government may, and ought to, secure the enjoyment of peace, by lawful measures, against all disturbers of public order. In Spain, where the Catholic faith had been obliged to redeem itself, by centuries of warfare against the Moors and their Jewish allies, any thing that could touch the unity of that faith was a danger to the State. This it was which led Ferdinand the Catholic, in 1481, to enact the severest penalties against all heretics. The value of this policy and the lawfulness of the monarch's acts may be questioned; but the decision can in no wise affect the Church. The inquisitors were asked: "Is it heresy to hold such a doctrine?" and the heretics were punished as enemies to society. Such is the true view of the Inquisition.

6. Philip Augustus did not witness the triumph of the Al-

* In the house in which St. Dominic laid the foundations of his order, in Toulouse, there were three or four Dominicans called the Father Inquisitors. The house is still known by the name of the "Hôtel de l'Inquisition."

bigensian Crusade. He died in 1223, with the reputation of a great and successful monarch. His last bequest was in favor of Queen Ingelberga, whom he called *his beloved spouse.* He was succeeded by Louis VIII., called the Lion. With an army of one hundred thousand men, Louis laid siege to Avignon, took the city, subdued the whole province of Languedoc, and died like a Christian hero, in the assault upon the city of Montpensier (A. D. 1226). The throne of France descended to a child of twelve years, Louis IX., whose accession was hailed with joy by the whole of France, and whom the Church honors with higher reverence, as St. Louis. Each period of history has its living representative. St. Louis is the model man of the middle-ages; as legislator, hero and saint. The period in which he lived adds a new lustre to his glory by the very artless simplicity of the times. Whether we view Louis on the fields of Saintes and Massoura, or in a library, dispensing, to those who sought them, the literary treasures he had drawn from the collected volumes; whether in his public audiences, when deciding disputes at the gate of the palace, or under the oak at Vincennes, without court or guards, or when chosen as umpire between contending princes, or dying near the ruins of Carthage; we are at a loss to tell what we should most admire in him, the knight, the scholar, the patriarch, the king, or the Christian. His gentle manners, an unalterable serenity of soul, a great love of justice, a singular care to prevent all troubles, or at least to stifle them at their birth, but, above all, his most tender piety, won all hearts. Magnificent, when his station required it, he knew how to blend the duties of greatness with his taste for personal simplicity. When he had devoted the greater part of his time to affairs of state, he delighted to relax his mind in the society of the learned. Vincent of Beauvais was his librarian and St. Thomas Aquinas his frequent guest. While pouring forth his soul in prayer, before the altar, he looked like an angel prostrate before the throne of the Most High. "Men are strange beings," he used to say. "They loudly complain that I give too much time to prayer;

though not a word of reproach would be heard did I waste the same hours in gambling or hawking." How would the present age receive the universal witness of contemporary writers, on his austerities? What a contrast between the manners of our own day and those of a young king, covered with a hair-shirt, giving up his body to every penitential practice, visiting hospitals, ministering in person to the poor and the sick with a self-devotion which religion alone could inspire. Louis, controlled by the ever-present thought of eternity, was always the worthy son of Queen Blanche, who used to say to him when a child: "My son, God knows how dear you are to me. Yet I would rather see you dead at my feet, than guilty of one mortal sin." The young king's minority was a stormy one, but Queen Blanche, in whose hands the regency resided, was able to ward off threatened dangers, to recall rebellious subjects, and to prepare the kingdom for a reign which will be the endless glory of France, of Christian Europe and of all humanity.

7. In the year 1228, Raymond VII., who had succeeded his father as Count of Toulouse, solemnly abjured the Albigensian heresy and promised to acknowledge the suzerainty of Louis IX. Barefooted and stripped of every mark of dignity, the count presented himself before the Cardinal of St. Angelo, the Pope's legate, and, prostrate at his feet, received solemn absolution from the censures he had incurred. The Albigensian war was ended. Its issue was for France a step forward in the path of glory. A salutary union was then established between the Southern and the Northern provinces, until then divided by difference of language and manners; it extinguished a hitherto ever-rekindling flame of discord and war.

8. Honorius did not witness the happy issue of these events. He died in the year 1227, at the moment when the Emperor of Germany, Frederick II., was renewing the contest of the house of Hohenstauffen against the Church. His Pontificate may be considered, in some sort, the complement of that of Innocent III. The thirteenth century, so fruitful of glorious and holy deeds, presents, under these two Pontiffs, a

rich harvest of heroes and saints. We must lament our inability to do more here, than merely to quote their names, without the details we would wish to give. St. Ferdinand, king of Castile, and the celebrated Rodrigo of Ximenes, his chancellor; Blessed Egidius, Bernard of Quintavalle, and Peter of Catana, disciples of St. Francis of Assisi; Sts. Ceslas and Hyacinth; Blessed Jordan of Saxony; St. Anthony of Padua and St. Raymond of Pennafort, disciples of St. Dominic; St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury; St. Verdiana of Florence, St. Zita of Lucca and Blessed Margaret of Louvain, all three of whom sanctified themselves in the discharge of menial duties; St. Conrad of Bavaria, and St. Hedwige, duchess of Poland, formed a wreath of holiness and virtue to adorn the Church in their day. St. John of Matha and St. Felix of Valois founded the Order of the Trinity for the redemption of Christian captives in the East; St. Peter Nolasco, in the same view, established the Order of Our Lady of Mercy: these pious and noble institutions, sprung from the fire of Christian charity, sent forth their members in the train of the Crusades to dry the tears of the exiles, whom they restored to their homes and freedom.

§ 2. Pontificate of Gregory IX. (March 18, A. D. 1227—August 21, 1241)

9. Cardinal Ugolini, of the illustrious house of Conti, was over eighty years old when elected to succeed Honorius (March 18, A. D. 1227). But the spirit of Innocent III. glowed in his aged breast. Zeal and energy, consummate prudence, quick discernment, universal knowledge, shrewd and skilful management, winning eloquence, firmness of character, lofty sentiments—every quality, in fine, that helps to make a great man, shone forth in the new Pontiff; and God gave him time to use them well for the glory of the Church and the honor of the Holy See. He was fated to meet an adversary no less formidable than Frederick Barbarossa and Henry II. The ambition

of the princes of Hohenstauffen, their projects for achieving greatness, their dream of universal monarchy, were embodied in Frederick II., the ungrateful ward of the Church, who afterward became its bitterest enemy. At once emperor of Germany and king of Sicily, Frederick displayed a strange medley of the most opposite qualities and vices. He equalled his predecessors in valor and outstripped them in learning. He cultivated Provençal poetry, and his verses are not devoid of feeling, fire and harmony. His natural dignity of manner was tempered by a mild and affable address. The able masters provided by Innocent had left him in ignorance of none of the attainments of his period. But to these gifts of a superior mind, he joined a boundless ambition, a cruelty truly barbarous, and such a degree of infidelity that, in the thirteenth century, he openly professed his admiration for Mahometanism. In constraining John of Brienne, his father-in-law, to yield to him the title of King of Jerusalem, he had no thought of rescuing Palestine or the Sepulchre of the Redeemer from the Mussulman yoke. He merely sought the right to extend to the East the suzerainty he hoped to acquire in the West. To effect this purpose, he stopped at no sacrifice, not even of his word, his oaths, the rights of others, the interests of the Church and even his honor as a Christian. The Popes, the natural defenders of the interests and rights of all, steadily opposed his grasping policy and became involved in a new series of bloody struggles with the empire. But for the influence of the Papacy, it is most likely that Europe and the whole Christian world would have been brought under the German yoke. In the time of Honorius III., Frederick had already, in the kingdom of Sicily, encroached upon the established rights of the Holy See, in the case of episcopal elections. His chancellor, Peter des Vignes, drew up a code of laws, separating the two powers, temporal and spiritual, thus doing away with the primitive constitution of the new empire of the West and of Christian society. The two parties, so celebrated in history, the Guelphs and Ghibellines, were taking a defined shape and stand in Italy.

The Guelphs held to the independence of Italy and the Pontifical rule; they were represented by the Lombard League, of which Milan was the centre, and which was pledged to oppose the German policy of invasion. The Ghibellines formed under the imperial standard. Frederick gave to the contest a character of almost savage animosity and hatred. He was excommunicated by Gregory IX., in the first year of that Pope's Pontificate (1227).

10. The sentence required to be enforced by arms against a prince who scoffed at the thunders of the Church. The Pope gave the command of the Lombard League, with the title of Defender of the Holy See, to John of Brienne, the emperor's father-in-law. Frederick, on the other hand, invited the Saracens into Italy, joined them to his own troops under the command of Raynaldi, duke of Spoleto, who invaded the Pontifical territory. The excommunicated emperor himself, a rebel against the Church, the better to brave the Pope, whom he deemed an enemy, set out for Palestine. One hundred thousand warriors awaited him at Messina, and sailed with him on the expedition, improperly styled the sixth Crusade, as it had really no religious object, at least on the part of the prince who commanded it. On landing at the port of Acre, they found two Franciscans, sent by Gregory IX. to warn the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Knights of the Temple, of the Hospital and of the Teutonic order, against holding any intercourse with the excommunicated emperor. The sentence was solemnly promulgated and punctually obeyed. Frederick, who sought in the East only the prestige of a distant expedition, now thrown upon his own resources, had recourse to an infamous apostasy for the success he could not win by arms. "I am your brother," he wrote to the Sultan Meledin. "The religion of Mahomet is, in my estimation, as respectable as that of Jesus Christ. As heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem, I come to take possession of my states, without disturbing you in your own. Let us, by our alliance, save torrents of human blood." Meledin could not, in this impious speech, have recognized the

successor of Godfrey de Bouillon. He granted all that was asked, and Frederick II. entered Jerusalem. The emperor had promised the sultan not to rebuild the walls of the city; this condition filled the Christians with indignation. On the day after his arrival, Frederick, in full royal regalia, proceeded to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; but no bishop was found to place the crown upon the head of an excommunicated prince, and he was obliged to take it from the altar and perform the office for himself. The first king of Jerusalem was far greater when he refused to wear a royal diadem on the spot where his Redeemer had worn a crown of thorns. Frederick II. was the last European prince who appeared in the Holy City as its sovereign. Here he made a sojourn of two days, which enabled him to date thence the letters by which he informed the Pope and the chief Western bishops that he had restored the Latin kingdom of Palestine. A more truthful account from the Patriarch of Jerusalem disabused Europe, and told that Palestine had recognized in Frederick II. but another traitor to the Church. The so-called sixth Crusade was ended. The imperial troops left Jerusalem, and on the morrow it was again in the hands of the Saracens.

11. The war still raged in Italy between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. A faction, raised in Rome by the imperial intrigues, had driven Gregory IX. from the Eternal City. The heroic Pontiff repaired to Assisi, where he proceeded to the canonization of St. Francis. At his departure, he had given to John of Brienne, commander of the Pontifical forces, instructions worthy of a Pope. "God," said the Pontiff, "wishes to preserve the freedom of His Church, but He does not wish to see its defenders thirsting for blood or tampering with the liberty of their brethren. This thought should control your whole campaign. Treat your prisoners with a generosity that may recall the wanderers to the arms of their father. Thus shall we save our own and the Church's honor." The return of Frederick gave a new and fiercer impulse to the struggle. His rage was heightened by a thirst for personal revenge

against his father-in-law, John of Brienne. After a speedy conquest of all the fields that Raynaldi had been forced to yield to the Lombard League, he compelled John of Brienne to fly to France, where he was met by the deputies charged to offer him the crown of Constantinople. The Pontiff's cause might well have been deemed desperate; but Gregory IX. knew not how to quail before reverses. He renewed the excommunication already hurled against Frederick, with the addition of this fatal clause: "As he has braved the thunders of the Church and refused to submit to the decrees of the Holy See, We declare all his subjects in Germany and Sicily freed from their allegiance to his person. No one may justly adhere to him who bears arms against God and tramples upon His commands." The deposition of a ruler, by the Pope, was a serious matter in the thirteenth century. Frederick II. understood its importance, and accordingly opened negotiations with Gregory IX. After long discussion, the much-desired peace was at length concluded in the month of August (A. D. 1230). Two Apostolic legates performed the ceremony of absolving the emperor from the sentence pronounced against him. Frederick then appeared before Gregory, in person, at Anagni, stripped of all the badges of imperial dignity, and prostrated himself at the Pontiff's feet. The Vicar of Christ received him with affectionate kindness. The Roman Church opened the bowels of its mercy to receive the returning prodigal. But, on the part of Frederick, this submission was only a feint; he returned to Germany, more embittered, more implacable than ever.

12. Gregory availed himself of the short interval of peace to recall the rebellious Romans to their duty. His efforts were successful, and he entered Rome amid the joyous acclamations of that inconstant and fickle people (A. D. 1235). In the preceding year the indefatigable Pontiff had published the collection of Decretals which bears his name, and of which he had intrusted the compilation to St. Raymond of Pennafort, his chaplain and grand penitentiary, and a member of the order of Friars Preachers. The Pontifical Constitutions are classified,

in this collection, under different titles and in chronological order—an improvement upon all previous compilations. The Decretals of Gregory IX. begin with those of Alexander III., thus forming a continuation of Gratian's work, which was only carried down to that period. The watchful eye of the Sovereign Pontiff reached every part of the world. He opened communications with the Emperors of Nice and Trebizond, with a view to the re-union of the Greek and Latin Churches. His letters reached the northern bounds of Europe, to shield the Christians from the oppressions of the Hungarian and Sclavonian kings. The obstinate heathens still struggled, in Prussia, against the light of faith. Gregory sent them Dominican missionaries, who speedily opened a way for the gospel and bent these savage nations, little by little, to the yoke of Christ. The Friars Minors were equally faithful in the spiritual warfare carried on by the Holy See. They followed the footsteps of their holy founder, through Egypt and the other Eastern countries under the Mussulman domination. Their usual fate was martyrdom. But their sublime self-devotion taught the sons of the Prophet to know and to respect the religion which could inspire it. Dissension now began to tear the Order of St. Francis. Brother Elias, who had succeeded the holy founder as Superior-General, openly declared against the austerity of the rule, which he pronounced excessive. "It is a rule," said he, "better fitted for the observance of angels than of men." The innovator was denounced to Pope Gregory IX., who deposed and afterward excommunicated him (1230–1253). Brother Elias had his partisans and his opponents, and his doctrine outlived him. This schism gave rise to the division into Conventuals, who lived in large monasteries, under a mitigated rule, and Observantins or Friars of the Regular Observance, who followed the original rule. In Spain, under St. Ferdinand III., king of Castile, and James I., king of Aragon, the Christian arms, nearly always successful, since the brilliant victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, were now assuming a decided superiority. The most important cities, Cordova, Seville, &c., were re-

taken from the Moors, with the islands of Majorca, Minorca and Iviça; everywhere the churches and episcopal sees were rising again. France, freed at last from the long struggle with the Albigenses, and from the storms which threatened the minority of Louis IX., now rested peacefully under the sceptre of the royal saint, who used his power only to establish the kingdom of God. Stringent laws were enacted against blasphemers. "Gladly," said the pious monarch on their publication, "would I undergo all the pains they decree, could I, by that means, prevent the scandals and repair the outrages offered to the Divine Majesty!" France was now receiving with reverent and holy enthusiasm the priceless relics sent to St. Louis by Baldwin II. of Courtenay, who had lately succeeded John of Brienne on the throne of Constantinople. The crown of thorns which the Redeemer wore upon the cross, had long been preserved in the chapel of the Eastern emperors. Two noble sentiments led Baldwin to part with this inestimable treasure in favor of St. Louis—the love of his native land, and the too-well-grounded fear that the sacred relics might fall into the hands of the schismatical Greeks, who were daily drawing their lines closer round Constantinople. "We are unavoidably reduced," wrote the Latin king, "to the cruel necessity of seeing this sacred memorial pass into the hands of strangers. Allow me, then, to intrust it to your care, my kinsman, my suzerain and benefactor; and let France, my beloved country, become its repository." St. Louis, accompanied by his brother, the Count of Artois, came forward as far as Sens to receive the holy crown. The respectful devotion of the king raised near the royal palace the splendid edifice of the Holy Chapel, that elegant masterpiece of the Gothic art of the thirteenth century, to receive under its graceful arches and fretted vaults the sacred memorial of a Redeemer's love (1239).

13. Frederick II. had again risen up in arms against the Holy See. His first wife, Yolande, daughter of John of Brienne, died in 1233; he then sought the hand of St. Agnes,

daughter of Primislas, king of Bohemia. The young and pious princess preferred the service of Jesus Christ to all the world's greatness. Turning to the Pope, she begged him to protect her, and not to allow an alliance which she thought contrary to the views of God in her regard. Gregory heard her petition, and by his Apostolic authority forbade Frederick to proceed further in his suit. The emperor at first showed great irritation, but yielded in the end. "Had she rejected me," said he, "for any mortal man, I should have revenged myself by arms; but I cannot blame her for preferring a heavenly Spouse." This contradiction left in his heart a germ of hatred and vengeance, which was more deeply embittered by the complaints of Gregory, who reproached him for his relations with the Saracens in Sicily. In 1238, his army, like a raging torrent, poured into Lombardy. Ezzelino de Romano, the emperor's son-in-law, placed himself at the head of the Ghibelline faction, deluged Italy with blood, and won the deserved epithet of Ferocious, applied by general execration. The imperial forces seized Sardinia, a fief of the Roman Church, and there erected a throne for Entius, a natural son of Frederick II. Gregory IX. was drawing near to the venerable age of a hundred years. If the emperor imagined that weight of days had impaired the Pope's energy, he was sadly at fault. The aged Pontiff assembled the cardinals, the clergy, and Roman people, in the Basilica of St. Peter. In their presence he excommunicated the perjurer, and declared all his subjects in Germany and Italy freed from their allegiance. While the Pontifical letters bore these tidings to all the Christian princes in Europe, the Pope sent a legate to France to offer the imperial crown to Robert, count of Artois, and brother of Louis IX. The holy king, in his brother's name, refused the dignity which might trouble the peace of his states. But Frederick resented the Pontiff's energetic action by acts of unprecedented violence. He ordered the immediate expulsion from his territory of all the Franciscan and Dominican religious, whose devotion to the Holy See he well knew. The imperial chancellor, Peter des

Vignes, published in his master's name an imperial constitution, which condemned to the flames any person, of whatever condition, age, or sex, who should obey the sentence of interdict pronounced by the Pope. Any one found to be the bearer of Pontifical letters, of whatever tenor, should be immediately hanged. Frederick had, in the mean time, entered Sicily, increased his own force by the alliance of the Saracens of that island, and was now at their head, ravaging Beneventum and the other provinces of the Papal domination. His ambassadors visited every European court, with the mission of protesting against the conduct of Gregory, whom the emperor called Antichrist, and of appealing for redress to a general council. With a view to deprive the faithless prince of this last pretext, and to clear himself before the world of the charge of violence brought against him, the Pope himself convoked a council, to be held in the Basilica of St. John Lateran, in the year 1241. All the French bishops, with zealous eagerness to uphold against a tyrant the independence of the Roman Church, answered the Pontiff's call. They came to Genoa, where ships, furnished by the republic, were waiting to take them by sea to Rome. But Frederick was deeply concerned in thwarting a measure which must have fully laid open his treachery and bad faith. The Genoese fleet was surprised by a Sicilian squadron; the French bishops were seized, sent to the emperor, and thrown into prison. A cry of indignation arose throughout all Europe at the news of this outrage. St. Louis wrote to the tyrant: "We demand the immediate release of all the captive bishops. Think well upon the step you are taking. The kingdom of France is not so fallen as to bear without return the galling of your spurs." The holy king who thus addressed the emperor had signalized his energy at Taillebourg and Saintes, against the English. Frederick deemed it prudent to comply, and, after two years of captivity, the bishops were released. Gregory IX. did not witness this event; he had died of a broken heart, on learning the infamous conduct of Frederick II. (April 20, A. D. 1241).

§ III. Pontificate of Celestin IV. (October, A. D. 1241—November, 1241).

14. The Church was left in a lamentable condition. The cardinals were scattered in all directions; two of them were prisoners in the hands of Frederick. The emperor seemed triumphant everywhere; and yet, two days before his death, the heroic Gregory thus spoke in a letter addressed to all the faithful: "Be not overcome by present vicissitudes; be neither weak in adversity nor proud in success. Put your trust in God, and await His good time. The bark of Peter is often driven before the storm, and dashed upon dangerous shoals; but it soon rises again above the raging billows, and rides in triumph on its heavenward course." Such faith cannot be vain. In spite of the obstacles to the election of a Sovereign Pontiff, Cardinal Geoffrey Castiglione was raised to the chair of St. Peter, under the name of Celestin IV. But the new Pope was never crowned; he died sixteen days after his election.

§ IV. Pontificate of Innocent IV. (June 24, A. D. 1243—December 7, 1254).

15. The vacancy of the Holy See did not check the impious warfare of Frederick II. During the whole course of Gregory's Pontificate, the emperor repeatedly called heaven and earth to witness that the Pope alone was the cause of strife between the Papacy and the empire—that the Pope alone was opposed to peace. Gregory IX. and his successor had both passed away, and still the hostile attitude of Frederick was unchanged. A Sicilian force surrounded Rome by sea and land, thus closing its entrance to the cardinals. For nearly two years, Frederick disregarded the repeated protests of all Christendom. At length, in the month of June, A. D. 1243, he allowed the cardinals to meet for an election, which resulted in

the promotion of Cardinal Sinibaldo Fieschi, under the name of Innocent IV. The new Pope had contracted a close acquaintance and intimacy with the emperor, as legate to the German court, under Gregory IX. The election should have pleased Frederick; yet his expression was of anxiety. "The Pope and the cardinal," said he, "are two very different men. I much fear that, instead of a friendly cardinal, we may find a hostile Pope. No Pope can be a Ghibelline." His fears were justified by the event, which, however, can be attributed to nothing else than his own obstinacy and violence. The first relations of the two powers gave hopes of peace; Frederick sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate a reconciliation. On the 31st of March, 1244, the imperial deputies solemnly pledged their master's word that he was ready to make satisfaction to the Church for all the wrongs he had done; to return all the usurped lands and domains; to free all the captive bishops, and guard the freedom of episcopal elections. Innocent IV. trusted the profession of sincere repentance; but he was soon undeceived. Frederick returned to his natural perfidy, and protested that he could not stand to the pledge given by his ambassadors. "It was," he said, "too prejudicial to his interests." Hoping to win over the emperor to better sentiments by a personal interview, Innocent went forward to meet him at Citta di Castello. Frederick meditated the seizure of the Pontiff's person, and had, in fact, given the necessary orders for his arrest; but Innocent, receiving timely warning of the infamous treachery, started alone at midnight, and dismounted only when he had reached Civita-Vecchia, whence he sailed to Genoa, and soon after landed upon the shore of France, the wonted refuge of the persecuted Popes, and fixed his residence at Lyons (1244).

16. The first care of the exiled Pontiff was to summon all the bishops of the Catholic world to a council—the thirteenth ecumenical and first of Lyons (A. D. 1245). One hundred and forty bishops were present with the Latin Patriarchs of the East, Baldwin II., emperor of Constantinople, Raymond VII., count

of Toulouse, and deputies from every Christian prince. The emperor was summoned to answer for his conduct toward the Roman Church; but he did not appear in person. A deputation, headed by the imperial counsellor, Thaddeus of Suessia, a man of eminent tact and eloquence, was charged to offer the emperor's defence. The imperial attorney, who figured, in the acts of the council, as *knight, doctor in the study of law*, played his part with a duplicity which his master would not have disavowed. "Frederick II.," said he, "is at a loss to conceive the Pontiff's motive for quitting Italy as a fugitive. What danger could threaten him in the imperial camp, in the midst of faithful troops who would have defended him with their lives? My master requires but a word to bring him to the Pontiff's feet, to offer the service of his sword and his person. His only aim is to establish a lasting peace at home, which may enable him to turn his arms against the Eastern schismatics, against the Mussulmans in Palestine and the Tartars in Northern Europe, and prove to the world that the Priesthood and the Empire, when closely united, are invincible." Innocent interrupted this magnificent flow of specious professions: "All these fair promises," said he, "were made a year ago, and already have they been violated." The instructions of the imperial ambassador allowed full scope for all the oratorical exaggerations he might think favorable to the success of his plan; but he was strictly forbidden to accept any of the grounds of reconciliation discussed during the preceding year, in the Italian conferences. Frederick's object was to gain time and to turn the current of popular opinion; he had no serious thoughts of peace. Still, the Fathers of the council, anxious to make a final effort, granted him a respite of fifteen days in which to make good his means of justification or to propose acceptable conditions. Thaddeus of Suessia also wrote, urging him to avert, by his submission, the sentence which must otherwise inevitably be pronounced. Frederick was unyielding. The hour of justice had come. Innocent IV. appeared in the midst of the council, holding in his hand a lighted taper. Every

bishop also held a similar taper in his own. This was the usual ceremonial of solemn excommunications. Thaddeus, persisting to the end in his desperate part of imperial advocate, called out aloud: "In the name of my master, Frederick II., I appeal from the sentence you are about to pronounce, to the next Pope and to a more general council!" His protest was unheeded. Amid the deep and impressive silence of the august assembly, the Pope read the decree of excommunication launched against the Emperor of Germany: "After mature deliberation with the cardinals and Fathers of the Holy Council, We declare Frederick II. rejected from the pale of the Catholic Church. We absolve forever from their oath all who have sworn allegiance to him; by the Apostolical authority, we forbid any one henceforth to obey him as emperor of Germany or king of Sicily; and whoever, hereafter, affords him help and counsel, shall, by the very fact, incur excommunication. The electors are bound to name, with as little delay as possible, a successor to the empire. As for the kingdom of Sicily, we shall provide for it, with the advice of our brethren, the cardinals." At the concluding words of the sentence, the Pope and all the prelates threw down and extinguished their tapers. An indescribable emotion seized upon the vast throng that crowded the cathedral; Thaddeus of Suessia, overcome by awe and terror, cried aloud: "The blow is struck; this is truly the day of wrath!" Some modern writers claim to distinguish in the decree two different sentences: one of excommunication, the other, of deposition. They claim, moreover, that the sentence of deposition was pronounced in the presence, but without the concurrence, of the council. But it is evident, from the very formula, that there was no such distinction in the minds of the Fathers, and that they approved of the whole decree. Besides, their very silence would have been a tacit consent, inasmuch as the Pope states that he had taken counsel with them. Contemporary writers all look upon it in this light, and state that the sentence was pronounced with the approbation of the council. Frederick received the news of his sentence at Turin. In a transport of rage, he

exclaimed: "This Pope, then, has deposed me in his council, and taken away my crown! Bring me my caskets; let me see if my crowns are lost!" Then placing one of them upon his head: "No!" he cried, with eyes flashing fury, "neither Pope nor council can deprive me of these without bloodshed. Shall an insolent monk tear the imperial dignity from me who have no equal among princes?" Once more calling the Sicilian Saracens to his aid, he overran Italy with fire and sword. But the hand of God was withdrawn from him. Christian Europe looked upon him as a scourge. The Lombard League and the Guelphs, now fired by a spirit of dauntless resolution and valor, taught him that "it is not good for a mortal man to fight against God." The imperial army was shamefully routed under the walls of Parma. Frederick's cruelty seemed to increase in proportion to his reverses. He ordered Peter des Vignes, his chancellor, who had hitherto shared his most intimate confidence, to be deprived of sight, and, thus maimed, to be delivered to his bitterest enemies, the Pisans. Peter escaped the torture that was prepared for him, by dashing his head against the column to which he was chained. King Henry, the emperor's eldest son, was poisoned by his father's order, and died in a dungeon. Divine justice was laying its hand upon all the accomplices of the guilty monarch. Thaddeus of Suessia, after losing both hands in battle, was killed in the rout of his army. Entius, the son of his guilt, whom Frederick wished to place upon the throne of Sardinia, died after a captivity of twenty-five years in an iron cage. Ezzelino the Ferocious, who had carried murder and desolation into Verona, Vicenza, Padua and Brescia, ended his dark career, amid the tortures of hunger, in a dungeon. Frederick himself was at length stricken down, strangled to death, according to some historians, by another of his natural sons, Manfred or Mainfroy, upon whom he had bestowed the principality of Tarentum (1250).* As if the arm of Divine vengeance was stretched

* The manner of Frederick's death is disputed. Some writers assert that he died a natural death; others, that he was strangled by Manfred. The former declare that, on his

forth against every generation of the accursed race, Conrad, the legitimate son of Frederick, was poisoned at the age of twenty-six years, by the infamous Manfred, who soon after fell in battle; Conadin, the last lawful scion of the house of Hohenstauffen, died on the scaffold at the age of seventeen. With him fell the politically anti-Christian empire of Germany, which sought to enslave the Church and rule the world. A more humane empire is inaugurated in the person of Rodolph of Hapsburg, whose descendants still wear the crown.

17. The Council of Lyons had taken steps to procure some assistance for the Latin empire of Constantinople, which seemed to be at its last gasp, and to arm a new Crusade, with the twofold object of rescuing the Holy Land and of saving Europe itself from a Tartar invasion. The Tartars or Mongols had conquered Persia and part of China, under their renowned king, Gengis-Khan, whose existence, power and fierceness cost the human race five or six millions of men, and whose death (A. D. 1237) left his successor master of the country, stretching from Tauris to Pekin, over a space of more than fifteen hundred leagues. His sons completed the conquest of China, and after plundering Russia, Poland and Hungary, exacted from them a yearly tribute. The West was once more threatened with a barbarian invasion. These movements of vast bodies of armed men had convulsed the whole East. The strange and savage hordes of Carizmians or Corasmins, flying before the conquering arms of the Mongols, rolled headlong on Palestine; they took Jerusalem, profaned the Holy Sepulchre, and turned the land into a vast desert. There was urgent need of a Crusade, and Innocent IV. proclaimed it from Lyons. At his call, all the Christian nations of Northern Europe rallied round the standard of the cross and marched forward to meet the advancing Mongols; the plain of Wollstadt, near Lignitz, witnessed one of those giant contests, which, in numbers and savage fierceness, vied with the invasions of Attila

death-bed, he was reconciled to the Church, and received absolution from the Archbishop of Palermo. The latter hold that he died excommunicated and with every mark of despair

and Abderahman. The Christians were defeated; and the fate of the West was sealed, had not the death of Oktai, the chief of the barbarians, recalled them to Asia (1243).

18. An event of a personal nature powerfully seconded the appeal of Innocent and determined the seventh Crusade. In 1244, St. Louis, while at Pontoise, was hurried by a violent illness to the verge of the grave. The whole kingdom resounded with the prayers and vows of his people, but still the king grew worse, until at length he fell into a trance, which the attendants took for death. Suddenly, however, he was seen to rouse himself as if from a deep sleep, and the first use he made of returning speech was to ask for the cross. The queen-mother, the lords and even the prelates of his court, made every effort to turn him from the design. He informed them that, in the crisis which threatened to carry him off, he had made a vow to God, in case of his recovery, to fight the Infidels in the Holy Land. As soon as his convalescence permitted it, he summoned Queen Blanche, the Bishop of Paris and the chief counsellors of the crown, to a deliberation. "You may imagine," said Louis, "that I was not in full possession of my faculties when I made the vow to go to the Holy Land. Here is the cross, which I now tear from my shoulder; I return it to you." And with these words he tore the cross from his shoulder and handed it to the Bishop of Paris, who was overjoyed at this unlooked-for change in the king's sentiments. "Now," said the monarch, "you will allow that I am of sound mind. Then, give me back the cross. He Who knows all things, be my witness that I shall not taste food until I am again invested with that sacred sign." "It is the will of God," exclaimed all present; "we can no longer oppose the project." St. Louis now gave his whole attention to the fulfilment of his vow. In 1248 he came to St. Denis, to receive the oriflamme at the hands of the Pope's legate, Eudes de Châteauroux. The hardships and perils of the expedition were shared by his royal consort, Queen Margaret, by the Counts of Artois and Anjou, his brothers, by the legate himself, beside a great num-

ber of lords and bishops. He left the regency in the hands of his mother, Blanche of Castile, whose wise and prudent administration had long been a source of prosperity and happiness to France. On his way through Lyons, he received the Pontifical blessing of Innocent IV., to whom he said, on taking his leave: "France has every thing to fear, in my absence, from the attempts of Henry III. of England, and Frederick II. of Germany. To you I intrust its defence." Louis sailed from Aigues-Mortes to Cyprus, the general mustering ground of the Crusaders, where the campaign was planned. Since the period of the sixth Crusade under Frederick II., in 1229, Jerusalem, after passing through the hands of several princes of the Ayoub dynasty, and more lately into those of the Carizmians, had at length fallen, together with Damascus, under the sway of Malek-Saleh, sultan of Egypt. The question was discussed whether it would be more fitting to enter Palestine at once and march upon the Holy City, or attack the sultan in the heart of his kingdom, to force him to give up Jerusalem. The latter opinion, advocated by John of Brienne, in the fifth Crusade, prevailed also in the council of St. Louis. They were working their own destruction. A march through Egypt must be disastrous, from the very nature of the soil, at one time flooded by the waters of the Nile, at another, parched by the burning heats of summer. The Christian army, ill-provided, was to undergo all the horrors of famine besides the ravages of the plague, almost perennial on these reedy shores. On the 4th of June, 1249, the French fleet appeared before the mouth of the Nile. A countless host of Saracens lined the shore with an unbroken hedge of spears and scimitars. In complete armor, with the oriflamme waving before him, Louis leaped foremost into the waves, followed closely by his knights. The Moslems, under the Emir Fakhr-Eddin, gave way before the spirited charge of the French, and the well-fortified city of Damietta, forsaken by its frightened garrison, became an easy prey. The overflow of the Nile forced the Christians to remain within the city walls, and stayed their course of conquest. The arrival of Alphonse,

count of Poitiers, the king's third brother, brought, with fresh troops, a new energy. In a council of war, the impetuous Robert, count of Artois, uttered the exclamation: "To kill the serpent, we must crush his head!" The sentiment was approved, and it was resolved to attack the sultan in his capital, though the movement would draw the Crusaders away from the true object of their expedition. They ascended the Nile and found the Mussulmans in full force on the opposite bank of the deep canal of Achmoum; a Bedouin's cupidity revealed an unguarded ford, and the Saracen camp was carried by a resistless charge. The victory would have been complete, had the Count of Artois tempered his valor with prudence. With the enemy in full flight before him, the fiery soldier, forgetting or disregarding the king's positive order not to advance, drew on the cavalry with him, rushed headlong into Massoura upon the heels of the flying Egyptians, surprised and slew Fakhr-Eddin, and spread death and terror around his path. But the Saracens, recovering from their first surprise, and discovering the small number of their pursuers, rallied round the brave and able chief of the Mamelukes, Bibars-al-Bondokdari, and fell upon the followers of the imprudent Robert. The inhabitants of the town joined their efforts to those of the troops; every thing conspired to the count's destruction. Nearly all his followers fell around their chief, who, after a desperate but vain display of valor for several hours, borne down at length by numbers, exhausted and covered with wounds, falls upon a heap of Infidels, slain by his own hand. The Earl of Salisbury, the Count of Couci, more than six hundred Templars and Hospitallers perished in this disastrous fray (1250). Meanwhile St. Louis had crossed the ford and was engaged by a superior force of the enemy. An irregular struggle, hand to hand, raged during the whole day, and left the Christians masters of the enemy's camp. But the triumph cost them dear. The flower of their chivalry had fallen; the army found itself without provisions, in a country cut up by a great river and numerous canals, surrounded by swarms of enemies, who seemed to spring up again

as fast as they were destroyed. When the death of the Count of Artois was communicated to his royal brother, Louis replied, while the tears streamed from his eyes: "God is chastising us; blessed be His holy name." The Saracens had now cut off all communication between the camp and Damietta, and the army began to suffer the pangs of hunger. To add to the unhealthiness of the camp, the multitude of corpses washed up by the waters of the Nile produced a fatal pestilence in the army. It became necessary to retreat, though the exhausted and weakened state of the army made any movement almost impossible. Still the watchful prudence and courage of St. Louis would perhaps have succeeded in effecting his object, had not his fearless charity toward his plague-stricken soldiers prostrated his own strength and energy, and soon reduced him to a dangerous state of illness. The Saracens seized the opportunity to surround the Crusaders with an impassable barrier. The whole army was captured; the king, the Counts of Poitiers and Anjou, the hope of France, the honor of Christendom, the glory of the West—all was in the power of the Unbelievers. When the tidings of the disaster reached Damietta, Queen Margaret, who had been left in that city by the king, had just given birth to a son, who, in consideration, says Joinville, of the sadness (*tristesse*) and grief in which his mother then was, received the name of Jean-Tristan. St. Louis was as great in chains as he had ever been upon the throne. The Mussulmans were lost in admiration at his patience, calmness and unshaken firmness. "We considered you our prisoner and our slave," said his Saracen captors; "but, even in your chains, you treat us as though we were ourselves your captives." The Sultan of Egypt, Malek-al-Moadhem, struck by the high and saintly bearing of the unfortunate monarch, offered his own physicians to heal the king; and a few days after sent to demand the surrender of Damietta, and, for the king's ransom, a million bezants of gold, which Joinville makes equivalent to five hundred thousand livres of Parisian money. "Tell your master," said Louis to the sultan's envoys, "that a king of France is not to

be purchased for money. But I will give Damietta for myself and the million bezants for my subjects." He was then required to give security for the payment of the ransom, by an oath which seemed repugnant to his religious principles, and he steadily refused to sign it, in spite of the fearful threats of the Saracens. "Work your will upon me," said the dauntless hero; "my body is yours, but my soul belongs to God." The sultan accepted the simple signature of St. Louis, and the clauses of the treaty were about to be executed when the transaction was broken off by a tragic occurrence. Malek-al-Moadhem was murdered by the Mamelukes (1250), and the bloody scene took place within view of the Christian prisoners, who expected to be made the next victims of the insurgents. One of the assassins, who had torn out the unfortunate sultan's heart, held it up to the king's face, asking: "What wilt thou give me for having slain thine enemy?" The king turned away his head in silent horror. His majestic silence so excited the respect and admiration of these fierce warriors that, as Joinville relates, they actually proposed to elect him sultan. However, the rebel emirs ratified the treaty already agreed to by the late sultan. The king and his barons were set at liberty. St. Louis did not immediately return to France, but visited Palestine, where he spent four years, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of Queen Blanche that he would return to his kingdom. Doomed to inaction by the treaty he had lately signed, the king contented himself with repairing the fortifications of Acre, Sidon, Jaffa and Cæsarea. He intervened, as mediator, between the Christian princes in the Mussulman States, and established friendly relations with the *old man of the mountain*,* and the Khan of the Mongols. Louis was at length recalled to France, by the death of Queen Blanche, and found his kingdom in a most peaceful and prosperous condition. But one incident had troubled his mother's regency.

19. The holy monarch had won his people's love by his vir-

* The character known as the *old man of the mountain*, was the chief of a band of assassins, who executed with a fanatical obedience any deed of murder intrusted to them.

tue and his benefits. The tidings of his disaster caused a general demonstration in his favor. The sentiment was everywhere expressed that the national honor demanded his rescue, the punishment of his enemies and his triumphal return to his kingdom. The first movement was made among the shepherds; hence the name of *Pastoureaux*, given to those who took part in this almost general uprising. But soon robbers, outlaws and vagabonds of every description crowded to their standard, and their progress was marked by all manner of crimes. Queen Blanche at first encouraged the *Pastoureaux*, in consideration of their original design; but when informed of their depredations, she adopted the most stringent measures against them, and in a short time the whole band of vagrants had disappeared.

20. When St. Louis was re-entering France, Innocent IV. had just set out for Italy, now opened to him again by the death of Frederick II. The watchful energy of the Sovereign Pontiff was not impaired by age. He excommunicated the King of Aragon, James I., called the Conqueror, who had, in a fit of rage, deprived Beranger, bishop of Girone, of his tongue. Innocent thus wrote to the king on that occasion: "Your cruelty is inexcusable, for Beranger was innocent; but, even granting that he was guilty, it belonged not to you to take the punishment into your own hands. You should have claimed redress from the successor of St. Peter, who is his master and judge." James submitted to the penance imposed upon him, and received absolution. At the same time, the Pope received from the bishops and nobles of Portugal well-attested complaints against the exactions and the tyranny of King Sancho II. Innocent excommunicated that prince, placed the kingdom under interdict, and bestowed the regency upon Alphonso, the king's brother and heir presumptive. Sancho withdrew to Toledo, where he died, abandoned by all his subjects, in inglorious exile. Facts of this nature clearly enough demonstrate the historical principle, already repeatedly laid down, of the temporal power of the Popes in the middle-ages. Further argument were needless. Meanwhile the Pope renewed the often

repeated attempt to effect a final union of the Greek and Latin Churches; but his correspondence with Theodore Lascaris was as fruitless as ever. He now encouraged the establishment of the Sorbonne, which the doctor Robert Sorbon, chaplain to St. Louis, had lately founded in Paris, by means of the royal bounty. This institution was intended for poor theological students, whose means were inadequate to meet the necessary expenses of a university course. The University of France was beginning, in a spirit of rivalry, its great struggle with the Dominicans and Friars Minors, whose chairs of theology, filled by the most illustrious teachers of the day, attracted disciples from all parts of Europe. Innocent put forth all his energy to shield the holy religious from their opponents. Amid these multiplied calls upon his unwearied activity, the Pope steadily made head against the sacrilegious attempts of the young king of Sicily, Conrad, son of Frederick II., and against the armed inroads of the prince's tutor, Manfred. But death snatched him away from amid the new complications which marked the close of his Pontificate (December 7, A. D. 1254). To the administrative ability and firmness which become a great Pope, Innocent added the most extensive and varied attainments. He illustrated his Pontificate by the publication of the *Apparatus ad Decretales*, which won him the title of Father of the Canon Law.

21. The spirit of faith, zeal and holiness, which has made of the thirteenth century the most glorious epoch in the Church's annals, adorned the Catholic world with wonders of virtue. Germany admired St. Elizabeth of Hungary, duchess of Thuringia, whose touching history has been given to our admiring age with a grace and elegance of style worthy of its noble author. The episcopal and eremitical virtues were embodied in England by St. Richard, bishop of Chichester; in France, by the illustrious religious, St. Theobald of Montmorency, worthy descendant of a race of heroes; in Spain, by St. Raymond Nonnatus. In the midst of the bloody strifes waged by the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy, St. Anthony of Padua and Brother John of Vincenza, sons of St. Dominic, traversed city and country,

like two angels of peace, preaching union and harmony to audiences numbering at times thirty thousand men. Their winning eloquence and burning charity reconciled the most inveterate hatred, hushed all unkindness, and brought men back to the only true and holy brotherhood, that of the gospel. St. Peter of Verona was martyred by a misguided mob. The Church, as in the days of her infancy, still spoke to the world by the eloquence of her apostles and the blood of her martyrs.

§ V. Pontificate of Alexander IV. (December 25, A. D 1254—May 25, 1261).

22. Cardinal Raynaldi, of the house of Conti, was elected Pope on the 25th of December, A. D. 1254, and took the name of Alexander IV. The first care of the new Pontiff was to check the progress of Manfred, whose troops were ravaging the Pontifical States bordering on Sicily. Manfred had but lately expelled the Papal legate sent to Apulia, to guard the rights of the Holy See, and stabbed, under the Pontiff's eyes, Burel, count of Anglona, for his devotion to the Roman Church. Alexander summoned the murderer to answer before his tribunal for the crime he had committed. Hostile writers have misrepresented the events of this period. As usual, they here again charge the Sovereign Pontiffs with encroachment and usurpation to the prejudice of secular rulers. Whereas, in this case, the encroachment and usurpation were evidently on the part of Manfred and his ward Conrad. Sicily was a fief of the Roman Church; by every previous treaty the Popes had been acknowledged its suzerains and had always acted as such without opposition. Each successive Pontiff, in taking his seat upon the chair of St. Peter, pledged himself to defend, at the risk of his life, every prerogative of the Roman Church. Those who so bitterly inveigh against their fidelity to their oath would perhaps prefer to see them perjured. Manfred had, in the name of his nephew, positively refused to receive the

investiture of Sicily at the hands of the Pope; taking a stand of open hostility, he murdered the servants and ravaged the territory of his suzerain. In accordance with the principles of the feudal system, and even of all justice and legislation, the Popes were not only entitled, but even in duty bound, to defend themselves against a rebellious vassal. This was precisely the position of Alexander IV. To the Pontifical summons, Manfred replied that the rights of his brother Conrad were superior to the pretensions of the Pope, and that he meant to assert them by force of arms. Alexander punished this insolence on the part of a vassal, by excommunicating Manfred and Conrad and declaring the Sicilian throne vacant. He sent the Bishop of Bologna to England, to crown Henry's second son, Prince Edmund, king of Sicily and Apulia. But the new incumbent, kept at home by the intestine strife which desolated his father's kingdom, was unable to enter into possession of the states offered him in Italy.

23. Manfred still waged war against the Holy See. The death of Conrad, which occurred in the interval, is generally looked upon as a fresh crime of Manfred's, to whom it brought the crown of Sicily (A. D. 1258). Conrad was but twenty-six years of age, and left an infant son, Conradin (little Conrad), the last legitimate representative of the house of Hohenstauffen, who was then in Germany, too far removed to resist his uncle's usurpation. Dangers thickened about the Sovereign Pontiff. The electors of the Holy Empire were unable to agree in the choice of a successor to Frederick II.; their votes were divided between Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to the King of England, and Alphonso X., called the Wise, king of Castile (1257). Richard repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was solemnly crowned. Alphonso had the wisdom to prefer remaining within his states rather than run the personal risk of an uncertain struggle, though he still kept all his pretensions and numbered many adherents in Germany. The ambassadors from the rival claimants reached Rome together; but Alexander, for the sake of the Church's peace, withheld his judgment.

The Romans, ever restless and fretting under the yoke, were now more eager than ever to accomplish their seditious designs of independence and liberty. They wished to constitute a federative republic, like the Genoese, the Pisans and the Venetians. The doctrines of Arnold of Brescia outlived their author and still worked upon the popular mind; the Eternal City was in a state of almost unceasing disorder. The flame of discord was liberally fed by the perfidious wiles and the gold of Manfred. Alexander IV. found it necessary to quit his capital, in order to preserve his sacred person from the violence of the faction, and sought peace and quiet at Viterbo (1257–1258).

24. The domestic troubles of Italy did not withdraw the attention of the Sovereign Pontiff from the general government of the Church. He endeavored, through his legates, to restore peace and harmony among the princes of Northern Europe. In 1257, he effected a reconciliation, by an alliance between Vlademar, king of Sweden, and Christopher, king of Denmark. James Pantaleon (afterward Pope Urban IV.), then Apostolic legate in Prussia and Pomerania, drew up, in the castle of Chritsburg, the constitutional charter of Prussia, which country had been recently rescued from heathen darkness by the knights of the Teutonic order. By drawing together, in the bonds of Christian brotherhood, the northern nations of Europe, Alexander meant to oppose a dyke to the flood of Tartar invasion which still threatened Hungary and Poland, the two gates of the West. In 1260 he addressed to the Christian kingdoms of the North a celebrated circular, organizing a real Crusade against the common enemy, and assigning the number of troops and the contributions to be furnished by each state in case of a coming expedition. Thus did the Papacy discharge the protective duty intrusted to it by the confidence of nations and the public right of the middle-ages; thus was it ever first in the breach, wherever European civilization was threatened by the assaults of barbarism.

25. In the year 1255, the Pope, in compliance with a formal request of St. Louis, established the Inquisition through

out the whole kingdom of France. "This general Inquisition, says Fleury, "is especially remarkable as being instituted at the petition of St. Louis." The measure which Fleury found it so hard to understand seems to us perfectly easy of explanation on the principles already laid down. A king like St. Louis would, above all others, be expected to protect in his kingdom the Catholic faith which was the moving principle of his private life. The Manichean errors of the Albigenses continued to threaten public order, notwithstanding the vigor of the last Crusade undertaken against them, and the union of Provence and Toulouse under the king's brother, Alphonse, effected at the death of Raymond VII., the last count of Toulouse.* The Jews were, at this period, subjected to the most shocking imputations; and, in truth, the ordinary tribunals were but too often obliged to bear witness to the fearful crimes and execrable murders committed in their mysterious meetings. The Crusades, which had placed the Christians in momentary possession of Jerusalem, only embittered the Jews, who saw in this event but a fresh profanation of the Holy City. They were popularly charged with torturing to death every Christian child that fell into their hands. These atrocities, clearly authorized by the Talmud and repeatedly verified by judicial inquiries; the notorious cupidity and usurious exactions of the children of Israel; the natural loathing felt, in the ages of faith, for a deicide nation, had often led to bloody requital among the people of France, England, Germany and Italy. Philip Augustus had, upon his accession to the throne, banished the Jews from every portion of his kingdom. Innocent IV. ordered Eudes de Châteauroux, his legate in France, to issue a condemnation of the Talmud (A. D. 1248). Every copy that could be found was given to the flames. In spite, or rather, perhaps, in defiance, of this

* Raymond VII. (the younger) gave the hand of his only daughter, Jeanne, to Alphonse, count of Poitiers and brother of St. Louis (A. D. 1237). This alliance brought the province of Toulouse, at the death of Raymond VII., into the house of France, and it was finally annexed to the crown in 1271, after the death of Alphonse and Jeanne, who were without issue.

very rigor, the Jews continued to brave the general execration heaped upon them. The Inquisition, established in France by Innocent IV. at the desire of St. Louis, was chiefly directed to uphold against them the purity and integrity of the Catholic faith. The office of inquisitor, throughout the whole French monarchy, was intrusted to the Provincial of the Friars Preachers and to the Guardian of the Friars Minors of Paris. However, the institution was short-lived and never firmly constituted in France. The duty of repressing heresies, in so far as they disturbed the public peace, was imposed by the civil power upon the parliaments, which afforded the singular anomaly of secular magistrates deciding in religious matters, and claiming cognizance of purely spiritual causes, as though they had been Fathers of the Church, constituting the permanent Council of Gaul.

26. The children of St. Dominic and St. Francis saw new enemies springing up around them, in proportion as they were favored with the privileges granted by the Sovereign Pontiffs to the mendicant orders, and honored by the esteem and affection which drew from St. Louis the expression: "Could I divide myself in two, I should give one half to the Friars Preachers and the other to the Friars Minors." The University of Paris, jealous of their superiority in every branch of human learning, waged a fierce war against them. One of its doctors, Amaury of Chartres, a bold innovator, whose pantheistic teaching seems, by a rather singular analogy, to foreshadow the errors taught in our own day, had been solemnly condemned in the Council of Lateran. In the Dominicans and Franciscans he had found his most sturdy opponents. The University sought to revenge itself by a decree forbidding the bestowal of any chair of theology or philosophy upon a member of the mendicant orders. They might crush, but they could not conquer, their rivals. Alexander IV. reversed the decree and restored the religious to all their former prerogatives. His letter, however, was full of the most flattering encomiums upon those against whom it was directed. "The School of Paris," said the

Pope, "is as the tree of life in the earthly paradise, or as a shining light in the house of the Lord." The contest was speedily renewed by the work of William de Saint-Amour, on The Dangers of the Latter Times, and the *Eternal Gospel* of the Franciscans, which latter work, falsely ascribed by him to the Minors, was the production of a visionary, who declared that the reign of the gospel of Jesus Christ was to end in 1260, to be followed by a new doctrine which he called the Eternal Gospel. Alexander IV. condemned the work of William de Saint-Amour, which was burned in his presence and that of the assembled cardinals.

27. The hatred of the University was, as we have intimated, chiefly based upon envy, the meanest and most implacable of sentiments. Never, in any age, did the religious orders display, at one time, such a galaxy of great and holy men. The introduction into Europe of the works of Aristotle had opened a new path to theology. From that great philosopher the scholastic system borrowed its clear, vigorous, logical and precise method of teaching. The Franciscans—Roger Bacon, Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, and St. Bonaventure; the Dominicans—Vincent of Beauvais, Albertus Magnus, and St. Thomas Aquinas, gave a bold impulse to the learning of this period. Their names, the admiration and pride of their contemporaries, have come down to us through succeeding ages, crowned with the twofold halo of science and sanctity. The University was certainly rich in eloquent and learned men; but no one of them could cope with the giants of the schools. The English Franciscan, Roger Bacon (A. D. 1214--1294), who deserved the title of *Doctor Mirabilis*, was the first to substitute experimental philosophy for the purely speculative method. He reached results that might seem incredible even with all the resources of modern science; and by his contemporaries he was more than suspected of dealings with preternatural agencies. His chief works are, the *Opus Majus*, dedicated to Pope Clement IV., his friend and protector. This work underwent two successive revisions. under the names, *Opus Minus* and *Opus Tertium*, both

still in manuscript.—*Epistola de Secretis operibus naturæ et artis et de nullitate magiæ.*—*Speculum alchimicum.*—To Roger Bacon is attributed the invention of gunpowder, of the magnifying glass, the telescope, the air-pump, and of a combustible substance, similar to phosphorus: at least, his writings contain very exact descriptions of the manner of these discoveries. Another English Franciscan, Alexander of Hales, a student of the University of Oxford, attended a course of theology and canon law, in Paris, and soon won, by his close and correct reasoning, the epithets of *Doctor Irrefragabilis*, and *Fons vitæ*. It was said of him that he owed all his learning to the Blessed Virgin, who one day appeared to him, as he called upon her in his despair of mastering the difficulties of study, and opened to him the treasures of wisdom. In spite of all the obstacles thrown in his way by the University of France, Alexander obtained a chair of theology in Paris. He published the first commentaries upon the Liber Sententiarum of Peter Lombard; his works on the Metaphysics of Aristotle and the Holy Scriptures are lasting monuments of his vast learning and tireless activity (1245). John Duns Scotus, a native of Northumberland, studied, if we may believe Trithemius, under Alexander of Hales. He taught with great applause in Paris and Cologne, and is celebrated as the *Doctor Subtilis*. The Franciscans opposed his authority to that of St. Thomas Aquinas; and if he is inferior to the illustrious Dominican in intellect, he sometimes equals him in power of reasoning; yet the acuteness of his mind and the obscurity of his style make it very hard to read his works. With Duns Scotus, began the contest between the Thomists and the Scotists. The whole scholastic world, witness of their struggle, was divided into two parties; it was impossible to belong to either of the two orders, Dominican or Franciscan, without, by the fact, becoming a Thomist or a Scotist. In philosophy, Scotus admitted the doctrine of the Realists, and held that *Universals*, the only real existences, form the individual by the intervention of a particular principle, which he calls the principle of *individuation* or *hæcceitas*. In

theology, St. Thomas and the Dominicans held the strict principles of St. Augustine, on the question of grace and the collateral dogmas; while Scotus and the Franciscans adopted a less rigorous opinion. The Dominicans also denied the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, which their opponents warmly defended. This rivalry was of service, by raising serious and deep discussions on several points of doctrine, and by banishing exclusive opinions, though the debate but too often assumed a tone of bitter hostility. John Fidenza, better known as St. Bonaventure, general of the Franciscans, was a native of Bagnarea, in Tuscany, and taught theology in Paris, where he received the title of Seraphic Doctor. His soul was as angelic as his intellect, and his master, Alexander of Hales, used to say of him, "Verus Israelita, in quo Adam non peccasse videtur." The prominent feature in the writings of St. Bonaventure is their practical tendency; still, they showed the union of the mystic with the speculative element; witness the remarkable work on the relation of the sciences to theology; *Reductio artium liberalium ad theologiam.* Of his two manuals (*Centiloquium* and *Breviloquium*), Gerson gave the preference to the latter, a close and full exposition of dogma, which the illustrious chancellor especially recommended to young theologians, as peculiarly fitted to enlighten the understanding and inflame the heart. The works of the Seraphic Doctor fill six folio volumes. In the midst of his scientific labors, St. Bonaventure displayed great activity for the general good of the Church. Pope Gregory X. availed himself of his lights in matters of the highest importance, and raised him to the cardinalate, notwithstanding the saint's humble opposition. It is well known that the legates, sent to present him with the insignia of his new dignity, found him in the kitchen of the monastery, aiding in the lowliest duties. St. Bonaventure died at Lyons (1274), during the session of the fourteenth general council, amid his unfinished labors, and in the prime of life. The heartfelt mourning of every member of the council was the most splendid panegyric that could have honored the

illustrious departed. Gregory X., with the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, led the funeral procession, and paid a tearful tribute to the memory of the saint. He was canonized in 1482. The Dominican order could also point to a list of illustrious names. About the year 1228, the attention of St. Louis was attracted by a religious, in the Abbey of Royaumont, called by his brethren the *Devourer of Books* (*librorum helluo*). This was Brother Vincent, of Beauvais, who was soon after appointed royal librarian, and intrusted with the collection of the most rare and valuable works. The work of Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale, naturale, morale*, is a real encyclopædia, comprising all the information of his day. We cannot withhold an expression of wonder and admiration before such a monument raised to the science of a period, by a simple religious, unaided by all our modern appliances of printing or enlightened comment to give success to the great undertaking. Vincent designed to complete his work by a fourth part, to be called the *Speculum doctrinale*, when his labors were broken off by death, to which he peacefully yielded in 1264, leaving to the world the memory of an almost unequalled learning, and of virtues which won him the title of Blessed from many of his contemporaries. Another son of St. Dominic, Albert, called the Great, a member of the noble house of Vollstœdt, professor of theology successively in Paris and Cologne, provincial of the Dominicans, and afterward bishop of Ratisbon, had studied in the celebrated University of Padua. The extent of his learning made him the wonder of his age. His writings on philosophy, theology, law, Sacred Scripture, the physical sciences, chemistry and natural history, fill twenty-one folio volumes. But his proudest title to glory is that he was the master of St. Thomas Aquinas. He had marked the lofty intellect, the deep penetration, sound judgment and vast knowledge of the modest youth, whose habitual silence provoked from his fellow-students the derisive surname of the Dumb Ox. "The bellowing of the dumb ox," said Albert, "will yet be heard throughout the whole world." St. Thomas Aquinas, the

Angelic Doctor, was indeed appointed to teach all future ages, and to win the names of "Universal Doctor" and "Angel of the Schools," bestowed by the general admiration of grateful theologians. The *Summa* of St. Thomas is the most wonderful production of human genius; and the learned world may lament that this monument to theological learning should have remained unfinished. St. Thomas divided it into three parts. The first, after a general view of the method to be followed in theological studies, treats of God, of the Trinity, of the creation of man, in the four parts of his being; the soul, the understanding, the will, and the body. The second part is subdivided into two sections, which have been styled *Prima Secundæ*, and *Secunda Secundæ*. The first section comprises the articles on the last end of man, supreme happiness, human actions, the virtues and vices, sin and its kinds. The second section of the second part is more extensive, and has always been held in higher esteem. It treats of faith, hope, and charity, grace, spiritual gifts, the active, the contemplative, and the religious life. The third part is chiefly devoted to a treatise on Jesus Christ, and an unfinished treatise on the Sacraments. The writings of St. Thomas, but especially the *Summa*, have always been an object of universal admiration in the Church of God. John XXII. said of it that "the Angelic Doctor might count his miracles by the number of his articles." "With all due respect to others," said Cardinal Tolet, "St. Thomas alone is enough for me." A heresiarch of the sixteenth century uttered the blasphemy, "Take away Thomas, and I will destroy the Church!" St. Louis of France admitted St. Thomas to relations of the closest intimacy, and often made him his guest. The learning of the Angelic Doctor was equalled only by his piety; his ordinary prayer was an ecstasy. He was one day discovered by one of his disciples, Dominic de Caserte, rapt in adoration before a crucifix. The witness asserts that the image of the Crucified addressed the saint: "Thou hast well written of me, Thomas; what reward wilt thou have?" "None, but Thyself, Lord," replied Thomas. The illustrious and holy religious died in the monastery of

Fossanova, near Frusinone, while on his way, by order of the Pope, to the fourteenth general council (1227–1274).

28. While these bright lights of learning and holiness shed a flood of glory about the Church, Pope Alexander IV. had closed his Pontificate (May 25, A. D. 1261). The same year witnessed the fall of the Latin empire of Constantinople, founded half a century before, at the time of the fourth Crusade. The endeavors of Baldwin II. were powerless to avert the catastrophe. Michael Palæologus, of the Comnenian race, seized Constantinople by armed force; Baldwin II., a crownless king, withdrew to Italy, where he died 1273, after vainly exhausting every effort to rebuild his ruined throne.

§ VI. Pontificate of Urban IV. (August 29, A. D. 1261—October 2, 1264).

29. At the death of Alexander IV., James Pantaleon, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who, as Apostolic legate, had promulgated the new constitution of Prussia, was at Viterbo, whither he had been summoned by the particular wants of his Church. James was a native of Troyes; his father is styled by Bury, *Sutor veteramentarius*. From this lowly station God had designed to raise him to the pinnacle of earthly greatness. When seated on the Papal chair, he raised up over his father's bench, a church dedicated to St. Urban; the choir of this church is one of the finest monuments of Gothic architecture. This generous acknowledgment in some sort ennobled his humble extraction. Urban IV. carried on the struggle begun by his predecessors against Manfred, king of Sicily, who sought to strengthen his authority by the union of the Princess Constance of Sicily with the eldest son of James II., king of Aragon. "We are surprised," wrote the Sovereign Pontiff to James, "that you should allow yourself to be deceived by the artifices of Manfred. His crimes must be known to you. You know how, in contempt of solemn treaties and his sworn faith,

he declared war against Our predecessor, Innocent IV., of blessed memory, and brutally murdered Burel, count of Anglona, in the very presence of the Sovereign Pontiff. At the death of his brother, Conrad, he leagued with the Saracens to rob his youthful nephew Conradin, and, by the help of the Infidels, to establish himself upon the usurped throne. Since then he has continually plundered the churches in his states; and notwithstanding the excommunication now resting upon him, he violently compels the bishops to celebrate the Sacred Mysteries in his presence. He has inflicted the most cruel death upon the Sicilian lords attached to the Catholic faith, and banished their families. Notwithstanding all his crimes, the Church, like a merciful and tender mother, would have received him back with open arms, had he shown the least sign of sincere repentance. We offered him proposals of peace, which were contemptuously rejected. Under such circumstances, We think it unbecoming that you should contract an alliance with an enemy of the Church of which you have ever proved yourself the devoted son and faithful defender" (A. D. 1262).

30. The Pontiff's warning was unheeded; James became the ally of the Sicilian usurper. Urban IV. could hesitate no longer. He declared the throne of Sicily vacant, and, upon the refusal of St. Louis to accept it, offered it to the king's brother, Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, who made serious preparations to take possession of his new kingdom.

31. Since the death of Frederick II., a space of more than twelve years, the throne of Germany had remained unfilled. The rival claimants, Richard, earl of Cornwall, and Alphonso, king of Castile, urged the Pope to give a final decision in their case. A third party had lately appeared in Germany, in favor of the young Conradin. The question was equally important and complicated. Urban appointed a day on which the rival princes should appear before him to receive the final decision; but the design was thwarted by the untimely death of Urban IV. (October 2, A. D. 1264), whose wisdom, moderation and Apostolic firmness had awakened the brightest and most warrantable an-

ticipations. Urban IV., however, immortalized his short Pontificate by an institution dear to every Catholic heart. A few months before his death he published a solemn bull, establishing the feast of the Blessed Sacrament; and, at his command, St. Thomas Aquinas composed its admirable office.

§ VII. Pontificate of Clement IV. (February 5, A. D. 1265—November 29, 1268).

32. The cardinals met at Viterbo, where the Papal court had been held since the time of Alexander IV., and elected Guy Fulcodi as successor to Urban IV. At the time of his election, Guy was returning from England, whither he had been sent as legate. He received the news of his promotion while still on the way, and, to escape the snares of Manfred, he travelled as far as Perugia, in the habit of a mendicant friar; here he met the cardinals, who prostrated themselves at his feet and proceeded to the ceremony of installation. The new Pontiff took the name of Clement IV. The firmness and energy, the perfect disinterestedness which, in regard to his kindred, was carried even to rigor, the vigilance and activity, the perfect self-denial of the new Pontiff, recall the great qualities of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. Time alone was wanting to make his Pontificate one of the most illustrious in the annals of the Church. By a bull of the 6th of February, A. D. 1265, he solemnly proclaimed Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, king of Sicily, with the proviso that the prince should pay to the court of Rome a yearly tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold and a palfrey, and receive his kingdom as a fief *without the Salic law:* "The ecclesiastical elections shall be perfectly free from any claim whatever on the part of the king. All the laws made by Frederick II., Conrad, or Manfred, against the freedom of the Church, shall be revoked; and there shall be no regales for vacant sees." Charles accepted all these conditions and proceeded to Rome, where he was solemnly crowned by four

cardinals, delegated by the Sovereign Pontiff, who resided at Perugia.

33. The new King of Sicily was worthy of the favor bestowed by the Roman Church. Equally brave and prudent, of quick and sure perception, watchful in success, unshaken by adversity, true to his word, sacrificing even his hours of rest to the labors of his position, Charles of Anjou might have left a glorious name in history, had he not afterward stained it by the judicial murder of the youthful Conradin, and forgotten that moderation preserves the state which valor has founded. After his coronation, Charles marched toward Naples to meet Manfred, against whom Clement IV. had preached a Crusade. The two armies met at Beneventum (A. D. 1266). It is asserted that Charles owed the victory which crowned his arms to the order given by him to his followers, to *strike at the horses*. This was a violation of the laws of chivalry; and contemporary writers, favorable to the cause of Manfred, did not fail to hold up this act as a forfeiture. However this may be, the Sicilian troops were soon in full rout. Manfred, mad with despair, threw himself upon the French ranks and fell covered with wounds. Naples, Messina, Manfredonia, with all Southern Italy and Sicily, submitted to the conqueror. Charles of Anjou reigned actually and of acknowledged right. This was another crown bestowed by the Holy See. To the enemies of the Papal power, this is but another flagrant encroachment of the Sovereign Pontiffs upon the rights of temporal lords; to us, such encroachments would seem utterly impossible, had not the legislation and public law of the period clothed the Popes with a supreme and incontestable jurisdiction. The defeat and death of Manfred had not crushed the hopes of Conradin, who was the last of his race. Not content with the nominal title of King of Jerusalem, left him by Clement III., the young prince, hardly yet fifteen years old, wished to reign as actual king of Sicily. The violence displayed by Charles of Anjou soon began to irritate his new subjects. "He scattered throughout the land," says a contemporary writer, "a swarm of greedy offi

cials, who came like locusts to devour the fruit, the tree, and almost even the very earth." The Sovereign Pontiff severely reproved the conqueror. Complaints were loud in all Italy and even beyond the Alps. The Ghibelline party in Naples, Tuscany, and especially in Pisa, called for Conradin. His mother long opposed his departure, fearful to see him, still so young, enter the fatal realm which had been the tomb of his race. But his blood was hot with all the daring rashness of his ancestor, Frederick II., and he tore himself away from his mother's arms. Accompanied by the youthful Frederick of Austria, he crossed the Alps at the head of a large and brilliant retinue of knights. Beside the Ghibellines of Italy, many Spanish nobles, who had retired to Rome, now flocked to his standard. Charles of Anjou was expecting them on the opposite bank of the Tagliacozzo. The German troops boldly crossed the stream, scattering all before them, and Conradin already rejoiced in an anticipated triumph. But this was merely a feint by which Charles entrapped the unskilled youth of his opponent. The mass of his army, drawn up at a greater distance from the stream, now fell upon the advancing Germans and threw them into irretrievable disorder. The Spaniards alone rallied, but only to be utterly annihilated. Conradin and Frederick were taken. Charles, yielding to a disgraceful feeling of revenge, handed over the two prisoners to a military tribunal. One member alone uttered the sentence of condemnation; the others were silent, or spoke to protest against the form of procedure. The ill-fated Conradin was beheaded with his inseparable friend, Frederick of Austria. "Oh! my mother," he cried, as he stood upon the scaffold, "what sad tidings must you hear of me!" Then, throwing his glove into the surrounding crowd, he gave his head to the executioner. The glove was picked up by a faithful servant and carried to Conradin's sister and his brother-in-law, the King of Aragon, whose vengeance we shall yet have occasion to record (1268). With Conradin fell the house of Hohenstauffen, *vipereum semen Frederici secundi;* so speaks a historian of that day.

34. Pope Clement IV. and the cardinals were loud in their condemnation of the king's conduct on this occasion. The French prince had forgotten that clemency, the greatest ornament of royalty, is often a necessary part of skilful policy. He was soon called to a sense of his fault by cruel experience. Clement IV. did not live to witness it; he died within a month after the execution of Conradin (November 29, A. D. 1268). In the year 1266, the Pope published a decree, declaring that the disposal of all benefices belongs to the Sovereign Pontiff, so that he has not only the right to bestow them all, when vacant, but also to dispose of them as he pleases before they become vacant. These anticipative collations were afterward called expectancies. French historians and canonists generally connect with this bull of Clement IV. the famous decree of St. Louis, known as the *Pragmatic Sanction* (1268), containing the five following articles: "1. Churches, prelates and ordinary collectors of benefices, shall be left in the full enjoyment of their rights and jurisdiction. 2. Cathedrals and other churches shall have full liberty to carry on elections according to canonical rule. 3. It is our wish that simony, that crime so fatal to the Church, be utterly banished from our kingdom. 4. Promotions and the collation, provision and disposition of prelacies and other ecclesiastical benefices, of whatever nature, shall be regulated by the common law, the councils and the Fathers. 5. We renew and approve the freedom, the franchise, prerogatives and privileges granted by our predecessors and by ourself, to churches, monasteries and other pious institutions, as well as to ecclesiastics." Such is the text of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, as found in the oldest manuscripts. But to the five articles already mentioned, some more modern copies add a sixth, in the following terms: "We forbid anybody to levy or collect the duties and charges imposed, or that may yet be imposed, by the Court of Rome, unless for urgent reasons and with our full and free consent." The authenticity of this last article has furnished critics with the subject of a most lively discussion. All the Gallican writers

have, of course, taken the affirmative; but, in a question which so nearly concerns them, their authority seems to us at least questionable. Thomassinus, Roncaglia and the other Italian critics have demonstrated, by arguments which, to us, seem conclusive, that the sixth article, falsely ascribed to St. Louis, is a recent addition by a strange hand. Be this as it may, the controversy can be of little interest at the present time. Even granting the very doubtful authenticity of the sixth article, we would ask what great advantage it affords the enemies of the Papacy and the opponents of the dogmatic infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff. The levying of a tribute or a tax is a right of suzerainty; the Popes never claimed any such right in France. What more natural, then, than that St. Louis, as temporal sovereign, should declare that no tribute or tax may be imposed upon his kingdom without his consent? Why such long and wordy debates upon a point so clear? The name of St. Louis has been even more directly brought into conjunction with what has generally been known as the Liberties of the Gallican Church. But the attempt to associate the royal saint with the origin of these celebrated Liberties rests upon a pure sophism. In 1229, after the submission of Raymond VII., count of Toulouse, St. Louis published, throughout all the province of Languedoc, the following decree: "From the first hour of our reign, we have always sought to promote the glory of God and to exalt our Holy Mother, the Church, so long desolated, in your provinces, by the revolt of the people and lords, by tribulations without number. Therefore do we decree that henceforth the churches and ecclesiastics of Languedoc shall enjoy, fully and without hindrance, the *liberties and immunities enjoyed by the rest of the Gallican church.*" St. Louis evidently meant by this decree to free the churches of the South from the odius bondage to which they had been reduced by Albigensian persecution. The French canonists, who have tried to give another interpretation to the words: *the liberties of the Gallican church*, which are here used for the first time, have proved themselves but sophists and untruthful translators.

§ VIII. Vacancy of the Holy See (November 29, A. D. 1268—September 1, 1271).

35. The cardinals met at Viterbo, but could not agree in the choice of a Sovereign Pontiff to succeed Clement IV. The Holy See remained vacant for three years, which interval was signalized by the eighth and last Crusade. The Sultan of Egypt, Bibars-al-Bondokdari, the victor of Massoura, had repeatedly triumphed over the Syrian Christians, and now held possession of Damascus, Tyre, Cæsarea, Antioch and Jaffa. During all this time, Louis ceased not to bear on his shoulder the Crusader's cross, as a sign that his pilgrimage was still unfinished. He determined to try a new Crusade, which was doomed to a more wretched and fruitless end than the former. His brother, Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, and Prince Edward of England, the eldest son of Henry III., took the cross at the same time. Providing for the safety of his kingdom by a wise and able selection for the council of regency, Louis sailed from Aigues-Mortes, on the 1st of July, A. D. 1270, for Cagliari, the general place of meeting for the expeditionary army. The leaders had not yet decided what point of the Mussulman empire they should first attack, when the ambassadors of Mohammed-Mostanser, king of Tunis, reached the camp of the Crusaders. They assured St. Louis that their master wished to embrace the Christian religion, and that he relied upon the Christian army to protect him from the rage of Bibars, which would be aroused by his conversion. The holy king, listening only to the counsels of his piety, and utterly unsuspicious of the Mussulman's treachery, resolved to sail to Africa. The French army landed amid the ruins of Carthage; but the promised conversion of Mostanser was a cheat, and the Crusaders invested Tunis. The Unbeliever maintained an obstinate defence. Soon the parching heat, unwholesome water and still more unwholesome food, filled the camp with malignant fevers which swept away nearly half the army. The first Christian baron, Mat-

thew III. of Montmorency, fell by the fatal disease, on the 1st of August. The king's sons, Philip, Tristan and Peter of France, and the king himself were attacked. On the 7th, the contagion seized one of the Pontifical legates, Raoul de Grosparmy. As Prince Philip began to grow better, St. Louis felt himself rapidly sinking. He met this last struggle with all the greatness of soul that makes the Christian hero. Ever calm and undisturbed, rising superior to surrounding events, he interrupted none of the duties of royalty; always more anxious about the wants of his soldiers than about his own, so long as his failing strength allowed, he watched and served them himself. Still they awaited the arrival of Charles of Anjou. "On the 25th of August," says M. de Villeneuve-Trans, "the waves had hardly begun to sparkle under the rays of the rising sun, when the streamers of the Sicilian fleet were descried in the far horizon. But Charles of Anjou was never more to see his brother in life. The last hour of the saintly king was at hand. The tidings awoke the Christian camp. Knights, men-at-arms, the wounded and the sick, all gather in trembling haste about the royal tent; one of the folds is opened and displays Louis supported by his faithful attendants, clothed in a sackcloth garment, holding a crucifix in his already livid hands, his eyes fixed upon a bed of ashes hastily strewn upon the parched earth. Upon that couch the pious monarch wished to breathe his last. Isabella of Aragon, Amicie of Artois, the Queen of Navarre, and the Countess of Poitiers strive in vain to stifle their sobs; their noble husbands, the sons of the dying monarch, Peter of Alençon, the lords, almoners and chaplains, the imperial ambassadors of Michael Palæologus, are kneeling round the dying saint, whose majesty never shone with more undimmed lustre than upon that throne of agony, his sceptre a crucifix, his diadem the halo of martyrdom, his canopy the sky of Carthage, a weeping army for a court, and eternity his kingdom. Though torn by the most acute pain, no complaint, no regret, no murmur escapes his lips; they move but to utter, in faltering accents: 'O God! have mercy upon those who have followed me to these

shores! Bring them back in safety to their home, that they may not be constrained to deny Thy holy name!'" To his son and successor, Prince Philip, he gave admirable lessons of wisdom and virtue. The shadows of death were fast falling about the royal sufferer; he was several times heard to exclaim: "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" At length, repeating aloud the words of the Psalmist: "Lord, I will enter into Thy house, I will worship toward Thy holy temple," he calmly expired. "Le roi est mort, vive le roi!" that ancient proclamation of the monarchy, was hushed in the overwhelming grief of the hour; the heralds-at-arms, the high officers of the crown, were silent; the wail that broke forth from the whole camp, alone announced the immense loss of the Crusaders. Thus the crown of France, in a strange land, passed to Philip III., called the Bold. Robert, count of Clermont, the youngest son of the late king, had recently been united to Beatrice of Burgundy. From this union sprang the royal Bourbons of France, Spain and Naples, whose history, greatness and misfortunes are interwoven with the destinies of the world.

36. The siege of Tunis was pushed on until the conquered Saracens sued for peace. Philip the Bold and Charles of Anjou concluded, with Mostanser, a truce of ten years, on conditions favorable to religion; after which they withdrew their troops to Europe. Prince Edward of England had not given up the design of helping the Christians in Jerusalem, and he accordingly landed his forces on the shores of Palestine. Here his ranks were swelled by the Templars and Hospitallers, and together they gained some advantages over the Infidels; but the death of Henry III. suddenly recalled Edward to England (A. D. 1272). The eighth and last Crusade was ended. Every endeavor since made by the Sovereign Pontiffs to rekindle in Europe the spirit of the Holy Wars has proved fruitless; and the Christians in Palestine, left to their own weak resources, fell at last before the power of the Mamelukes. One by one they lost their seaport towns and strongholds. Tortosa, Laodicea, Tripoli, were successively wrested from their grasp, plundered and destroyed.

At length, in 1291, the Sultan Khalil-Archraf, at the head of two hundred thousand Saracens, laid siege to Acre. The last refuge of the Christians fell, and the Latin empire in Asia ceased to exist. The remains of the three knightly orders withdrew to the island of Cyprus, which then formed an independent Latin kingdom.

37. If we are to judge the Crusades by this sad result, they must appear but a series of unhappy expeditions, disasters and useless wars. In this light they have been, and are still, viewed by superficial minds, strangers to those higher laws of Providence, which Catholic teaching alone can discover. To form a true estimate of these distant and religious expeditions, we must take into consideration the vast influence they exercised upon nations, by taming their still savage energy; upon the great, by forcing them into domestic quiet; upon the whole of Europe, in giving it a political unity by the fusion of its various nationalities, in establishing a community of views and interests; in fine, upon commerce and industry, by opening frequent and regular communication between the East and the West. "When, in the middle-ages," says De Maistre, "we entered Asia, sword in hand, in the attempt to cast down, upon its own soil, that formidable crescent which threatened the liberties of Europe, France was foremost in the memorable enterprise. A simple monk, who has left to posterity only his baptismal name, coupled with the unpretending title of *the Hermit*, supported only by his faith and an unbending will, aroused all Europe, struck terror into Asia, broke down the barriers of feudal distinctions, ennobled the serf, brought back the torch of learning, and changed the face of Europe." This view alone can give us a true idea, independent of purely Christian considerations, of the immense advantages conferred by the Crusades upon humanity and civilization.

§ IX. Pontificate of Gregory X. (September 1, a. d. 1271–January 10, 1276)

38. Philip III. passed through Italy on his return to France, carrying with him five coffins, containing the remains of his father, Louis IX., and the bodies of his brother, Jean-Tristan, count of Nevers, of his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre; of his wife, Jane of Aragon, and of the child whose birth to a momentary existence had been fatal to its mother. Never had the royal necropolis witnessed such mourning. As he passed through Viterbo, Philip urged the cardinals to hasten a Pontifical election, and give to the Church a Supreme Pastor. On the 1st of September, a. d. 1271, the long dissentient votes met at length, under the influence of St. Bonaventure, upon Theobald de Visconti, archdeacon of Liege, who was at the time with Prince Edward, as Apostolic legate in Palestine. The new Pope received the news of his promotion at Acre, on the 27th of October, and took the name of Gregory X. This promotion revived the drooping spirits of the Eastern Christians. Before leaving Ptolemais for Europe, the new Pope took leave of the Christians in a most touching address, at the end of which he exclaimed, in the words of the Psalmist, "If ever I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do not remember thee, if I make not Jerusalem the beginning of my joy!" During the whole course of his Pontificate, Gregory accordingly cherished the project of a new Crusade; but his efforts were fruitless and fell before the general spirit of indifference. This design was still the object of his solicitude, with the hope of winning back the Greek Church—a hope which seemed to be brightening in the distance. The Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, who had again become master of Constantinople, stood in great dread of Charles of Anjou, whose arms had already more than once been turned against the Illyrian provinces. Whether from motives of policy, to win the favorable media-

tion of the Pope, or through a sincere desire to bring back his subjects to the bosom of Catholic unity, Michael labored with persevering energy, and against all the prejudices of the Greeks, to bring over the bishops of his empire to thoughts of union. The pious and learned Veccus, the imperial librarian, afterward raised to the see of Constantinople, nobly seconded the emperor in his difficult endeavor. Ambassadors were sent to acquaint Gregory X. with these promising dispositions.

39. With a view to add greater solemnity to the reconciliation and to preach the Crusade upon a wider field, the Pope convoked the fourteenth general council, to meet at Lyons. A circular was addressed to all the princes and prelates of Christendom. "We might," wrote the Pontiff, "have convened the council in Rome; but the Western princes would have found it difficult to be present, and the Holy Land would not have found so many champions. For this reason We have chosen a city beyond the mountains, of well-known fidelity and devotion toward the Holy See, and already celebrated as the scene of the thirteenth general council." Five hundred bishops from all parts of the Catholic world, two Latin Patriarchs, Pantaleon of Constantinople and Opizon of Antioch, Philip, king of France, James II. of Aragon, ambassadors from Germany, England, Sicily and the kingdoms of Northern Europe, and more than a thousand mitred abbots, poured into the city of Lyons to attend the council which was opened on the 2d of May, A. D. 1274. In the presence of this vast assembly, the most imposing and august in the world, Gregory X. officiated Pontifically, and, in a discourse upon the text: "Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum," he laid before them his reasons for calling the council: 1st, the Crusade; 2d, the re-union of the Greeks; 3d, the reformation of morals. In accordance with the wish of the Sovereign Pontiff, a decree was passed insuring considerable aid to the Holy Land. "We have witnessed in person," said the Pope, "the woes of those generous pilgrims. We have traced, one by one, all their sufferings. Their courage is even greater than their fatigues; their piety is superior to ad-

versity. Like the warriors of Godfrey de Bouillon, they are the worthy sons of the cross. Let us, then, also hasten to the rescue of Palestine. This is not the time to found new kingdoms in the provinces of Asia, nor to attack the unbelieving sovereigns of Africa. We must march to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre!" The council answered the appeal of the heroic Pontiff by ordering contributions and tithes in the various States of Christendom, for the benefit of the Crusade. But the Pope needed warriors, not gold. Warriors were wanting; the time of the Crusaders was past. On the 1st of July the Pope officiated Pontifically in the presence of the Greeks and of the whole council. The Epistle and Gospel were read in Greek and Latin. The Creed was also chanted in both tongues, the celebrated addition: *Qui a Patre Filioque procedit*, being thrice repeated. St. Bonaventure delivered a discourse upon the unity of the Catholic Church. After the Holy Sacrifice, letters were read from Michael Palæologus and the Greek bishops, containing an entirely orthodox profession of faith. They addressed the Pope as: First and Sovereign Pontiff, Ecumenical Pope, the Common Father of all Christians. George Acropolita, the imperial ambassador, representing Michael Palæologus, pronounced, in his master's name, the following oath: "I abjure the schism in my own and my master's name. I believe in my heart, as I profess with my lips, the Catholic, orthodox and Roman faith; I promise ever faithfully to follow, never to forsake it. I acknowledge the primacy of the Roman Church and the obedience due to it; I pledge myself to all these professions, by oath, upon the soul of the emperor and my own." After this solemn declaration, which put an end to the schism of Photius and Michael Cerularius, after two centuries of struggle and contest, Gregory stood up and intoned the Te Deum, while his cheeks were bathed with tears of grateful emotion. This was the last session in which St. Bonaventure appeared; he died on the 15th of July, 1274, and the Pope would officiate in person at his funeral, to honor, by this glorious exception to the Pontifical usage, the genius and virtue so emi

nently displayed by the illustrious Doctor. The remaining sessions of the council were now occupied with questions concerning the general discipline of the Church and the reformation of morals. Among all the decrees directed to that end—on the collation and plurality of benefices, the rights known as *regales*, the freedom of ecclesiastical elections and the regularity of clerics—three claim our more particular attention. The first establishes the conclaves in the form which they still preserve. The prolonged vacancy of the Holy See, after the death of Clement IV., naturally called attention to the means of guarding against the recurrence of a similar state of things. Gregory ordained that, after the death of the Sovereign Pontiff, the cardinals should meet in a suitable place, and remain enclosed until the election of a successor. The Constitution was read and solemnly approved by the Fathers of the council. The wisdom of the measure has been fully vindicated by experience, though it has had to meet the fate of every other useful reform, and struggle against a host of obstacles; at length, however, it has triumphed over all opposition and become a fundamental rule in the government of the Church. A second decree condemns the new sect of Flagellantes, a body of fanatics whose exaggerated notions of penance had drawn them into heresy. Terrified at the sight of the crimes so openly committed in all parts of the world, and penetrated with a lively fear of the judgments of God, the Flagellantes went about stripped to the waist, with disciplines in their hands, scourging themselves, groaning and sobbing aloud. This sect took its rise in Perugia, and soon spread through Italy, France, and Germany. Crowds of these penitents, to the number of several thousands, ran through the streets staining them with their blood. They maintained that the baptism of *water* was useless; that flagellation alone, or the baptism of *blood*, was necessary for salvation. The Council of Lyons put a stop to their excess and their errors. By a third decree, the council promulgated strict regulations against the useless multiplication of religious orders. "It is not our intention," said the Fathers,

" to include the Friars Preachers, nor the Friars Minors, who render such valuable services to the Church. We also approve the Carmelites, Celestines and Servites, whose authorized establishment is anterior to our decree."

40. In 1205, the hermits of Mount Carmel, known as the Carmelites, received a rule from Blessed Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Two English knights, returning from the Holy Land, brought some of these religious with them into England and built them two monasteries, one in the forest of Holme, in Northumberland, the other in that of Aylesford, in Kent; both these institutions stood until the time of the Reformation. St. Simon Stock, who was elected general of the order in 1245, decided that most of the brothers should leave Asia and pass over to Europe, to escape the oppression of the Saracens. Popes Honorius III. and Gregory IX. solemnly approved the constitutions of the new order, which was soon spread through all the provinces of the Christian world. St. Simon founded, in honor of the Blessed Virgin, the Confraternity of the Scapular, in which pious body generations of faithful souls have been enrolled under the standard of Mary. The Order of Servites (*Servi B. M. V.*) was founded in 1233 by seven noble citizens of Florence, under the rule of St. Augustine, and with the object of promoting more particularly the honor of the Mother of God. The institute had already received the sanction of former Pontiffs, when Gregory X. solemnly confirmed it in the Council of Lyons, at which their general, St. Philip Beniti, was present. The Celestines, founded at Sulmona (A. D. 1250), by St. Peter Moroni, afterward Pope Celestin V., embraced the rule of St. Benedict, with the addition of some more austere regulations. Peter lived alone in a narrow cell, with no other opening than a small window through which he received his daily allowance of bread, so hard that he was obliged to use a hammer to break it. He wore a shirt of knotted horse-hair, and an iron chain about his waist. His scanty rest was taken upon the hard earth, or upon an uncovered board, with a stone for a pillow. Hearing that the general Council of Lyons

intended to suppress the new religious orders, Peter quitted his usual dwelling on the mountain of Magella, and presented himself before Gregory X., who was moved with admiration for his virtue, and confirmed the sanction already given to the institute by Urban IV., in 1263.

41. The work of the fourteenth general council was done. Before leaving France, Gregory obtained from Philip the cession of the county of Venaissin in favor of the Holy See. This county formed part of the marquisate of Provence, which had been ceded by Raymond VII., in 1229, to Pope Gregory IX. The Pope afterward gave back the marquisate to Raymond, to be held as a fief of the Holy See. At the death of the count, all his domains reverted to the crown. Gregory X. claimed the county of Venaissin in return for his right of suzerainty over the other states which had belonged to the counts of Toulouse. The cession made by Philip was destined to produce the most important results, and to bring the Popes of a whole century to reside in Avignon.

42. The crown of Germany, so long disputed by Richard of Cornwall and Alphonso X. of Castile, was at length bestowed upon a prince who was to fix it in his family and found a sovereign dynasty that still reigns. In the preceding year (A. D. 1273), the Pope, after mature deliberation, annulled the election of Alphonso; the claims of Richard were no longer in debate, as he had died a few months before. The chief motive for Pope Gregory's decision, was the great prejudice which pervaded all the German States against the King of Castile. The Sovereign Pontiff accordingly notified the imperial electors to proceed to a final election. In the Diet of Frankfort (September 1, 1273), they unanimously voted the crown to Rodolph of Hapsburg, landgrave of Upper Alsace. His house claimed maternal descent from Charlemagne. The new king had given proofs of his solid virtue. Among others, the following pious action is ascribed to him. As he was riding one day among the mountains of Switzerland, he met a priest carrying the holy Viaticum to a sick person. Hastily alighting, Rodolph con

strained the priest to mount his horse, while he himself, on foot, accompanied the King of Heaven to the poor cabin which He was about to visit. The priest then wished to return the horse to the generous knight. "God forbid," said the prince, "that I should ever mount a horse that has borne the King of kings!" And he left his steed to the priest. Gregory X. confirmed the election of Rodolph, with whom he had an interview at Lausanne (1275). The new king pledged his word to respect the property and rights of the Roman Church, and to restore those of which it had been deprived. He also promised to recognize Charles of Anjou as king of Sicily, and not to disturb him in his possessions.

43. The peace which Rodolph's accession secured to Germany and Italy seemed to Gregory X. favorable for his projected Crusade. He labored strenuously to restore concord and harmony among all the states of Christendom, to assure the success of the holy war which he was meditating. In Italy, the Guelphs and Ghibellines, at the sound of the Pontiff's voice, forgot their old feuds, to bind themselves by the ties of a noble and holy friendship. The Christian rulers of Spain were awakened to something of their old zeal by the letters and legates of the Pope. Gregory inveighed most sharply against the effeminacy and criminal voluptuousness of some of them, hoping thus to gain them as auxiliaries in his new Crusade; but time failed the energetic will of the holy Pontiff who was struggling almost single-handed against the indifference of all Europe. Gregory X. died at Arezzo, on the 10th of January, A. D. 1276. "His Pontificate," says the Protestant historian Sismondi, "was a glorious one, and would certainly have left a deeper impress upon the memory of men, had it lasted longer. His impartial spirit had pacified nearly the whole of Italy, when the rage of civil strife seemed to have banished all hope of peace. The interregnum in the empire was ended by the election of a prince who covered himself with glory, and founded one of the most powerful dynasties of Europe. The Greek and Latin Churches were reconciled. Finally, a general council, under the presi-

dency of the Pope, promulgated laws most beneficial to Christendom, and worthy, in every respect, of so august an assembly." The historian of the Church has nothing to add to this tribute paid by a Protestant to a Pope.

§ X. Pontificate of Innocent V. (January 21, A. D. 1276—June 18, 1276).

44. Conformably to the decree of the fourteenth general council, the conclave was held in the manner prescribed; ten days after the death of Gregory X., Cardinal Peter of Tarantasia was chosen to succeed, and took the name of Innocent V. Rodolph of Hapsburg prepared to set out for Rome to receive the imperial crown, when the new Pope sent legates requesting him to defer his visit until the conclusion of a final treaty of peace between himself and Charles of Anjou. Innocent feared that the presence of a new emperor might rekindle the hardly extinguished feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and that Rodolph might be inclined to renew the claims of Frederick II. upon the kingdom of Sicily. He had, in the mean time, restored peace between the Luccans and the Pisans, and was now engaged in quelling the dissensions which stained with blood the rising city of Florence; but, while the Church was rejoicing in the bright promise of this reign, the Pope was taken away by death, on the 18th of June, A. D. 1276, after a reign of only five months.

§ XI. Pontificate of Adrian V. (July 4, A. D. 1276—August 18, 1276).

45. Cardinal Ottoboni Fieschi, elected Pope under the name of Adrian V., held the Papal chair for even a shorter time than his predecessor. He was already seriously ill when the votes of his colleagues called him to the supreme dignity. As the members of his family came to congratulate him on his promotion: "I would rather," he replied, "you had found me a car-

dinal in health than a dying Pope." He had barely time, by a fatal haste, to revoke the Constitution of Gregory X., concerning the conclave, when he died on the 18th of August, A. D. 1276

§ XII. Pontificate of John XXI. (September 13, A. D. 1276—May 16, 1277).

46. During this rapid succession of Popes, the Pontifical court was still held at Viterbo. Rome, more than ever a prey to the furious struggles of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions for the sovereign power, forgot its lawful rulers, and wasted its strength in endless disputes. The great war of influence and intrigue was led by the two rival houses of Colonna and Orsini, whose origin was referred to the days of the Roman empire. At the death of Adrian V., the cardinals, on the strength of the bull of revocation promulgated by him, refused to enter into a conclave, but the inhabitants of Viterbo, fearing the perils of an interregnum, compelled them to submit to the ordinance of the fourteenth general council; and on the 13th of September, A. D. 1276, the Portuguese cardinal, Peter Julian, was elected Pope, taking the name of John XXI. Gifted with an extensive learning and with a piety equal to his knowledge, the new Pope gave to the Church the promise of a firm and enlightened administration. He had sent legates to the court of Michael Palæologus, to second that emperor's earnest endeavors for restoring the East to the Catholic union promulgated in the Council of Lyons. He furnished pecuniary means to the Christians in the Holy Land, to enable them to meet the attacks of the Sultan of Egypt. Finally, he had just condemned the erroneous teachings of some members of the University of Paris, who were bringing into the study of theology the principles of a false rationalism. The cheering prospect of this Pontificate was suddenly blighted by a fatal accident. While visiting the Pontifical palace which he was building at Viterbo, a scaffolding gave way beneath him and the Pope was so seriously injured that he died within six days of the disas

ter (May 16, 1277). The only reproach incurred by this Pontiff, is his confirmation of Adrian's decision revoking the decree concerning the conclave.

§ XIII. Pontificate of Nicholas III. (November 25, A. D. 1277—August 22, 1280).

47. The cardinals, resting upon this twofold revocation, refused to submit to the Constitution of Gregory X., and the Holy See remained vacant more than six months. On the 25th of November, A. D. 1277, the votes at last met upon Cardinal Gaëtano Ursini, who took the name of Nicholas III. The new Pope gave his first thoughts to the East. Charles of Anjou had given the hand of his daughter to Philip of Courtenay, son of Baldwin II., the last Latin emperor of Constantinople, nor did he hide his intention of overthrowing Michael Palæologus and of restoring, in favor of Baldwin, a throne which should become the inheritance of his daughter. The union of the two Churches, effected by the Greek emperor, if not the result of sincere conviction, was at least a master-stroke of skilful policy, since it secured the sympathy of the Holy See, and placed an effectual barrier to the attempts of the Sicilian king. But the schism was too deeply rooted in the East. On their return from the council, the imperial ambassadors were received with imprecations by the people and clergy, who cursed them as heretics and apostates. The Greek signers of the act of union and submission to the Holy See were not men to suffer martyrdom for the sacredness of an oath; they trampled under foot all that they had sworn to observe at Lyons. The Patriarch, Veccus, who had, with his own hand, drawn up the oath of obedience to Rome, did not afterward hesitate to publish a decree, classing *among the companions of Judas those who abjured the schism and acknowledged the supremacy of the Latin Church.* Charles of Anjou availed himself of this reaction to continue his warlike projects, and, in 1278, renewed all his preparations for an expedition against Palæologus. Nicholas III., as his

suzerain, forbade the hostile expedition. "By his voice the sword of Charles was chained tc the scabbard; and the Greek ambassadors," says a contemporary historian, "beheld him in the Pope's antechamber, biting his ivory sceptre in a transport of fury." Meanwhile the Pontiff had sent legates to Constantinople, to urge the fulfilment of the treaty of union. The emperor quieted their doubts by splendid promises, which he was probably powerless, if willing, to fulfil, while he secretly pre pared against Charles of Anjou a treacherous and cruel act of revenge.

48. The energies of Nicholas III. were multiplied to meet at once all the wants of the Church. He sought to reconcile the Kings of France and Castile. Philip had espoused the cause of the children of Lacerda, despoiled by their uncle, Sancho IV., of their hereditary right to the throne of Castile. The Pope succeeded in healing the feud between the two monarchs. He was at the same time engaged in defending the Friars Minors from the calumnies heaped upon them; and the Apostolic authority, by an energetic decree, shielded the religious order which equally illustrated the Church by its virtue and its learning. Nicholas was at the same time in continual correspondence with Rodolph, and together they meditated a design fraught with the most important consequences to the future destinies of Italy and of all Europe. The Pope had conceived the design of dividing the empire into four great sovereignties: that of Germany, for the house of Hapsburg, and Vienne, in Dauphiny, to be given as a dowry to Clementia, daughter of Rodolph, and wife of Charles Martel, the grandson of the King of Sicily. Italy was to be divided into two kingdoms: one in Sicily, the other in Lombardy. The sudden death of Nicholas III. (August 22, A. D. 1280), frustrated the vast design.

§ XIV. Pontificate of Martin IV. (February 22, A. D. 1281—March 28, 1285).

49. After a vacancy of six months, due to a want of agreement among the cardinals, and the intrigues of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, Cardinal Simon of Brienne was elected Pope, on the 22d of February, A. D. 1281, and took the name of Martin IV.* in memory of the church of St. Martin of Tours, of which he had been canon and treasurer. His reign was inaugurated by a treaty with the Romans, concluded on rather extraordinary terms. Exhausted by the republican anarchy which had been rending it for the past half century, Rome at length felt the necessity of returning to the Pontifical rule, alone capable of restoring quiet and prosperity. To avoid offending the popular prejudice by the immediate re-establishment of monarchical power, a compromise was sought; Martin IV. was elected senator of the Roman people, and in that capacity charged with the government of the city. "In consideration," says the deed of election, "of the virtues displayed by our Holy Father, Pope Martin IV., and of his love for the city and people of Rome, hoping that his wisdom may find the means of restoring order and tranquillity, we have intrusted him, not because of his Pontifical dignity, but out of regard for his merits and illustrious lineage, with the government of the Senate of Rome and of its territory, to hold it for life." The Pope did not think that this treaty would secure him a sufficient preponderance in Rome to induce him to make that city his residence. He remained in Viterbo, where he soon after received tidings of an event which sent a thrill throughout the whole of Europe.

50. The glove flung from the scaffold by the hapless Conradin, was received by John of Procida, a knight of Salerno, who swore to avenge the death of the youthful prince. John had found an asylum at the court of Peter, king of Aragon,

* Though he was in truth but the second of the name, yet the enumeration of both Popes Marinus in the list of Martins occasioned the error which usage has sanctioned.

who had married Constance, the daughter of Manfred, and last heiress of the house of Hohenstauffen, by the will of Frederick II., who, in the default of his legitimate children, had declared his natural son, Manfred, heir to all his rights of sovereignty. The firm resolve and unbending will of Procida let no day pass unmarked by preparations for the fulfilment of his oath. Twice did he appear in the palace of Palæologus, urging him to join the great conspiracy of which Peter of Aragon had consented to take the risk. The emperor was easily persuaded to seize the opportunity of striking in his own behalf, and a Greek subsidy of thirty thousand ounces of gold was profitably employed to hasten the hostile preparations against Sicily. The King of Aragon also furnished a considerable armament, under specious pretexts. It was in vain that Pope Martin IV. questioned him concerning the destination of his expedition; he refused all explanation, declaring that he would cut off his left hand if it were conscious of the intentions of his right. Martin then expressly commanded him not to attack any Christian prince. The Pope and the King of Sicily began to entertain misgivings; but they were far from suspecting the terrible issue of the conspiracy. John of Procida and the chief Sicilian nobles met in Palermo, to celebrate the Easter festival. On Monday, the 29th of March, A. D. 1282, at the hour of vespers, all the French were massacred, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. They were recognized by being required to pronounce the Italian word *ciceri;* not one escaped the fury of the populace. This dreadful massacre has obtained the name of the Sicilian Vespers. The conspirators fast spread through the whole island, everywhere renewing the same shocking carnage, in which upward of twenty thousand of the French were immolated to the popular hatred. The news filled the court of Rome with horror. Martin promised Charles of Anjou all the spiritual and temporal help at his command. A sentence of excommunication was hurled against the authors of the massacre, including Peter of Aragon and Michael Palæologus, their accomplices. The city of Palermo addressed to the Pope an

apology, closing with an insolent jest. "After the murder of the French," wrote the Sicilians, "we raised the banner of St. Peter, and placed ourselves under the protection of the Roman Church; but, as you disdained our prayers, God sent to our assistance another Peter whom we did not expect." This was Peter of Aragon, who, on learning the news of the massacre, had steered his fleet to Palermo, and was crowned king of Sicily. The Pope met this act of open defiance by deposing Peter from his throne and freeing the Aragonese from their oath of fidelity. He offered the crown of Aragon to Charles of Valois, second son of Philip the Bold. The Sicilian Vespers disturbed the peace, at once, of France, Spain, and Italy. Philip deemed it a point of honor to avenge the slaughter of the French in Sicily. Jayme of Aragon, king of Majorca, whose family had been dethroned by that of Philip III., was likewise in arms, while Charles of Anjou was preparing a most vigorous resistance against his adversaries. But he was defeated before Messina and in the waters of Trapani. The whole success of the French arms was limited to the capture of Girona, while the celebrated Catalan admiral, Roger de Loria, three times defeated the combined fleets of Naples and France, off the coast of Catalonia. In 1285, hostilities were suspended by the simultaneous death of the Pope and of the Kings of France, Naples, Castile and Aragon. Martin IV. died at Perugia on the 28th of March, 1285.

51. Two years before, Michael Palæologus had died, still under the ban of excommunication, for his share in the Sicilian Vespers; and the Greeks, comparing him to Julian the Apostate, *devoted his soul to everlasting perdition.* In conjunction with the monks and bishops, his son Andronicus II., a prince utterly devoid of talent, affection, or valor, refused him Christian burial. The new emperor pursued a course in direct opposition to that of his father. He burned the act of reunion adopted in the fourteenth general council, openly broke with Rome, and persecuted the Greeks lately converted to the Catholic faith. Informers, victims and torture became as

common as in the days of Constantius, Leo the Isaurian and Copronymus. When an appeal was made to his clemency in favor of any particular ecclesiastic or layman who had embraced the Catholic faith, he replied that he made no distinctions among the *azymites*, and "that he judged of them all by a few, as he was satisfied of the bitterness of the sea by applying a single drop to his tongue." The Eastern schism, after a momentary interruption, was thus again more firmly established than ever.

§ XV. Pontificate of Honorius IV. (April 2, A. D. 1285—April 3, 1287).

52. On the 2d of April, A. D. 1285, Cardinal James Savelli was elected at Perugia, and crowned at Rome, on the 6th of May, as Pope Honorius IV. The Constitution of Gregory X. regarding the conclave had again been disregarded in this election; so odious was it to the cardinals, that, in the circular announcing his election to the bishops of Christendom, the new Pope thus speaks of it: "After the funeral obsequies of Pope Martin IV., of happy memory, we assembled freely, on the 1st of April, without the confinement of the conclave, a censurable abuse lately introduced into the Roman Church." Simultaneously with the promotion of Honorius IV., Alphonso X. inaugurated his reign in Castile, and Philip IV., surnamed le Bel, in France. The rightful successor of Charles of Anjou was his son Charles, called the Lame. But that prince had been taken prisoner, in the preceding year, by Roger de Loria, and was now in the dungeons of the King of Aragon. Honorius IV. hoped, by gentle means, to end the conflict to which the Sicilian Vespers had given rise among these various princes. He opened communications with Alphonso III., king of Aragon, to obtain the liberation of Charles II.; but the disadvantageous terms proposed by the Aragonese prince broke off the negotiation. He was preparing to resume it on a new ground, when death snatched him away, in 1287, after a Pontificate of two years.

§ XVI. Pontificate of Nicholas IV. (February 15, A. D. 1288—April 4, 1292).

53. The vacancy of the Holy See was prolonged for nearly a year by a plague which swept Italy at the moment when the cardinals, obedient this time to the decree of Lyons, had met in conclave for the election of a new Pontiff. At length, Cardinal Tinei, in spite of his humble protestations, was chosen on the 22d of February, A. D. 1288, and assumed the name of Nicholas IV. Happier, in his mediation, than Honorius, he obtained the release of Charles the Lame, whom he crowned with his own hands in the Vatican Basilica, upon the same conditions as had been imposed upon Charles I. by Clement IV. By the treaty of Tarascon, which ended this great dispute (1291), Alphonso III. renounced his claim to the Sicilian crown; Charles of Valois abandoned his pretensions to the throne of Aragon, to which he had been called by Martin IV., and Charles of Sicily gave up the duchy of Anjou in favor of the Count of Valois. While the influence of the Pope was winning back the peace of Europe, the city of Rome was still the prey of bloody factions. Jacopo Colonna was, in 1290, proclaimed lord of the new Roman empire. The Ghibellines, who had bestowed the dignity, bore the princely shadow in triumph through the streets of the city, amid the acclamations of the multitude, who hailed him Cæsar. But the Orsini faction, the leaders of the Guelphs, began a fierce and bloody strife. Rome was disgraced by daily scenes of carnage and conflagration. In 1292, after a fearful struggle, the two parties agreed to a compromise. Stefano Colonna and Orso Orsini were jointly elected senators. The truce was short. Within a month, the death of Stefano and the resignation of Orsini became an occasion of fresh struggles; and the death of Nicholas IV., at the same period (April 4, 1292), precluded the possibility of a pacific mediation of the Pontifical authority. The last two years of the Pope's reign were absorbed by his solicitude for the deplorable condition of

the Christians in Palestine. Europe was still in mourning for the fall of Ptolemais, the last bulwark of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. In vain did Nicholas IV. appeal in the most pressing terms to the Western monarchs, to engage them in a new Crusade; his voice was unheeded. Egypt, Palestine, Syria—all those fair provinces, once so rich in numerous and flourishing churches, were now held in the firm grasp of the sons of the Prophet. No hand has since been raised to free them from the shameful yoke. The Church has kept the purely nominal titles of their once famous sees, now bestowed as bishoprics *in partibus*

§ XVII. Pontificate of St. Celestin V. (July 7, A. D. 1294—December 13, 1294).

54. For more than two years the cardinals could not agree in the choice of a Sovereign Pontiff. These long and repeated vacancies in the Holy See should alone have sufficed to prove the wisdom of the decree to which the cardinals refused obedience. After a long and animated discussion, their choice at length fell upon St. Peter Moroni, whom we have already mentioned as the founder of the Celestines. The news of his election surprised the pious old man in his austere retreat, and drew from him tears of bitter grief. It was found necessary to tear him from his loved solitude and crown him, in spite of his resistance, at Aquileia (August 29, A. D. 1294). He took the name of Celestin V. Torn suddenly away from the ecstasy of contemplation, a stranger to the world, its workings and its passions—he lacked acquaintance with men. While he gave himself up to the sweets of prayer and contemplation, in a cell which he had built in the midst of his palace, the government of the Church was in a state of the utmost confusion. The same favor was granted to two, three, or even four persons at once, and for this disgraceful practice sheets of blank parchment were prepared and stamped with the Pontifical seal. Charles the Lame thus obtained a decree releasing him from the oath required of him by the cardinals, not to impede the Roman

court in the Neapolitan States. Celestin was thus unwittingly placing the Pontifical power in the hands of the wily monarch. Men of judgment loudly complained of such a state of things; their complaints reached the ears of the Pope. He had accepted the onerous charge only to avoid a seeming opposition to the will of God. In these complaints he heard the expression of the same divine will warning him to cast down a burden too heavy for his weak shoulders. On the 13th of December, 1294, the holy Pope convoked the cardinals in a solemn consistory. He appeared before them in full Pontificals, and read aloud his resignation of the Papal dignity. Then stripping off all the Pontifical vestments, he once more put on the modest habit of the hermit and took leave of the assembled dignitaries, who followed him in tears, recommending to his prayers the now widowed Church. Celestin's abdication closes the fifth period of ecclesiastical history.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE FIFTH PERIOD OF THE CHURCH.

1. Hostile attitude of the German emperors toward the Church.—2. Holiness of the Pope's mission at this period.—3. Cardinals.—4. Relation of the episcopate to the Holy See.—5. Morals of the clergy of this period.—6. Influence of the Church upon society in the middle-ages.—7. The Crusades.—8. The Albigensian war.—9. Propagation of the gospel.—10. The spirit of faith. Worship. Devotion to the Blessed Virgin.—11. Religious orders.—12. Universities.—13. Gothic architecture.—14. Religious symbolism of Gothic art. The cathedrals of this period.

1. Never did the Church more fully and freely display her power of action than during the fifth period of her history, the brightest epoch of mediæval annals. The Papacy, rescued by Sylvester II. from the degradation of the tenth century, became, under Gregory VII. and Innocent III., the controlling power of the world. We know at what cost the triumph was achieved, what struggles went before. The boiling passions of youthful and untamed nations; the growth of the feudal system, which made of every lord a petty sovereign; the pretensions of princes upon ecclesiastical elections, were so many barriers to the development of the guardian power residing in the Sovereign Pontiffs. But the greatness of the difficulties only proved more clearly the absolute necessity of a vigorous power, in the midst of Christian society, to check all violence, to prevent abuses, to punish crime and humanize the world. By exercising a universal mediation between princes and subjects, between the people and the State; by sitting in judgment upon kings and nations, in the name of God; by opposing injustice under every aspect, the Popes supplied a crying want, and exercised a right, acknowledged by the unanimous voice of the age. It seems impossible to doubt the fact, if we but

follow the course of events in this period. In Germany, Henry IV., and later, Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II., vainly strove to struggle against that spiritual supremacy to which all Europe bowed. The martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, in England, afforded an equally striking display of the power and the rights of the Papacy. On this subject, Bossuet is, as usual, impressive: "Henry II. of England," says the illustrious prelate, "declares himself the enemy of the Church; he attacks her both in spirituals and temporals, in what she holds from God and what she has received from men; he openly usurps her power; he lays his hand upon her treasure, the support of the poor; he tarnishes the honor of her ministers by the abrogation of their prerogatives, and shackles them by laws which strike at their freedom. Rash and misguided prince! Why is it not given him to foresee the fearful blow which will yet fall upon his kingdom, from the contempt of ecclesiastical authority and the unbridled excesses into which nations shall be hurried, when they shall have cast off the saving yoke!"

2. In these later times it has become fashionable to repeat, on the authority of writers of the last century, that the Popes had weakened and lowered the royal power by subjecting it to their censure. This is one of the many calumnies which must fall before a calm investigation of facts. In the middle-ages the Popes were the natural mediators between kings and nations. Public opinion had clothed them with the mission of judges and umpires; and—the truth is undeniable—they justified this confidence by a display of large and liberal views, a perfect disinterestedness and a line of conduct always traced by honor and virtue. Had the Popes sought, in the discharge of their exalted mission, to subserve their own interests, to increase their influence or their temporal sway, it seems clear that, in the repeated struggles in which they were involved, they would have taken part with the powers of the earth. But the contrary was invariably the case. Intrusted with the charge to defend the unchangeable principles of faith and morality against

great ones of the world, they never for a moment faltered in the noble duty. With no other weapons than those of truth and right, with no other power than that of conscience, they proclaimed that the sovereign had oppressed his subjects or violated the laws of Christianity, and declared him cut off from the communion of the faithful, fallen from his right to rule. From the moment of this proclamation, the guilty monarch saw himself forsaken by all his dependants. If he risked an armed resistance, it infallibly returned against himself. They who seek, in these facts, to show up Papal encroachments, should notice that they are arraigning the whole Christian society of the middle-ages. That society had judged it beneficial to have some supreme tribunal, without the sphere of national and party influence, to which they might refer all questions of higher moment, all royal suits. This tribunal was that of the vicar of Christ. So deep-set and firm was this foundation of the public law, that rulers, stricken by the thunders of the Church, found no other means of extenuating the effects of the blow, than to obtain their reinstatement by an antipope. What more manifest acknowledgment could be asked for the rights of the Papacy?

3. As centre of the universal religious and political system, the Papacy found it necessary, in order to supply this immense radiation, to keep permanent ambassadors or legates in the sovereign courts. The Holy See, by the sacred character which distinguished its authority from that of all other powers, gave the highest sanction to those governments which received its envoys. The exclusive charge given to them of electing the Pope, in the name of the clergy and of the Church naturally gave a great addition to their influence. In the election of the Sovereign Pontiffs, they were to represent the three orders of the clergy; hence their division into cardinal-deacons, priests and bishops, which distinction is still preserved. If we take the trouble to notice, moreover, that the cardinals are chosen from among the members of the regular and secular clergy, on the only consideration of eminent virtue,

talent and service, we must acknowledge that the world can present nothing more august than this permanent council of the Papacy. The Roman chancery was necessarily enlarged to meet the calls of a correspondence which reached every quarter of the globe. We shall notice, as occasion offers, the institution of the various tribunals which have gradually sprung into being around the chair of St. Peter.

4. The episcopate, bound to the Papacy by the closest ties, formed but one solid body, communicating to the farthest extremities of the earth the influence of the Holy See. The war of investitures might alone suffice to prove that the canonical institution and election of bishops belongs to the Sovereign Pontiffs. The attempted encroachments of the German emperors were repulsed by the Popes, upheld, in the great struggle, by the universal sense of right. Thus, in the eleventh century, we already find the formula still in use, "Bishop, by the grace of God and the authority of the Holy, Apostolic and Roman See." The sacred principle of the Catholic hierarchy, which draws the power of bishops from the supreme power of the Pope, is the foundation and safeguard of the Church's unity. The pallium, a badge of the archiepiscopal dignity, is conferred only by the Pope. It belongs only to Rome to erect new bishoprics throughout the world, to fix their limits, to delegate their administration. We have had occasion to remark that it is reserved to the Popes to convoke the general councils and to preside over their deliberations, personally or by their legates. Finally, it became their exclusive charge, about the ninth and tenth centuries, to canonize saints, a measure as intrinsically wise as it was useful to the general interests of the Church, since, by the elevation of the tribunal appointed to judge matters of such high import, the decision is rendered more august and unimpeachable. Side by side with the episcopal authority, rises, with new power, the jurisdiction of chapters. They formed themselves into a kind of independent congregation, following particular rules of their own, enjoying the administration of

their property, and providing for the direction of the diocese at the death of the bishop. They thus constituted a standing council around the episcopal throne, analogous to that of the cardinals about the Sovereign Pontiff. In this admirable simplicity of growth, the ecclesiastical power was gradually developing itself. The twelfth general Council of Lateran decreed that every bishop should appoint a *penitentiary*, whose duty it should be to help him in the administration of public and private penance. There was also another official who presided, in their name, over the ecclesiastical tribunal. Beside these auxiliaries of the episcopal power, the bishops *in partibus infidelium* began at this period to act as coadjutors to the titulary bishops. By the fall of the Latin empires of Jerusalem and Constantinople, a number of Eastern bishops were deprived of their sees and returned to Europe, where many bishops took them as coadjutors. The Church has since preserved the custom of conferring the titles of those great sees, now fallen into the hands of the Infidels, as if to keep alive and consecrate, from age to age, the glorious memories and illustrious names connected with them.

5. Under the powerful impulse given by the Popes to the government of the Church, the morals of the clergy were speedily brought back to the standard of regularity from which they had fallen during the tenth century. The strong arm of St. Gregory VII. restored the youthful vigor of canonical legislation. The law of ecclesiastical celibacy, which had withstood all the attempts at relaxation, raised the moral dignity of the Western clergy, and saved it from the disgrace of corruption and forgetfulness of duty. In the thirteenth century, the clergy, both regular and secular, gave a splendid example of every virtue. Science and sanctity, that twofold crown of the priesthood, never shone more brightly; the whole world, led on by the powerful influence of the Papacy, was steadily advancing in the path of evangelical perfection; and, to every true Christian, this period must appear the most fruitful and wonderful in works of faith, charity and devotedness.

6. The hierarchy of the Church, thus constituted in strength and power, was in a condition to act with vigor upon the society of the middle-ages. This influence was outwardly displayed in the Crusades against Islamism and the Albigensian heresy, and by the spread of the gospel among heathen nations: its inward working was seen in the wonderful development and spread of a spirit of faith and holiness; by the foundation of religious orders; by the intellectual movement which regenerated learning, established a new school of Christian art, and dotted the world with universities.

7. We have already enlarged upon the beneficial results of the Crusades, in a religious point of view. We deem this a fitting place to resume the chief fruits derived from them by European society in general. Their immediate effect was to save the Christian world from a Turkish invasion, and to teach the sons of the Prophet what they had to fear from the warriors of Jesus Christ. They increased the spiritual and temporal power of the Popes, by bringing under their supremacy the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch, and by drawing closer the hierarchal tie almost severed by the Eastern schism. The distant expeditions turned away the thoughts of Christian emperors and princes from aggressive attempts against the temporal power of the Holy See. As supreme directors of the transmarine warfare, the Sovereign Pontiffs stood at the head of the Christian confederation. Moreover, the Crusades gave rise to new principalities under the suzerainty of the Popes. The political influence of the Crusades extended: 1st. To rulers, who were thus enabled to extend their domain and to strengthen their authority. 2d. To the nobility. The orders of knighthood established in the East shed their lustre upon Europe, and were imitated in every Christian kingdom. The West was charmed with the tournaments which represented the exploits performed on the fields of Palestine; and the knights from beyond the seas displayed, in full courts, the splendors of the East; armorial bearings became a necessity, and family names began. 3d. To the people. The Crusades did more

than any other agent to favor emancipation, the establishment of the municipalities, and, as a consequence, of the third estate, or commons. 4th. To commerce and industry. The growing necessity for more frequent journeys, their profitable issue, and many practices borrowed from the pilots of the Levant, gave a great impulse to the nautical art. By the opening of a wider field for speculation and increased facility of exchange, navigation shared with commerce the advantages resulting from the transmarine expeditions. Works of art and of nature, hitherto unknown, brought new pleasures and sometimes new modes of industry. The maritime cities, which became the emporiums of Eastern commerce, drew to themselves the bulk of European population, and some of them became powerful republics. Witness the prosperity of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Marseilles and Barcelona. From the same source, though by a less direct action, sprung the wealth and activity of the Flemish cities, which were, at once, commercial and manufacturing towns, serving as great marts between the North and the South, between the Mediterranean ports and the cities of the Hanseatic League. The soil was taught to bear new products; and the mulberry, buckwheat, sugar-cane, &c., were brought into Europe to satisfy the wants of the poor or the taste of the rich. The Crusades advanced general civilization by opening new relations between the various nations, and by the mutual interchange of practical knowledge. The laws of honor and courtesy were communicated by chivalry to the practices of daily life, and did much to raise the middle classes, which owed their wealth and freedom, in a great measure, to the Crusades. New and lofty themes were offered to poetic genius, which, indeed, made not the highest use of the advantage. But talent was, at least, held in honor; the nobles, not satisfied with patronizing the poet who sung their feats of arms, cultivated his art themselves. Poetry now took a peculiar turn, from which sprung the knightly romances and troubadour lays so popular at that period. Under the influence of this culture, the vulgar dialects began to shake off their bar

barous character. The repeated expeditions to Syria, the diplomatic relations consequently opened with the Mongols, and the new roads thus cleared for commerce, gave to the West a much more correct notion of the East, and even of the interior of Asia. Oriental history also shared the new light thrown upon geography; and Arabia gave to medical science new ideas for the treatment of diseases and the use of simples, while mathematics and mechanics were enriched from the treasures of Eastern lore. The Crusades were thus, in many respects, productive of the greatest benefits to European civilization.

8. The military expeditions directed against the Albigenses were equally laudable in their object and useful in results. The spirit of their heresy was the overthrow of the essential principles which constitute society. Insubordination, contempt for all authority, the destruction of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, were natural consequences of their impious dogmas, which broke up all social relations, and gave free course to the most shameful immorality. Temporal princes joined their efforts to those of the Church's head, to repress their excesses. The malignity and extent of the evil may be calculated from the length and fierceness of the struggle. The principles of the Albigenses threatened not only the overthrow of the faith, but of every government, of every throne. Like the modern Socialists, they applied the torch to every institution which the people had learned to love and respect. When plundered monasteries, ruined churches, pillaged and wasted cities attested, by their smoking ruins, the fury of the fanatical sectaries, a general cry of indignation went up from all the land; and could we expect that the Christian society of the twelfth century should have stood a passive witness of such sacrilegious outrages? The outcry against these deeds of violence was not confined to the Pope and the bishops; all the sovereigns of the day were unanimous in calling for their suppression. Frederick II., the bitterest enemy of the Papacy, in framing a code of laws for Sicily, decreed the most fearful punishments against

these sectaries. Even the Count of Toulouse, after opening his eyes to the truth, complained, with tears, that the Albigenses, for whom he had so long and so often fought, wasted his territory and ruined his vassals. Bowed down by age and grief, he appeared in the General Chapter of Citeaux, to utter his energetic but tardy appeal: "My gray hairs," he exclaimed, "are outraged. Men are dragged along by the torrent of corruption; my decrees are despised; the laws of the Church are trampled upon; there is nothing left but to appeal to arms. I shall call upon the King of France to meet the heretics, and give the last drop of my own blood in this cause, too happy if I can but help to crush so dangerous a sect!" The Church, in organizing a Crusade against these formidable enemies, protected European unity, crushed the socialism of that day, secured general tranquillity and the existence of modern society.

9. At every period of ecclesiastical history, the Popes were careful to provide for the propagation of the faith in heathen lands. By the help of their unwearied zeal, the gospel had steadily widened the bounds of its empire. The new nations, which had taken the place of the Roman world, successively bowed before the cross of Christ. Yet, in the far north of Europe, there were still fields to win, and souls still sitting in pagan darkness. The Sovereign Pontiffs gathered together bands of apostolic workmen in Rome, and formed them to the duty of foreign missions. The labors of Otho, bishop of Bamberg and legate of Pope Calixtus II., in Pomerania, were crowned with a glorious success (A. D. 1124). The Sclaves, obedient to his exhortations, gave up the practices of murdering or exposing infants, burning the dead, and many other pagan customs. On quitting the country into which he had brought the light of faith, the apostle left twelve flourishing churches under the metropolitical jurisdiction of the see of Julin. A second effort (1128) of his prudent and tireless energy sufficed to remove the last traces of idolatry. The island of Rugen, the stronghold of Sclavonic superstition, made

a more vigorous and continued resistance to the introduction of Christianity. It was not until 1168, after the conquest by Vlademar, king of Denmark, that the Rugians received baptism from the hands of the Bishop Absalom of Roskild, who overturned all the temples of the false gods. In 1158, Livonia was visited by ministers of the gospel, who followed in the way opened by the traders of Bremen and Lubeck. Like the light germ, borne through space upon the wings of every wind, the spiritual seeds of the gospel are wafted to every shore by the sails of all nations. In 1168, a more efficient and lasting mission was established in Livonia by Meinhard, a regular canon of the monastery of Sigebert, in Holstein. Having built a church at Iskull, on the shores of the Duna, he went to Rome, to obtain from the Sovereign Pontiff an episcopal charter for the new church. On his return, he found the natives in full revolt, making inroads into the territory of the neighboring Christians. Celestine III. ordered a Crusade against them. Albert of Apeldern, a canon of Bremen, at the head of a powerful army, defeated the Infidels (1200), laid the foundations of the city of Riga, instituted the Order of Knights Sword-bearers (120)2, with Winno of Rohrbach as their first grand master. From that date, the country was really a conquest of the Catholic faith. Esthonia was won in 1223, and an episcopal see erected at Dorpat. The territory of Semigallia was made a diocese, with its see at Selon. The bishoprics of Wecland and Revel, erected in 1230, were a powerful help to the conversion of the people of Courland. During the glorious Pontificate of Innocent III., Christianity made its way into Prussia. A religious, called Christian, of the Cistercian monastery of Oliva, was its first apostle and bishop. He instituted the Order of Knights of Prussia, soon afterward merged into the Teutonic order, which subjected all Prussia to a lasting rule (1209–1220). The triumphs of the Church, in the thirteenth century, were not limited to the nations of Europe. The formidable invasion of Gengis-Khan revealed to the Christian world the existence of a race

still more redoubtable than the Turks and Saracens. The Mongols had already awakened the zeal of St. Louis, who, in connection with Pope Innocent IV., had sent them missionaries. In 1288, a holy Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, made another effort to introduce the faith among them. He had the happiness to see his work crowned with success; and Clement V. made him bishop of the countries he had evangelized (1307). His archiepiscopal see was the city of Kambulik, the present Pekin. This little community of Chinese Christians lasted until the year 1369, at which period the Mongol domination was destroyed by a political revolution. Only a few Nestorians survived the disaster, and China remained closed against every new attempt of the missionaries until the intelligent and heroic efforts made in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries once more opened to the zeal of our apostles the field so often fertilized by the blood of martyrs.

10. In proportion to its outward development, the Church multiplied, within, the means of sanctification and spiritual progress. In its laws, habits and manners, society seemed to aim solely at Christian perfection; and this tendency was displayed by prodigies of virtue and holiness in every rank and condition. Christian solemnities were multiplied to satisfy the piety of the people. It did not enter into the spirit of the age to bargain with Heaven, and to reckon as lost the days taken from labor and given to God. All the rejoicings and feasts were consecrated by religion, and never was the sentence of Scripture more truly verified than in that age: *Beatus populus qui scit jubilationem.* The whole year was a religious cycle, each phase of which was marked by a new solemnity. The festival of the *Body of Jesus Christ* (*festum Corporis Christi*), so popular in France under the name of Fête-Dieu, was first instituted by Hugh, bishop of Liége (A. D. 1220), and made obligatory throughout the whole Church by Urban IV. All the external pomp of ceremonial, all the splendors of worship were displayed to make the solemnity worthy of the Sacrament of love it was designed to honor. After all the efforts of the

last two centuries to extinguish the fire of faith in the hearts of nations, and to pluck out the Catholic memories and traditions cherished there, still, in our own days, the feast of Corpus Christi is ever the feast by excellence. Year after year, as well in the lowliest hamlet as in the stateliest capital, triumphal arches span the way on which the King of Peace advances amid the lavished wealth of nature and art. But what must have been the enthusiasm awakened by the institution of this august solemnity among the intensely Catholic population of the thirteenth century! The admirable office composed by St. Thomas Aquinas, a true master-piece of piety, learning and faith, was rehearsed by every tongue, felt by every heart. The Sacrament of the altar, august centre of the world's spiritual life, was surrounded with new homage. The remonstrances (*ostensorium*), the throne on which the Majesty of the God of love rests to bless His adoring children, were enriched with gold and gems. The liturgy of the Mass was a subject of eloquent dissertation for the greatest minds. Innocent III. consecrated to it his pious work, "Mysteriorum Missæ." A parallel impulse gave to the worship of the Mother of God a wide-spread and wonderful activity. As early as 1140, the canons of Lyons celebrated the feast of the Immaculate Conception, and drew from St. Bernard the prudent warning of which we have had ocasion to point out the real bearing. In 1389, Urban VI. made general in the Church, the feast of the Visitation, instituted by St. Bonaventure. The veneration of Mary was the soul of the middle-ages. All the greatest men of the period appear as the faithful servants of that Queen of love. St. Francis of Assisi takes her for the *Charter of his indulgences.** St. Dominic weaves her a chaplet of roses, to which every hand contributes a flower. To her St. Thomas Aquinas owed the gift of purity, sister of genius. St. Bonaventure speaks her praises with the affection of a child for his mother, of an exile for his home. For her Alexander

* This expression was used by the saint in speaking of the indulgences granted to those who visit the Portiuncula.

of Hales foregoes the glory of an illustrious name, the applause of the schools, the joys of science; and from her Albert the Great seeks the knowledge of the mysteries of nature. St. Bernard, too, the master of kings, the counsellor of Popes, the guardian of empires, enthrones the Virgin as the Queen of the world, by making her the queen of his heart. To the writers of this period Mary was as a divine mirror, reflecting every idea, theological or speculative, every fact of history, religion and nature. The various *Summas* giving the life of the Blessed Virgin, bore the names of "Mirror of the Virgin," "Our Lady's Rose-bush," "Crown of Stars," "Mary's Grove," or "Mary's Flower-garden." The custom of writing her praises gave rise to a special designation for such works, which were styled "Marials." There she appeared as she was represented over the portals of the great cathedrals, surrounded by all the angelic choirs, the kings of Israel, the patriarchs of the old law and the saints of the new. The love and veneration of the Queen of Heaven received a new impulse at that time from a miraculous event, attested by the most respectable traditions. It was said that, on the 10th of May, 1291, one month after the fall of Tripoli and Ptolemais, the last two cities held by the Latins in Palestine, the *Holy House* in which the Blessed Virgin had dwelt at Nazareth, was carried by the hands of angels into Italy and set down at Loretto, where it soon became the seat of a celebrated pilgrimage. Other oratories, dedicated to Mary, rose up in all parts of Catholic Europe, and received the homage of the multitude. Happy ages when the whole world bent the knee to her who was styled Our Lady, in the language of Christian chivalry! The image of the Virgin was the chaste companion of the thoughts of the youth; it purified his affections and raised his hopes; it was hailed by the aged as the beacon-light that marks the port of home. It crowned every work, enhanced all glory, in triumph and victory; it rested amid floods of light upon the panes of cathedrals, in the sacred light of every sanctuary; it bore up the knight beneath his heavy armor and the religious under his

coarse habit. That form is traced in everlasting verse as the crown of Dante's matchless poem.*

11. The influence which was drawing on the middle-ages in the path of holiness was admirably seconded by the spread of religious orders. The gates of the cloister were opened to misguided souls and to repentant sinners, while it was ever the safest refuge and shelter of letters and science. The various aspects of human life were developed around the monasteries; they became the nucleus of later cities; industry, agriculture and the arts, of which our own age is so proud, were born under the shadow of the religious orders. The thirteenth century witnessed their steady growth, in proportion as piety and faith called a greater number of souls to the practice of evangelical perfection. In vain did ecclesiastical legislation, ever marked by a prudent reserve, take measures to keep within stated bounds the faculty of instituting new religious orders; the Holy Ghost, while sending these various vocations into the Church, knew how to smooth the way to their fulfilment.—The congregation of Cluny comes first in chronological order. We have already seen how much its splendor owed to the high sanctity of Peter the Venerable, and the glory reserved for him, of bringing so many souls to the height of religious perfection. The preëminence of Cluny was felt throughout the whole Order of St. Benedict. This was a lasting source of influence which carried the power and wealth of the congregation to the highest degree. Relaxation soon followed, in obedience to a law whose action we see in every page of history, and which establishes a parallel between the advance and decline of every religious order.—The reaction showed itself in the very heart of the community of Cluny, in the person of St. Robert of Molême, who chose, for the seat of his reform, the monastery of Citeaux, near Dijon, for which so great renown and glory were in store (A. D. 1098). It was not until twenty years afterward that Paschal II. gave a final sanction to the reform,

* Vid. "Légende de Notre-Dame," by DARRAS; 3d ed

by the famous bull known as the *Charta Caritatis*. Citeaux was soon illustrated by the glory of St. Bernard, which shone with all-pervading splendor.—The Order of Grand-mont, founded by St. Stephen of Thiers, in 1073, had also begun by giving an example of surpassing fervor and regularity. The words uttered by St. Gregory VII. when confirming the new order, have been often quoted: "Increase," said the Pontiff, "and multiply your houses to the number of the stars in the heavens; but seek rather spiritual graces than earthly favors." Like all founders of religious orders, Stephen had formed his rule upon that of St. Benedict, though without affiliating his congregation to the great order. "If you are asked," said he to his religious, "to what order you belong; answer, to that of the gospel, which has given birth to every rule." To save the monks from all intercourse with the world, he left to lay-brothers the entire charge of the temporal concerns of the order.—The foundation of the Carthusians, by St. Bruno (1084), was another protest of the spirit of penance against the relaxation which had begun to corrupt some religious houses. Never, perhaps, had the monastic life surrounded itself with such rigors and holy austerities. St. Bruno placed the nursery of his order in the desert of *Carthusium* (Chartreuse), near Grenoble. The religious were bound to a life-long silence, having renounced the world to hold converse with Heaven alone. Like the solitaries of Thebais, they never eat meat, and their dress, as an additional penance, consisted only of a sack-cloth garment. Manual labors, broken only by the exercise of common prayer; a board on the bare earth for a couch; a narrow cell, where the religious twice a day receives his slight allowance of boiled herbs;—such is the life of pious austerities of which the world knows not the heavenly sweetness. For eight hundred years has this order continued to edify and to serve the Church by the practice of the most sublime virtue; and its very rigor seems to hold out a mysterious attraction to pious souls. A congregation of women has embraced the primitive rule, thus carrying the fervor of those voluntary penances to a heroic

degree of self-denial and of faith. It is a pleasing duty to follow, through the course of ages, the gradual unfolding of that life-giving principle which strengthens its power of self-denial, in proportion as sensuality takes deeper root in society, and protests, in its own expressive language, against the general pursuit of material enjoyments, of the vanities and pleasures of the world. It is impossible to tell how powerfully the serene beauty of the peace which reigns in the shade of the most austere cloister charms the soul and wins the heart. One of the Fathers of the spiritual life in the primitive Chartreuse, the Prior Guigo, has left us a work redolent with these perfumes of the desert, a seeming foretaste of Heaven. He called it the "Manual of Monks," and we may well believe that more than one of its readers found in its pages the beginning of a monastic vocation. It sometimes rises to the loftiest heights and seems to soar in the sphere of heavenly intelligences. "The pleasures of earth," says the saintly prior, "seem to confound the soul and body in sensual enjoyment; man becomes gross; the like takes place, in an inverse order, in the joys of contemplation. The soul so entirely controls every appetite, every motion of the body, that matter itself seems to become spiritualized. Pilgrims go to Jerusalem: your journey is much longer; you must reach patience and humility. The Holy City is on the earth; your goal is in Heaven." Such words reach our ears like a stray echo from the heavenly converse of angels.—We have already spoken of the Orders of Prémontré, of the Carmelites and Fontevrault, of St. Francis and St. Dominic. Religious establishments were multiplied to meet every misery and console every suffering. Charity grew with want and took every form to soothe every pain. It would be an interesting and a pleasing task to trace the course of Charity, springing forth from the Precious Blood of Calvary and passing on through time, like its King and model, Jesus Christ, *doing good to all.* The middle-ages are the period of the great epidemics which dispeopled whole cities, and, under the generic name of *plague*, returning from time to time, spread dismay

and death throughout the land. Religious confraternities were then organized to struggle against the scourge, with the weapons of zeal and self-devotion. The associations of *Penitents*, which still exist in Southern France and in Italy, date their origin from this period. Leprosy, though proved to have been common enough in Europe even before the Crusades, still spread more widely and fatally after those distant expeditions; here again the spirit of Catholic charity appeared in the lazarettoes, in which religious devoted themselves to the service of the wretched patients. In an old ritual of mediæval date, we have seen the form for consecrating these heroes of charity; nor could we read, without deep emotion, the words of the sublime pledge of simplicity and faith, by which timid maidens, youths, their fond mothers' pride and hope, tore themselves away from the love of kindred, to become the brothers and sisters, by grace, of those whose natural brothers and sisters had forsaken them, and making a vow to die for Jesus Christ and his suffering members.—The Antonines, or Hospitallers, were founded in the year 1096, to meet a fearful contagion known as the *sacred fire*, or St. Anthony's fire, which swept off thousands of victims in the most cruel sufferings.—The Trinitarians, who afterward took the name of Fathers of Mercy, because they placed themselves under the protection of our Lady of Mercy (*de Mercede*), devoted themselves in the beginning of the fifteenth century to the redemption of the Christian captives among the Infidels. Hand in hand with these peaceful warriors of the cloister, the hospital, and of every work of charity, we find, in connection with the Crusades, the military orders defending with the sword that faith which their brethren illustrated in the shades of solitude. Christianity found a field on every strand, under every banner, wherever charity found a tear to wipe away, a wound to dress, a pang to soothe. To give to our light and frivolous age a better idea of the interior life and saintly habits of a monastery in the thirteenth century, we borrow from a contemporary chronicler an oft-quoted passage. The picture bears little likeness to the

slanderous representation circulated by an unfriendly philosophical writer, to traduce these heroes of solitude and cast a slur upon their memory. "I spent eight months at Marmoutiers," wrote Guibert of Gemblours, "where I was received more like a brother than a guest. Hatred, jealousy and ill-feeling are unknown in this peaceful dwelling; they are forever banished by the law of silence, observed with exactness and guarded with a fatherly prudence. A glance from the abbot suffices to recall the rule and insure its observance. The offices of the house are intrusted to religious of tried virtue. Where shall we find deeper recollection at the divine office, greater piety in the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, more kindness and charity toward strangers? Every countenance beams forth modesty, mildness, the inward peace of a good conscience; all breathes the true peace of Jesus Christ. Mutual deference and regard secure a heavenly harmony, the stronger supports the weaker brother, the superior devotes himself to the service of the inferiors, who repay by sincere gratitude and reverence what they receive from his care and solicitude. Here the head and the members truly make but one body. Every thought of the world has been left at the gate of the monastery; no one boasts his lineage, or the offices and dignities he held; the only nobility, the only soldiery acknowledged here, is that devoted to the service of Jesus Christ. Labor, fast and watching, tame the passions and bring the body into subjection. Every action, the whole outward conduct, is subjected to a wise and all-foreseeing rule. Whether in the field, the church, or the workshop, everything is done only in the measure and at the time prescribed. The divine presence controls the whole course of life and animates every action. Strict necessity alone measures the rest granted to nature; all the remaining hours are given to God. In this spiritual warfare the soldiers seem to wield their arms from dawn until the sixth hour. God alone knows the secret of their abundant alms. The poor receive their daily bread at the gate of the monastery, and the abbot, moreover, entertains at meals three

poor men, as representatives of Jesus Christ. During the time of meals, the religious also receive spiritual food by some pious reading, and they are more careful of this heavenly nourishment than of that of the body. A great number of them are daily occupied in transcribing precious manuscripts. These are the treasuries from which they draw stores of learning and virtue. Beside the daily exhortation, on each great festival, some eloquent preacher breaks the bread of the divine word to his brethren. I have heard those pious solitaries mutually urging each other on in the path of virtue, consoling one another by thoughts of their journey heavenward. Holy walls! saintly citizens! With what grief shall I quit you! Still you keep the better part of me; while my body leaves you, my thoughts and affections are still with you!"

Such were the religious orders upon which the rage and malice of our predecessors have been let loose. Since human weakness leaves its mark upon every work of man, we may fearlessly assert that though, in the course of many ages, and among so many monasteries springing up in every quarter of the Christian world, there have certainly been found many religious unworthy of their high vocation; yet, the monastic institutions are unquestionably the most splendid monuments of faith, the noblest creations of charity, the most perfect embodiment of the self-devotion, purity and abnegation taught by the gospel.

12. This monastic development was accompanied by an intellectual movement which we have already pointed out, and which was displayed in the creation of universities and the rise of a new form of Christian art, peopling the land with its wonders. It is certainly worth while to remark the utterly ecclesiastical origin of universities, which took their name from the general knowledge they professed to give of every branch of learning. We have seen how the eloquence of Lanfranc, Abelard and St. Anselm of Canterbury, drew about them a world of scholars. History shows us, at certain favored epochs, an awakening of the human mind, eager for learning, hurrying on

after some brilliant intellects, into the fruitful realms of literature and art. It was from the heart of the cloistered life that the signal for this intellectual revival was given. There were kept the precious manuscripts of ancient literature with which the monks were so familiar, that Vincent of Beauvais, in his great work, which might be called the Encyclopœdia of the thirteenth century, quotes more than three thousand passages from Latin and Greek authors. The torch of literature was thus relighted at the shrine of the immortal names of Rome and Athens. The Popes were foremost in keeping the human mind upon this newly-opened path; hence the universities. This institution of the Sovereign Pontiffs, afterward so often in arms against them, deserves a careful scrutiny. Every corporation, in the middle-ages, had its own existence, its constitutions, dignitaries, privileges and laws. The universities were established upon the same principle. Each nation was represented and defended by its own *procurator;* just as, in the political system, the ministers or consuls accredited to foreign courts, are the official protectors of their fellow-countrymen. The truth is, that love of learning was far more general at that period than in our own day. Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Sicily and Spain, poured their youth into the gates of the most celebrated French universities; while France, in turn, sent her sons to fill the schools of Bologna, Salerno, Salamanca, etc. On reaching these distant cities, the strangers almost seemed to find their absent home, its standard, its tongue and its representatives, in the person of their *procurators.* These officers chose the *rector,* the supreme head of the university, whose duty it was to regulate the appointment of professors, the course of studies and the distribution of lessons; to preside at literary solemnities and official ceremonies; to communicate with the civil power, and to rule the too-often turbulent republic, in which the noble aim of their life could not always control the restless and thoughtless ardor of youth. Below the procurators were the deans, the representatives of particular provinces and dioceses, who exercised a subordinate authority

over the various fractions of each *nation*. The Popes had secured, from the ecclesiastical revenues, the maintenance of each student; and to preclude all possibility of disorder, the severest penalties, even excommunication, had been used to prevent any fluctuation in the price of necessaries in the university cities; since too great an advance in price might compromise the general security. Too little heed has been paid to the great organizing power of the Popes, which guided the movement of European society through the middle-ages. The modern mind is returning to a higher and more unbiased appreciation of that period of history, and it is our firm conviction that the Church can only gain by a deeper study and apprehension of her history. The French Revolution was not satisfied with the material destruction of every institution of the past; it even sought to crush each honored remembrance by general contempt and disdain. As in all the great convulsions of the social body, it was helped in the work of destruction by an enthusiasm carried even to fanatical phrensy. But when the reaction takes place, when peace follows the storm of passion and over-excited interest, the historian reverently explores the heap of fragments, and under the mass of ruins he finds the strong, fruitful and life-giving principle which animated fallen society, the great deeds of which men had sought to tarnish the memory; he will find the lofty ideas, the saving institutions which made Christian France the foremost nation in the world.

13. The thirteenth century witnessed the birth of Christian art, which has, up to our own time, and for our country and climate, realized the ideal of religious architecture. Our old cathedrals, still standing where they were reared by our forefathers, are fit monuments of a people whose aspirations, soaring high above material and earthly objects, owned no bounds, no hope, but Heaven. The Gothic spire which crowns our cities and springs aloft far above all surrounding summits, is the prayer of a whole province, of a whole country, ever rising heavenward. A whole world lives, breathes, and prays in the Gothic cathedral. We borrow

from the pen of a man of genius, whose unrepented fall the Church has wept, a description of the Gothic temple and its religious symbolism. "The Christian temple," says De Lamennais, "represents the conception of God and of His work; it represents the creation in its present state and in its relations with the State, the laws and the future destinies of man. Emblem of the divine creative plan, the body of the building seems, like its ideal archetype, to swell out indefinitely, and by its deep shadows and dim twilight, its lofty arches, which recede like the empyrean dome, to express the gloom cast over the world by its fall. A mysterious melancholy seizes us at the threshold of the gloomy precincts, where fear, hope, life and death, rising up from all its parts, form, by their indefinable mingling, a kind of silent atmosphere, to calm and soothe the senses, and reveal, in vague and shadowy outline, a glimpse of the invisible world. We own the secret power that leads us on to where the long-drawn aisles converge, where shrouded in mystic veils, rests the Saviour-God, the repairer of fallen creation. The transept recalls the instrument of the world's redemption; above, is the image of the ark, the only hope of the human race in the days of the flood, and always a true emblem of man's toilsome struggle with the billows of life. The pointed arch, the flying buttress and graceful spire springing into space; the upward tendency of every part and of the whole mass of the temple, speak to the soul of the natural aspiration of the creature toward God, its beginning and its end. The temple has its vegetation too. Its walls are covered with various flowers; twining themselves into garlands, opening in the sunshine, creeping along the fretwork, clinging around the slender pyramids, and shooting upward with them, while the delicate-clustered shafts, are crowned with flowers and foliage. Still, the art of sculpture can but poorly reproduce the wonderful wealth of God's works. It cannot give the varied effects of perspective, of light and color; nor gather into one single view, in a narrow frame, the many objects which nature sets in harmonious combination be-

fore our eyes, nor the complicated scenes of life. From this want springs a new form of art: painting. The dull, gray vaults of the basilica receive an azure tint; the reliefs are made more prominent. Painting leaves nothing to be regretted by the eye; in this respect, it perfects the creation of the temple. The entering light gathers a thousand varied tints as it struggles into the vast pile through the richly-colored panes, bearing their religious impress to every part; and this light, at once ideal and real, the vague splendor of a mysterious luminary, gives an indefinable expression to the forms of the many-peopled temple."

14. Beside this purely natural symbolism, the Gothic cathedral presents a religious and Christian emblem from which springs its peculiar character of almost divine majesty. Over the portal we sometimes see Jesus Christ, the Conqueror of death, coming in the clouds of heaven *with great power and majesty*,* setting on one side the elect, in His mercy; on the other the reprobate, in His justice; representing, in that awful scene, the tremendous power of God, Who reposes in the sacred silence of the sanctuary, calling the sinner to penance and the just to a higher perfection.† Sometimes the same Jesus appears there, surrounded by His Apostles, seemingly calling upon the people to come to His temple to hear the words of life. Sometimes we are received at the sacred entrance by the Virgin, escorted by the patriarchs, whose hopes she was, by the kings of Israel, her ancestors, by the just men and the prophets of the old law, whose life and whose oracles she inspired; crowned by the angels as their Queen, hailed as Mother by the confessors, martyrs and virgins. She seems to open the gate of salvation to men, and to draw them to the divine Infant that rests within her arms. Janua Cœli! The interior *ordonnance* of the temple is in keeping with its outward splendor—the Gothic cathedral is the representation, in stone, of the cross upon which

* Cum potestate magna et majestate. (Luke xxi. 27.)
† Qui sanctus est sanctificetur adhuc. (Apoc. xxii. 11.)

Jesus died. The apsis has generally a visible leaning to the left, as if to imitate the last bowing down of the eternal Word, dying upon the cross.* The columns of the central nave are twelve, to signify the twelve Apostles bearing the glad tidings of the gospel to the ends of the earth. All nature has met to adorn the dwelling of the incarnate God among men. The storied capitals offer to the King who has conquered death, a luxuriant growth of flowers and fruit. The whole magic picture receives new life and charms from the windows, richly colored with scenes from sacred history, darting their deep and varied tints upon the flags of the sanctuary and lighting the humble prayer of the faithful adorer, like a wayward beam from the glory of Heaven. In fine, all this tongueless nature, all this illumined history, borrows a powerful and mysterious voice from the majestic organ, the king of religious instruments, filling with its heavenly strains the fretted vaults, the granite bowers, the sculptured domes that crown the splendid edifice. No vulgar artists were they who raised those majestic temples, in which unfailing symmetry, slender columns, forests of pillars, the thousand graces of arch and vault, of pendant and capital, form a whole of matchless splendor. And yet their names are, for the most part, unknown to us, because their genius was guided by faith. Content to have done their work, they only asked to be buried beneath the threshold of their cathedral; and upon their tombs, which have not always escaped the corroding tooth of time, they took the modest title of *carvers in stone.* It was given to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to witness, in every part of Christian Europe, the sight of *faith moving mountains,* and raising up these noble basilicas, which stand a living challenge to modern impotence. To this date Spain owes the churches of Burgos and Toledo; England has received from it Westminster abbey, Durham cathedral, the choir of Ely, the cathedrals of Salisbury and York; France, those of Chartres, Rheims, Troyes, Orleans, Tours, Beauvais,

* Et *inclinato* capite tradidit spiritum. (John xix. 30.)

Strasburg, Amiens, and Notre-Dame and the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris; Belgium has the church of St. Gudule at Brussels; and Germany, the cathedrals of Cologne, Treves and Friburg; in Denmark, the cathedral of St. Olaus at Drontheim, etc., etc. Thus did Christian art scatter its wonders among a society which made the religious element the beginning and end of all things, and always held the interests of earth subservient to those of Heaven.

SIXTH PERIOD.

From Boniface VIII. (A. D. 1294) to Luther (A. D. 1517).

CHAPTER I.

§ I. Pontificate of Boniface VIII. (December 24, A. D. 1294—October 11, 1303).

1 Character of the sixth period.—2. State of the world at the accession of Boniface.—3. Truce between the Holy See and James II. of Sicily vio lated as soon as concluded.—4. Revolt in Rome. The Colonnas.—5. Bull of the Jubilee.—6. Struggle between Albert of Austria and Adolphus of Nassau for the imperial crown. Albert recognized as emperor of Austria. —7. Philip the Fair, king of France. Edward I. of England. Bull *Clericis laicos.*—8. Bull *Ineffabilis.*—9. Bull *Ausculta, fili.* States-General of France assembled in Paris.—10. Council of Rome. Bull *Unam sanctam.*—11. Sacrilegious outrage of Anagni. Death of Boniface VIII.

§ II. Pontificate of B. Benedict XI. (October 22, A. D. 1303—July 6, 1304)

12. Difficulties in the government of the Church at the accession of Benedict XI.—13. Death of Benedict.—14. Guelphs and Ghibellines in Florence. Dante.

§ III. Pontificate of Clement V. (November 14, A. D. 1305—April 20, 1314).

15 Reproaches incurred by the administration of Clement V.—16. Election of Clement. Calumnies brought against it.—17. Translation of the Holy See to Avignon.—18. First acts of Clement V. He refuses to annul the bull *Unam sanctam.*—19. The Templars.—20. Arrest of the Templars.— 21. Charges brought against them.—22. Fifteenth general council at Vienne. Publication of the bull suppressing the Templars.—23. Execu tion of James Molay.—24. Critical review of the trial of the Templars.— 25. Condemnation of the Albigenses by the general Council of Vienne. Division in the Order of St. Francis.—26. Henry of Luxemburg, emperor. Death of Philip the Fair and of Clement V.—27. Saints of the period.

§ I. Pontificate of Boniface VIII.* (December 24, A. D. 1294—October 11, 1303).

1. The sixth period of ecclesiastical history opens a new phase for the Church. The life of faith which animated the world during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ceases to display its wonders; faith grows cold in Europe; the Papacy, hardly yet convinced of its triumph, after the long and weary war with the empire, now meets a more formidable obstacle in the kings of France. The public law undergoes a change among the nations of Europe; the voice of the Sovereign Pontiffs is no longer supreme. Their temporal power receives its death-blow at the hand of Philip the Fair, when he removes their See to Avignon. The great Western Schism adds its disastrous complication to the general decline. The Greek Church strove in vain to rejoin the Latin. Constantinople was taken by the Turks, while in the West, the disciples of John Huss and of Wycliffe infested Germany, showing themselves worthy forerunners of Luther. The sixth period was thus a seeming re action of the last.

2. Ten days after the abdication of Celestin V., the twenty-two cardinals composing the Roman court, met in conclave, and before the close of the first day all the votes were united upon Cardinal Gaëtano, who took the name of Boniface VIII. (December 24, A. D. 1294). The new Pope was one of those favored men whose greatness of mind equals their talent, one of those strong men who understand their mission and go straight to their end with the unswerving steadiness of a heart moved only by the will of God. Though advanced in years, his soul had lost none of the fire and energy of youth. Immediately after his coronation, Boniface set out for Rome, where his predecessors had not dared to make their abode. His

* All our account of the fourteenth century is but a rapid analysis of the learned and admirable work of M. l'abbé Christophe: *Histoire de la Papauté pendant le XIV Siècle*. Paris: Maison, 1853, 3 vols. 8vo.

renown had gone before him; the highest honors everywhere awaited him. Rome even outdid, in this respect, all that she had ever bestowed upon her most beloved Pontiffs. The factions seemed to have fled at his approach, in order not to mar the unbroken harmony of enthusiasm lavished by all the orders of the State. The Pope took advantage of their absence to seize the reins of government, which the weakness or the quick succession of his predecessors had allowed to drop. The situation of the Christian world called for a vigorous arm guided by a sound head. In the North, the imperial throne was left vacant by the death of Rodolph of Hapsburg (1291); Germany was divided between Adolphus of Nassau and Albert of Austria. The King of France, Philip the Fair, and Edward I. of England were entering upon the struggle which was eventually to drag on France to the brink of ruin. In the south, Sicily, still dripping with the French blood shed in the Sicilian Vespers, and confident in the patronage of the house of Aragon, equally dared the censures of the Church and the arms of Naples; while the counterpart of its revolt was now witnessed in Spain. In Italy—Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, were at war; Tuscany was convulsed by the new factions of the Blacks and Whites, which, rising in Pistoja, soon poured like a torrent over the whole country.

3. Boniface set himself to his task of general pacification. But the rival hatred was too deeply rooted to yield to the voice of the common Father of the faithful. The Pope's efforts at first met with general failure, except in Aragon, where his mediation obtained the conclusion of a treaty between James II. and the King of Naples, Charles II., on condition of the payment, by the King of Aragon, of the yearly tribute of thirty ounces of gold, stipulated by his grandfather in favor of the Roman Church; that he should lend his co-operation to bring back Sicily to the rule of its lawful king, and begin by withdrawing the Aragonese auxiliaries. The Pope, in return, promised to James II. the sovereignty of Sardinia and Corsica, two ancient fiefs of the Holy See, of which he conferred the

solemn investiture upon the king in the following year (1297). The news of this peace occasioned general rejoicing; but it was short-lived. The Sicilians had not been consulted in the transaction; and when they learned its result, the nobles, indignant at being brought, without their knowledge or consent, under a hated domination, cried out: "The Sicilians purchase peace, not with parchment, but by the sword!" They sent deputies to the King of Aragon, entreating him not to forsake his faithful subjects; and, on the monarch's refusal to break the faith of a treaty, they gave the throne of Sicily to his brother Frederick, who was solemnly proclaimed at Palermo, a few months later; and Sicily was again plunged into the horrors of war.

4. Meanwhile, a sedition, more formidable than any of those which preceded it, had broken out in Rome. The whole Ghibelline faction was up in arms, under the Cardinals Jacopo and Pietro, the heads of the powerful house of Colonna.* Boniface hurled a sentence of excommunication against the rebels, deprived the two cardinals of all their ecclesiastical dignities, and declared every member of the Colonna family, to the fourth generation, incapable of receiving Holy Orders. The decree was accompanied by a summons to the deposed cardinals, to appear before the Holy See, within a space of ten days, under penalty of the confiscation of all the property of their house. The Colonnas, in answer to the Pontifical summons, posted upon the doors of the Roman churches, and even laid upon the altar of St. Peter's, a protest, in which they styled Boniface an antipope, on the ground that the abdication of Celestin V. was uncanonical; at the same time appealing to a general council from whatever steps might be taken against them by the Pope. This bold proceeding was met by the Pope with increased severity. On the 23d of May, A. D. 1298, a second bull confirmed the previous excommunication and extended it to every member of the family, declared their property con-

* On the abdication of Celestin V., the Colonnas declared that they would never acknowledge his successor as lawful Pope.

fiscate and themselves disqualified; all were forbidden to give them aid or protection, on pain of sharing the sentence pronounced against them, and an interdict was laid upon the place that should afford them shelter. The Colonnas would not yield. Driven from Rome, stripped of their wealth, they concentrated all their power in the city of Palestrina. Boniface could not allow their sacrilegious revolt to go unpunished. The Pontifical troops forced the rebels from their last retreat, and in the year 1298, the two cardinals who had led the sedition, accompanied by their kindred and friends, barefooted, with a rope about their necks, and in mourning weeds, came to Rieti to throw themselves at the feet of Boniface, who received them on his throne, wearing the tiara, amid all the magnificence of the Papal court. He treated the captives with mildness, but made conditions in the terms of peace. The two cardinals remained deprived of the purple; Palestrina, which had been the hot-bed of revolt, was destroyed and replaced by another city, called the *Citta papale.* The guilty called these acts of rigorous justice, treachery; the Colonnas once more appealed to arms and were again crushed by the energy of the Sovereign Pontiff. Their palaces were destroyed and their property confiscated. They themselves sought shelter in France, in Sicily, and in Germany, to escape the thunders of the Pontifical power (1299).

5. The following year opened the fourteenth century. A popular tradition, founded on no written authority, claimed that special indulgences were granted, at the beginning of each century, to the pilgrims who visited the tomb of the Apostles, in Rome. On the 1st of January, of the year 1300, the church of St. Peter was thronged to excess by the faithful eager for the indulgences. In order to give some system, for the future, to this pious devotion, Boniface VIII. published the celebrated bull instituting the centennial Jubilee. "By the authority of the holy Apostles, in the name of Almighty God, and in the fulness of Our supreme authority, We grant to all the faithful who shall have confessed their sins with true contrition, and

visited the Basilica of St. Peter, during the course of the present year and, in future, in every hundredth year, the full and entire remission of their sins." This decree excited general enthusiasm in all Christian Europe. From Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, France, Spain, England, Germany and Hungary, the highways were thronged with swarms of pilgrims; "but the greatest wonder," says the Florentine Villani, "was, that during the whole year, the two hundred thousand strangers always in Rome were abundantly supplied with provisions." Such was the origin of the centennial Jubilee, of which the term was afterward reduced to fifty, and finally to twenty-five years. Well may the universal spirit of faith and devotion displayed by the Christian people at the close of the thirteenth century, put to shame the irreligious indifference of our own.

6. Two serious questions now absorbed all the attention and solicitude of the Sovereign Pontiff. At the death of Rodolph of Hapsburg (A. D. 1291), his son, Albert, duke of Austria, presuming his right of succession unquestionable, assumed the royal insignia.* But the harsh and violent disposition of the prince had already made him many enemies; the electors accordingly gave the preference to Count Adolphus of Nassau, who was proclaimed King of the Romans, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle (1292). The exactions of the newly-chosen monarch, and the ill-advised rigor of his rule, speedily estranged the affections of the German people; and in 1298, three of the imperial electors—the Archbishop of Mentz, the Duke of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg—declared Adolphus deposed, and solemnly bestowed the crown upon Albert of Austria, whose election was confirmed, in the following year, by the general Diet of Frankfort. The two rivals laid their respective claims before the Pope, and then, without waiting for his decision, met in arms. The contest took place at Gelhem, near

* The imperial dignity, according to the legislation of the Holy Empire, was conferred only at the coronation by the Pope or his representatives. Rodolph had never cared to receive the imperial diadem in Rome; during his whole life, his official title was that of King of the Romans.

Spires; Adolphus was drawn into a snare and treacherously murdered by his rival. This event gave a new feature to the question submitted to Boniface. The inglorious triumph of Albert, won at the cost of every law of chivalry, by a cowardly trap, had aroused the indignation of the whole of Europe; Boniface excommunicated the murderer (1301). Terrified by this display of rigor, Albert sought to make his peace with the Holy See, and sent ambassadors to Rome, not to demand a right from the Pope, but to throw himself upon the Pontiff's mercy. He promised every satisfaction that should be asked of him. The letters-patent intrusted to his deputies were substantially as follows: "I acknowledge that the Roman Empire, established by the Holy See for the defence of the rights of the Church, can only be conferred by the Sovereign Pontiff: I promise to make use of the imperial power, should it be intrusted to me, only for the honor of religion and the exaltation of the Holy Church. I confirm all the grants made by my father, Rodolph, and by his predecessors. I swear to defend the rights of the Holy See against all its enemies, whoever they may be, and never to enter into any alliance or truce with them." Boniface yielded, and, in 1303, published a bull confirming the election of Albert of Austria. "In virtue of the fulness of Our Apostolic authority," said the Pope, "We choose you to be King of the Romans and the son of the Holy Roman Church. We command all the subjects of the Holy Empire to obey you, as such, and We do, by these presents, absolve you from whatever defects may have existed in your election and administration." Gallican historians have given little prominence to this remarkable document, which would be utterly unintelligible, did we not admit the principle so often quoted in our pages, that the public law of mediæval times had clothed the Pontiffs of that period with an unquestionable supremacy in questions of civil polity.

7. The first and most vehement protest against this principle was uttered in France. When Boniface VIII. ascended the steps of the Papal throne, nine years had already passed

since the accession of Philip IV., called the Fair. Invested with sovereign power at an age which generally knows but subjection, the youthful monarch nevertheless ruled his kingdom with an ability which even his opponents have never called in question. No man ever possessed, in a higher degree, the pride of power, or showed himself more jealous of it; never was a monarch's will made known in a tone more firm and resolute. But his greatness of soul degenerated into haughtiness; his courage into rashness. His firmness of will often became obstinacy, which was the more unyielding that he esteemed it a point of honor to enforce even his errors. He was, moreover, irritable to excess, implacable in his anger, persistently resentful, and placed self-devotion only on a level with duty. Failing to measure the extent of his undertakings, he was more than once led into pecuniary troubles which made him unjust toward his subjects, and drove him to the performance of an act most disgraceful to a king—the debasement of the currency, which brought confusion and trouble into every fortune. The disputes between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair were not the anticipated outbreaks of a secret antagonism; they were the spontaneous growth of circumstances beyond all calculation. A fierce war was carried on between Philip and Edward I. of England. In 1293 the King of France summoned Edward to appear before the peers of the realm to answer the charges brought against him. As might have been expected, Edward did not appear, and the court declared the English province of Guienne confiscate to the French crown. All Europe took part in the great quarrel. Edward saw beneath his standard, Adolphus of Nassau; the Duke of Brabant; Amadeus V., called the Great, duke of Savoy, and John II., earl of Brittany. Philip was supported by Baliol, king of Scotland; Albert of Austria, the competitor of Adolphus of Nassau for the imperial throne; the Dauphin of Vienne, who was hostile to Amadeus V., and Eric II., king of Norway. Boniface, alarmed at the prospect of a general conflagration, thought it time to interfere; but his mediation was rejected,

and the war was carried on with renewed violence. The Pope had now no other concern than to provide, by prompt and vigorous measures, for the safety of the Church and of the nations, whose dearest rights were set at naught by the ambition of rulers. He summoned the two kings to answer before his tribunal for their unjust exactions, and on the 18th of August, 1296, published the bull *Clericis laicos*, forbidding every member of the clergy, on pain of incurring ecclesiastical censures, to pay any tax whatever without the express leave of the Holy See; excommunicating any one, whether prince, duke, baron, or minister, who should make the requisition, and placing under interdict the cities and communities consenting to the exaction.

8. Had Providence seated Philip upon the Papal chair instead of placing him upon the throne of France, he would, unquestionably, have used the very same language that was used by Boniface VIII. in this bull, which differs neither materially nor formally from the ancient decretals of the Popes; but he had grown up as the head of a powerful monarchy, and understood but the language of obsequious submission. He was stung by the authoritative tone of the Pontifical decree, and answered it by a royal edict, closing the kingdom against all strangers, cutting off all appeals to the Holy See, and the transmission of all subsidies or pecuniary assistance to the Sovereign Pontiff. Such a decree might naturally have been expected to draw down upon its daring author the thunders of the Vatican; but the Pope forbore. Before proceeding to extreme measures, Boniface wished to exhaust all conciliatory means. The bull *Ineffabilis*, which he sent to the king immediately after the publication of the edict, was couched in terms of the noblest indulgence and most touching kindness. "The time is ill-suited," wrote the Pontiff, "to the provocation of a dispute with the Vicar of Jesus Christ, since, from the moment of Our accession We have not ceased to watch, with heartfelt earnestness, over your interests, and endeavored to effect an honorable reconciliation between France and England. We have not de-

creed that ecclesiastics should not contribute to the defence and the wants of the kingdom; but that Our leave is necessary in such subsidies, in order to put a stop to the unbearable oppression with which your officers load the clergy. In cases of need, We should, Ourself, order the ecclesiastics to make the necessary contributions; and, if it became necessary, We would rather sell the sacred vessels and crosses of the churches than expose to the least danger a kingdom such as France, always so dear and so devoted to the Holy See." These noble words were powerless with Philip; his pride would yield to no concession. But Boniface, still hoping to win the stubborn monarch, published the decree of canonization which, after a process of twenty-five years, raised Philip's grandfather, Louis IX., upon the altars of the Church. The generation that witnessed the virtues of the holy king had not yet sunk into the grave. The tidings that the object of an admiration so recent was about to become that of the Church's veneration, excited an indescribable joy throughout all France. Drawn by the general impulse, Philip yielded at last. The execution of the royal order was stayed; Boniface VIII. was declared supreme arbiter between France and England, and harmony seemed to reign again between the spiritual and the temporal power.

9. Men cease to war when they cease to hate; the war of principles never ends, because principles endure. When the Bishop of Durham, as legate of the Holy See, presented to Philip the arbitral decision pronounced by the Sovereign Pontiff, the king allowed the Count of Artois, his brother, to snatch it from the legate's hands and to throw it into the fire, in his very presence, while he himself declared that he would abide by none of its articles. A second legate, Bernard de Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, was thrown into prison. When summoned to answer for this outrage, the King of France sent to Rome Peter Flotte, the shameless minister of his exactions. Disdaining even the merest conventional decencies of intercourse, that emissary brought to the Pope but words of insolent and haughty contempt. When Boniface reminded him that he had,

as supreme head of the Church, both the spiritual and the temporal power, Peter replied: "True, Holy Father; but the power in the hands of your Holiness is merely nominal, whereas my master's is real." To this rash boast the Pope replied by revoking all the favors and privileges granted to the king for the defence of his States, and by publishing the famous bull *Ausculta fili*, against which all the fury of Gallicanism has since spent itself. "Let not the king flatter himself that he has no superior on earth but God, and that he is not subject to the power of the Pope. He who thinks thus is an infidel." This preamble is followed by an enumeration of the Sovereign Pontiff's complaints against the King of France, whom he charges with bestowing benefices without consulting the Holy See; of admitting no judgment but his own, either within or without his kingdom, on the unjust and violent acts committed in his name; of arbitrarily seizing upon Church property; of appropriating to his own use the revenues of vacant sees, which abuse was not saved from odium by the specious name of *regale;* of his abasement of the currency; and of loading his subjects with intolerable burdens. "We have repeatedly," continues the Pope, "but vainly, warned Philip to return to justice. Therefore We now enjoin all the bishops, abbots and doctors in France to meet Us in the month of November of next year (A. D. 1302), that, by the help of their counsel, We may take measures for the reform of the kingdom and the restoration of order." Such is, substantially, the tenor of the bull which has been made the object of so much recrimination. Its tone is vigorous, but temperate even in its reproaches. It is charged with being derogatory to the royal dignity, and of bearing the maxim unknown before the days of Boniface VIII., "That the Pope, as vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, is master of all the kingdoms of the world."* Now, the Sovereign Pontiff does not say that the Pope is the master of all kingdoms, but that the Pope is placed above those who rule kingdoms, to keep them in the path of justice. To any impartial reader, the bull

* Baillet, History of the Dispute, etc., p. 96.

Ausculta, fili, shows Boniface VIII. taking in hand the rights of subjects against the exactions and violence of a king, legitimate, indeed, but who abused his authority. On the principles of civil polity which then ruled Europe, Boniface VIII. was not only in the right, he was discharging an imperative duty; and had he flinched for a moment in its performance, words would have failed the school of philosophers to brand his weakness and compliance. "How immeasurably happier for people and sovereigns," says the Protestant historian Sismondi, "did they recognize some superior Heaven-sent power to check them in the career of crime! Far better that the Popes should resume their former authority, and that kings and kingdoms should tremble at the threat of an interdict or anathema, as in the days of Gregory VII!" On the 11th of February, 1302, Philip caused the bull to be burnt before all the nobility then assembled in Paris. His minister, Peter Flotte, circulated a spurious bull, in which the Pope was made to claim the kingdom of France as a fief of the Holy See and to declare the king his vassal. Boniface VIII. and the whole College of Cardinals protested in vain against the falsity of the forged document. Philip, in the desperate necessity of his cause, persisted in declaring it authentic, and even replied to it by an insulting parody, unfit to appear on the page of history. Nor did he stop here. On the 10th of April following, the States-General were opened, by his order, in the Church of Notre-Dame. The moving spirit of the assembly was Peter Flotte, who had been appointed, since his mission to Rome, keeper of the seal. He opened the session by a long and artful discourse, summing up the complaints of the government against the Sovereign Pontiff. "He aims," said the speaker, "at subjecting the King of France to the power of the Holy See; but that monarch protests here, before you all, that, like his illustrious forefathers, he acknowledges no superior but God alone; and he calls upon you, as his friends and nobles, to lend your earnest coöperation for the support of the ancient liberties of the nation." Peter Flotte was evidently making himself the

champion of what has since been called the *Liberties of the Gallican Church.* The question was put; the barons, syndics and procurators of the commons, after a short and secret deliberation, unanimously declared themselves ready to do the king's good pleasure, and to give up to him not only their fortunes, but also their persons and their lives. This general consent will not seem strange if we reflect that the nobles, who were guilty of the same exactions as the king, saw the same necessity for defending them; while the syndics and procurators of the commons were still too weak to venture any opposition. The votes of the clergy were not so easily won. More disinterested than the nobility and more independent than the commons, the bishops saw clearly that the government aimed at making them sharers in an act of gross injustice. They sought, by gentle words, to soften the king and the barons. When summoned to come to an explanation, like the two other orders, they thought to gain time by asking a respite to take counsel among themselves. Their request was denied, and they were notified that if they did not, at once, give a satisfactory answer, the clergy should be proclaimed false to the king and to the State. Now or never was the time to begin, if they would make a heroic resistance. The bishops lacked the spirit; they ranged themselves beside the nobility and commons, excusing themselves, in a collective letter to the Pope, on the plea of necessity. By this act of slavish compliance, the clergy had hoped to gain the king's leave to attend the council convoked in Rome by Boniface VIII.; but Philip immediately issued a royal edict, forbidding all the prelates, under the severest penalties, to leave France without his express permission. Such was the result of this famous assembly. If, as it has been asserted, the liberties of the Gallican Church were first defended in its sessions, it must be allowed that their champions took a strange view of the word *liberty.* Where was cringing dependence ever more solemnly consecrated?

10. The Pope administered an energetic rebuke to the base compliance of the Gallican Church, which he styled a foolish

daughter: "verba delirantis filiæ." He threatened the French bishops with canonical censures if they still refused to obey the orders of the Holy See and did not appear in the Council of Rome. Boniface personally presided over the council, which he opened on the 1st of November, A. D. 1302. In spite of the repeated prohibitions and strict precautions of the government, the French episcopate was represented by four archbishops and thirty-five bishops, who preferred to forfeit the monarch's favor rather than betray their duty. The decisions of the council were promulgated in the celebrated bull, *Unam Sanctam*, which appeared immediately after its close: "The Church is one; she forms but one body; she cannot have many heads, but one alone, which is Jesus Christ and His Apostolic Vicar. The Scripture teaches us that to the Church are given two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. The first is to be used *by* the Church, the second *for* the Church; the former is placed in the hand of the priest, the latter is intrusted to kings. One of these weapons must needs be subject to the other, and the temporal power must obey the spiritual authority. We, therefore, declare, pronounce and define, that every human being is subject to the Roman Pontiff, of necessity for salvation." This constitution put forward no new claims; we have seen its foundation in the public law. Philip, who bitterly inveighed against it as an unprecedented assumption, should have remembered that Innocent III., in his contest with Philip Augustus, appealed to this prerogative of the successor of St. Peter. It is, in fact, a fundamental article of Catholic faith that every Christian is subject to the Vicar of Jesus Christ. And if private individuals depend upon his jurisdiction, why should not princes be amenable to it as well? Were such a doctrine as generally acknowledged as it is logically sound, it would prove a safeguard of nations, far more lasting than the ephemeral constitutions brought forth with cruel pangs by the people, and crushed in a day by revolution. The publication of the *Unam Sanctam* made a deep impression throughout the French kingdom, where it was received simultaneously with the disastrous

news of the defeat of Courtrai, in which the flower of the French nobility had fallen before the spears of the Flemings. The Pope might trust that this reverse would soften Philip; but if such was his hope, it was sadly at fault. The king ordered the arrest, at Troyes, of the archdeacon Nicholas Benefrato, bearer of the Pontifical rescripts; while a second assembly of the States-General, held in the Louvre (1303), declared Boniface VIII. a heretic, and a simoniacal usurper, and deposed him, as such, from all ecclesiastical dignities. After the reading of this unparalleled decree, Philip rose and requested the prelates to assist him in the convocation of a general council, to which he appealed, beforehand, from every act of the deposed Pontiff. The royal agents sent into the different provinces, returned in a few months with more than seven hundred acts of adhesion to the decree of the States-General. This unanimous sanction on the part of France to so monstrous an outrage would be the problem of history, had we not contemporaneous authority to disclose the odious mystery. The imprisonment of the Italian religious, then in the kingdom, as well as of the abbots of Cluny, Citeaux and Prémontré, warned the dissenting subjects to comply with the orders of the king. Violence completed what calumny had begun.

11. Philip's boldness dared yet more. The Sovereign Pontiff was then in his native town of Anagni. On the 7th of September, A. D. 1303, William of Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, leading a troop of French and Ghibelline soldiers, broke into the town with loud shouts of "Death to the Pope! Long live the King of France!" The palace gates were forced, the soldiers poured in, fire and sword in hand. "Open the doors of my apartments," said the Pope to his attendants, "I shall know how to die for the Church of God." Then putting on his pontifical vestments, with the crown of Constantine on his head, with the cross in one hand and the keys of St. Peter in the other, he seated himself on the Papal throne and awaited his murderers. Colonna and Nogaret approached the Pontiff, and the

former, giving way to his natural brutality, poured out a torrent of abuse. It is even stated by some historians, that he went so far as to lay sacrilegious hands upon the Vicar of Jesus Christ. It is certain, however, that Nogaret threatened to take him, fettered like a criminal, to Lyons, to be tried by the pretended general council. "Here is my head," replied the Pope; "I shall be too happy to shed my blood for the faith of Jesus Christ and in behalf of His Church." During three days Boniface remained in the hands of his enemies, who threw him into a dungeon and loaded him with insults. The Pontifical treasury was plundered, the palace was rifled, the relics of saints were profaned and scattered. But the end of this disgraceful scene came at last. Indignation seized upon the people of Anagni; they rose, surprised the followers of Sciarra and Nogaret, in the disorder of their inglorious triumph, and drove them, with their leaders, from the town. Boniface was borne back, in triumph, to the throne which he had honored by his dauntless courage. When asked what punishment should be inflicted upon the prisoners, "I forgive them," he replied with noble generosity. On his return to Rome, he was received with transports of enthusiasm. The Roman clergy and people were proud of their Pontiff's heroism. But these fierce storms had broken the strength of the aged Pope. He met the final summons with the same intrepid courage he had ever displayed before his enemies. In the presence of many witnesses, he declared that he died in the Catholic faith, and then surrendered his great soul to God, on the 11th of October, 1303. Such was the life and such the death of this Pontiff, so foully slandered by all writers hostile to the Papacy. Greatness of soul, a firm will, vast learning, skilful management—Boniface possessed all the qualities which make men great. Religion owes to him the consoling institution of the Jubilee; ecclesiastical jurisprudence, the sixth book of the Decretals; and general science, the foundation of the Roman university known as the Sapienza.

§ II. Pontificate of B. Benedict XI. (October 22, A. D. 1303—July 6, 1304).

12. Ten days after the death of Boniface VIII., the cardinals went into conclave, and their unanimous suffrage immediately fell upon Cardinal Nicholas Boccassini, who took the name of Benedict XI. The new Pope was unquestionably one of the most virtuous and learned members of the Sacred College. No one was surprised at his election, except himself. Trained in the school of Boniface VIII., Benedict XI. held the same views. He was firmly convinced that the Pontifical power was as the centre of all European society, and quite as firmly resolved not to yield one step on the ground held by his illustrious predecessor. But all was anarchy about him; the Ghibellines triumphed, and the impious attempt of Nogaret was the signal of a fearful reaction against the Pontifical authority. Freed from their exile, and heedless of the censures still weighing upon their heads, the Colonnas re-appeared in Rome, bringing with them all the passions that follow in the train of discord. Philip's policy had found an entrance into the Sacred College, where it soon made a powerful party. To avoid the confusion and peril that surrounded him, Benedict quitted Rome, in spite of the opposition of the cardinals, and fixed his abode in Perugia. At his departure from the Eternal City, a considerable portion of the inhabitants escorted him as far as the gates; the Romans, as they saw him depart, seemed to forbode a lengthened absence; and, indeed, from this departure of Benedict XI. may be dated the translation of the Holy See.

13. In his quiet retreat at Perugia, Benedict XI. could carry out the measures of justice which he had planned. To add solemnity to their execution, he wished to begin by an act of indulgence and mercy. He accordingly granted the prayer of Philip, and revoked the censures incurred by that prince, in person, and by the French bishops who had not appeared in

the council convoked at Rome by Boniface VIII. He restored the privileges formerly granted to the kings of France, for the nomination to vacant sees. But these measures were but the preliminary lenitive for the great blow about to fall. On the 7th of June the bull *Flagitiosum scelus*, taught the world that the Lord's anointed may not be outraged with impunity. "If, for just reasons," said the Pope, "We have delayed until now to punish the disgraceful outrage committed at Anagni, upon the sacred person of our predecessor, it is time that God should arise to scatter and destroy his enemies." Benedict then goes on to detail, in terms of lively indignation, the leading features of the outrage, the insults heaped upon the Pontiff, the plunder of the Church's treasure, and the disgraceful scenes enacted within the precincts of the palace; of which lamentable sight he had been an eye-witness. The indignant Pontiff then broke forth into the exclamation: "Who so hardened as to withhold his tears at such a spectacle? What enemy could be so deaf to the voice of pity? O, inexpiable crime! O, unheard of outrage! O, wretched city of Anagni, that witnessed without hindering it; may the dew of heaven never more fall upon thee!" Benedict concluded by excommunicating the authors of the crime, with all who had given aid, counsel, or consent to its commission. If the name of Philip did not appear in the bull, it was only through consideration; but nobody was misled by the Sovereign Pontiff's silence, for everybody knew that the instigator of the outrage of Anagni was the King of France. The struggle threatened to re-open with fresh violence, when the worthy avenger of Boniface VIII. was suddenly snatched away from the hopes of the Church and the execution of his great designs. Benedict fell victim to a sudden illness, bearing all the symptoms of poisoning, one month after the publication of the bull *Flagitiosum scelus*. Some historians throw the odium of this fresh crime upon the memory of Philip; but the charge has never been substantiated. The holiness of Benedict XI. was attested, after his death, by many miracles,

which have won him the title of Blessed, in the Roman martyrology.

14. His Pontificate was the period of the fiercest struggles between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, in Florence. Benedict tried in vain to effect a reconciliation; his voice was drowned by the storm of strife. During this struggle, the fiery Ghibelline and illustrious poet, Dante, saw his property confiscated, and a price set upon his own head, at Florence. Driven forth a wanderer from his native land, he bore with him, in exile, all the deep and burning hate which is immortalized in the *Divina Commedia*, the masterpiece of the middle-ages. Like Homer's Iliad, Dante's epic is at once a poetical, philosophical and theological work. The Christian dogma and the discoveries made by science in the universal system, appear in all the splendor of a poesy equal to that of the rhapsodist of Smyrna. At its very first appearance, the *Divina Commedia* was received with universal applause. Florence, which had proscribed its author, founded a special chair, in 1373, to expound his poem. Still, aside from the literary merit of this deathless work, we cannot extend our admiration to its odious calumnies against the Popes and the princes of the Church. The capricious and spiteful fictions of the Ghibelline are no criterion by which to judge the celebrated characters of his day. Granted all the praise due to the literary talent displayed by the poet, the unwarrantable outbreaks of the political partisan must awake the indignation of every honest heart.

§ III. Pontificate of Clement V. (November 14, A. D. 1305—April 20, 1314).

15. The annalists of this period all betray, more or less, a spirit of party which throws a shade of suspicion about their record. This bias is traceable to two leading influences: 1. The feuds between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, no longer the champions of the sacerdotal or the imperial power, but the

representatives of the party of Philip or of Boniface VIII., and warring with all their original animosity. The Ghibellines always showed a vehement opposition to the Papal power; their testimony is, of course, too far from disinterested to be received without question. 2. The translation of the Holy See to Avignon, by Clement V., was displeasing to the Guelphs themselves and made them hostile to the French Popes. This twofold antipathy explains the bent of contemporaneous writers. The conscientious historian must take into account the passions and strifes of a period; he must seek truth, and truth is independent of party. No Pontificate was ever more slandered by the united voice of Guelphs and Ghibellines than that of Clement V. He is charged with securing his election by scandalous bargain with Philip the Fair, and fixing the Holy See at Avignon only through a servile compliance with the monarch's will, which, according to the same testimony, obtained from him the annulment of all the dogmatic bulls of Boniface VIII., and the condemnation of his memory. Lastly, and especially, his conduct has been much censured in the affair of the Templars; and he is represented as the abettor of the royal cupidity and exactions. To answer these various objections, is to give the history of Clement's Pontificate.

16. At the death of Benedict XI., the cardinals, assembled at Perugia, were divided into two factions. The one wished to promote an Italian, favorable to the memory of Boniface VIII.; according to the custom of the day, it was called the Guelph faction. The other, on the contrary, called for a French Pope, devoted to the interests of Philip. By a combination of circumstances which it would be hard to unravel, the joint vote of both parties elected Bernard de Goth or d'Agoût, archbishop of Bordeaux, though not a member of the Sacred College. He was acceptable to the Ghibellines, because he was a Frenchman; he received the votes of the Guelphs, because he had always been true to the cause of Boniface VIII., and moreover, his opposition to the measures of the two assemblies of the States-General had procured his banishment by Philip.

He had afterward, however, returned to France and regained the royal favor. All modern historians state, as an unquestionable fact, that, before his election, Clement V. had a secret interview with Philip, in a lonely chapel in the forest of Saint-Jean d'Angély, and that a solemn promise was there signed by the archbishop, in which he bound himself, if raised to the Sovereign Pontificate: 1. To absolve the king from all the censures pronounced against him by Boniface; 2. To reconcile him, without restriction, to the Church of Rome; 3. To grant him the tithes of the revenues of France for five years; 4. To brand the memory of Boniface VIII., and blot out his name from the roll of Sovereign Pontiffs; 5. To bestow the cardinalate upon all the candidates offered by the king, and to restore the Colonnas. The sixth condition was to remain a secret until the king deemed that the fitting time had come for its disclosure. But this compact, which would have made Clement V. nothing more than an intruded simoniac, never existed. All the writers who bring it forward lean upon the same contemporary authority of Villani. Not one of the many other chroniclers of the time ever mentions, or even indirectly alludes to it. In putting forward a charge so serious against a Pope universally acknowledged as legitimate, it would be well to show unanswerable proofs. Now, in the first place, Villani never disguised his hostility to the Popes who sat in France. An Italian by birth, he never forgave them for quitting Rome to reside in Avignon. 2. His assertion, which, as we have said, is supported by no other testimony, receives a formal contradiction from the decree of election, which positively states that the Archbishop of Bordeaux was elected *by ballot*. 3. His account implies untenable suppositions. For we cannot believe that Villani alone should have obtained information which was denied to all his contemporaries, quite as well acquainted as himself with the general state of the ecclesiastical and political affairs of Europe; it is incredible that the cardinals of the Italian faction, whose disappointment must have been most bitter at being summoned, by the

new Pontiff, to cross the Alps, should never have uttered a complaint against such an act; it is not to be supposed that Philip would have neglected so powerful an argument to urge the execution of the promised articles; that he should never have reminded Clement of his oath, especially when the Pope, instead of branding the memory of Boniface VIII., proclaimed, on the contrary, that he had been lawful Pope, and that his doctrine had always been unimpeachable. Before such an array of moral and physical impossibilities, we may, therefore, fairly assert that the compact between Clement V. and Philip the Fair is but a fiction put forward to satisfy the spirit of party.

17. The envoys of the conclave were charged to present to Clement V., with the decree of election, a special address in which the cardinals, with a seeming presentiment of his design, earnestly entreated the new Pope to come to Perugia. "We beseech you, Holy Father," they wrote, "to come to your See; for the bark of Peter is tossed by the waves, the fisher's net is breaking, the sun of peace is hidden by dark clouds; the domain of the Roman Church and the neighboring provinces are wasted by war. Holy Father, hasten to help us by your presence." Clement did not yield to their prayer. He had witnessed the political strife which rent Italy; he knew that the Sacred College was divided into two rival factions, springing from the quarrels which raged in the whole Peninsula. Instead, therefore, of acquainting them with his speedy departure for Italy, he ordered the cardinals then in Perugia to repair to Lyons, with as little delay as possible, since he had chosen that city as the place of his coronation. In 1309, he definitively placed the Roman court at Avignon, the chief city of the Comtat-Venaissin, a dependency of the Pontifical estate. This step of Clement was dictated by no slavish cringing to the will of Philip. The translation of the Holy See formed no part of the compact alleged by Villani. Beside, the city of Avignon did not belong to the King of France; and, by making it his residence, the Pope did not forsake the Roman States, but only avoided the discussions, strifes and popular seditions which

were ceaseless in Italy. For a century and a half, Rome had been restless under the honorable yoke of the Holy See; it had become the hot-bed of revolt, the centre of anarchy. The Roman people saw not the part assigned them by Providence in the history of Catholicity; they longed for a republic like Pisa or Florence. Instead of reigning the queen of nations, Italy was now the scorn of the world. Without the Pope, Rome is but a vast ruin; her stones tell the story of the past and are without a future. It was good that this momentary absence of the Popes should teach her the solemn lesson of experience. The rest of Italy had, to a greater or less extent, shared the ingratitude of the Romans; the Vicar of Christ had but too often been betrayed or abandoned for the favor of the Cæsars. The infamous outrage perpetrated upon Pope Boniface was fresh in every mind, and it was well known that Italians had not hesitated to join the King of France in outraging the Pontifical majesty. It was time that there should be found a Pope who could say: "Rome is no longer in Rome; it is altogether where I am." This Pope was Clement V.; and his removal of the Holy See was a punishment and a lesson for the Romans. It is true that deplorable results afterward sprung from the change; but they can in no way be laid to the charge of Clement V.

18. As soon as the Pope had entered upon the government of the Church, Philip at once demanded of him the repeal of all the bulls of Pope Boniface, the solemn condemnation of that Pontiff and the obliteration of his name from the list of Popes. Clement lacked the enterprising energy of Boniface, and did not, like him, beat down resistance by main strength; but he was gifted with that persevering tenacity of character which wears out the force of passion by time and forbearance. Benedict XI. had already absolved Philip from the personal censures incurred by him; Clement confirmed the sentence of absolution. He also removed the particular prohibitions expressed in the bull *Clericis laicos*. These concessions touched no point of dogma. The circumstances which had dictated the

course of Boniface were no longer the same; the bearing of the Pope could, therefore, and even should, of necessity, change with them. But Philip was not satisfied with these first acts of indulgence; he particularly insisted upon the annulment of the bull *Unam Sanctam*. This constitution of Boniface VIII. was indeed a fundamental principle; it positively defined that the temporal power is subject to the power of the Roman Pontiff, and that rulers are answerable to his tribunal in all matters of conscience. Philip now demanded the utter abrogation of the bull; Clement refused. He declared that the doctrinal decision was founded on law and on fact, and that he could never consent to annul it. However, to soften his refusal and to ward off the dangerous effects of Philip's violent passion, the Pope agreed to make a declaration which should, at once, respect the rights of truth and the claims of the monarch. "By preserving the bull *Unam Sanctam*," said Clement, "We do not mean to prejudice, in the least, the interests of France. It is Our will that things remain as they were before the publication of the decretal." As we before intimated, the bull in question set forth no new doctrine; Boniface, in promulgating it, had no thought of creating new rights for the Holy See; he only sought to uphold those which it already enjoyed. Clement agreed with Boniface; their conduct differed in form, but was the same in substance; and the result, in both cases, was identical. When Philip, following up his plan of revenge with new ardor, demanded that the memory of Boniface should be condemned and his name erased from the sacred diptychs, Clement met this outrageous claim with the same mild and prudent firmness which he had hitherto found so successful. He allowed all the accusers of Boniface to present their charges. Countless documents, drawn up by the royal theologians, by the partisans of the Colonnas, and by Nogaret himself, were poured into Avignon from all parts of Europe. The Catholic sovereigns, alarmed at this extraordinary movement and ignorant of Clement's real design, wrote to him, urging the suspension of the odious trial. But this was precisely opposed to the policy by

which the Pope meant to decide this serious question. Had he refused to hear the accusers, they would not have failed to reject his decision as partial; hence did the Pope summon them to his tribunal (September 23, A. D. 1309). The trial was opened with the greatest solemnity, the Pontiff presiding in person. When all the charges had been put forward, all the recriminations uttered; when the accumulated hate had been vented in an immense explosion, the defenders were called upon to speak. They had prepared their defence with the utmost care, by order of the Pope, and accordingly met every charge with an unanswerable clearness, precision and vigor, which triumphed over all opposition. Philip and his counsel expected nothing of this kind. Baffled in his projects and foreboding a fatal issue, the king suddenly resolved to drop the matter (1311). He announced that he would leave it wholly to the decision of Clement, whether he chose to pronounce it in person or through the general council about to meet in Vienne. This was precisely the object Clement had in view. Satisfied with having gained his point, he delayed the final sentence, in order to give it the solemn sanction of a general council. Then, in the fulness of his Apostolical authority, with the assent of the Fathers, in the face of the whole Catholic world, Clement V. declared, by a solemn bull, that the memory of Boniface VIII. was unassailable; that the great Pope had deserved well of the Church and of mankind. What ground does this fearless but yet prudent conduct afford for a charge of slavish and cowardly compliance? We more than question whether this Pontiff's detractors would have been equally able to protect every interest and every right, by using forbearance in so critical a crisis, toward a monarch whose violent passion was but too well known.

19. A motive if possible still more serious, had determined Clement V. to call a general council. The Catholic world was now exclusively preoccupied with the question of suppressing a religious and military order, sprung from the Crusades, and to which the Crusades owed a considerable portion of their glory.

This event, which has given a lasting celebrity to the Council of Vienne, was equally calculated to awake the warmest sym pathies and the most bitter hate. The question still remains, to a certain extent, a problem in history. In the impossibility of procuring the chief documents relating to the trial, we cannot speak with a positive knowledge of the subject. But though the very ground of the question remains buried in darkness, though the solution of the problem must still be intrinsically doubtful, the position of the Sovereign Pontiff in the case is by no means equivocal; it is clearly defined by contemporary history. It shall be our task to present it as fairly as we may. The Order of the Templars had flourished throughout Christendom for nearly two centuries; its birth was connected with the first fervor of the Crusades. In the beginning it was guided by the sole object of protecting pilgrims against the arms and the savage fury of the Mussulmans, and of guarding the roads that led to Jerusalem. Little by little, whether from the necessity of resisting the daily inroads of the Unbelievers or from a natural taste for war, the order became military. So long as the Templars observed poverty, they were as truly the ornament of religion by their virtues, as they had been its bulwark by their valor; and when, in the middle of the twelfth century, St. Bernard eulogized their devotion to the Church, their piety and their courage, his praise was but the expression of the truth. But when the multiplied munificence of princes had poured into their coffers the wealth of kingdoms, the vices which usually follow in the train of opulence found an easy entrance among them. They lost the first spirit of their order, and their downward course began.* The very men whose aim, at first, had been to imitate the simplicity of the Saviour, now displayed a scandalous magnificence, dwelt in gorgeous palaces and treated, on terms of equality,

* "Postquam vero divitias regales impetrassent Templarii, humano more, quo arridentis fortunæ blanditias insolenter plerumque accipimus, cristam erexere." (GURTLER, Hist. Temp., p. 248).—"Ob superbiam et tyrannidem ferè ab omnibus historicis reprehensi sunt." —(Ibid.)

with kings. Those men, whose life should have been ruled by charity, were seen in the full glare of pride, and violence, and plunder, spoiling the churches of their tithes and primitial offerings, and laying hands upon ecclesiastical property.* Innocent III. complained, in 1218, "that the Templars trampled upon the respect due to the Apostolic See, and had already, by their insubordination, deserved to lose the privileges granted by his liberality."† While the great struggle between Christianity and Islamism was raging in the East, the many brilliant exploits of the Knights of the Temple, their signal services to the cause of religion, were powerful palliatives to the charges brought against their private life. But when the fall of Ptolemais closed this field of their glory and brought them back to the peaceful life of the convent, the public mind, no longer dazzled by their splendid feats of arms, gave ear to the unfavorable reports now circulated against them, and only too openly substantiated by the worldly and voluptuous life of the heads of the order. These reports were at first spread abroad with hesitation, were received with some doubt, and no one ventured to investigate them until they met with the most formidable inquisitor in Philip the Fair.

20. On the 13th of October, A. D. 1307, throughout the whole extent of France, in obedience to sealed orders received by all the royal officers, to be opened on the same day, all the Templars, not excepting the Grand Master, were arrested, confined in different strongholds and their property confiscated. This blow had been prepared with a degree of secrecy as remarkable as the precision with which it was struck. Clement V., who was then at Poitiers, had received no intimation of the measure. When informed of this encroachment upon ecclesi-

* "Neglecta humilitate, domino patriarchæ Hierosolimitano se subtraxerunt, obedientiam ei denegantes; sed et ecclesiis Dei decimas et primitias substrahentes, et eorum indebite turbando possessiones facti sunt valde molesti." (GULIELMUS TYR, lib. 22, cap. 7, vol. 1, *Gesta Dei per Francos.*)

† "Et licet per hæc et alia nefanda quæ idcirco plenius exaggerare subsistimus, ne vogamur gravius vindicare, apostolicis privilegiis, quibus tam enormiter abutuntur, essent merito spoliandi."—(Bull of Innocent III., DUPUIS, p. 141.)

astical jurisdiction, since the Templars were a religious order depending immediately upon the Holy See, he wrote to the king in a tone of the deepest indignation and surprise : "You have overstepped the bounds of your authority in constitutin yourself the judge of immediate subjects of the Church, and by seizing upon their possessions." And, to show that he did not limit his protest to the mere promulgation of a bull, the Pope suspended the powers of the archbishops, bishops, prelates and inquisitors in France, called up the whole case of the Templars before his own tribunal, and at once sent legates to Paris, with the express mission of demanding the surrender both of the persons and the property of the Templars and of treating the matter in due legal order. From this period the conduct of the Sovereign Pontiff begins to appear in a clear light; it is ever at variance with that of the King of France. The sudden arrest, the trial, the question by torture and the capital sentence, are the work of Philip, and of Philip only. Juridical inquiry, the examination without any appearance of torture, the canonical investigation, carefully carried on through four years, and finally the sentence of suppression without the slightest bodily pain, promulgated in the fifteenth general council at Vienne, constitutes the part taken by Clement V. in this famous trial. This is the capital point of the whole case. Whatever opinion we may adopt as to the guilt or innocence of the Templars, the conduct of the Sovereign Pontiff must be unconcerned in our judgment. As Pope he suppressed a religious order whose existence was in fact aimless, since the loss of Palestine, whereas its continuance was a source of serious evil in the Church; but he sent no one to torture or to the stake.

21. The Pope's decree, calling the whole case to his tribunal, completely disconcerted Philip's plans; still he was forced to submit. He sent to Poitiers all the reports of the examination begun by his order, with seventy-two knights already examined in Paris, who, of their own accord, without constraint or torture, acknowledged, before the Pope, all the

crimes imputed to them. They confessed, as a general custom consecrated in the order, and not as a single occurrence, "the horrible impiety of denying Jesus Christ, of spitting and trampling upon the august sign of salvation, the worship of obscene idols, the practice of the most shameful disorders, and that the assent to all these infamous usages was made a necessary condition of the admission of a candidate into the order." Well might the world stand astonished at such disclosures concerning a religious order instituted for the defence of the faith, and, until then, distinguished for heroic intrepidity in its support. Yet the authentic documents still extant, the numberless witnesses summoned from all parts of the world, the highest dignitaries of the order, the Grand Master himself, both at Paris and at Chinon, more than six hundred knights in France, England, Germany, Italy and Spain—all repeat and confirm the same strange confession. If we may venture here, without presumption, to offer an observation which seems to have been hitherto overlooked by historians, we would say that a strong presumption of the truth of these charges may be based upon the continued existence, even up to our own time, of a secret society, opposed to all civil and religious authority, professing, under the name of Free-Masonry, to have directly inherited the mysterious doctrines of the Templars. Clement V. had always doubted the truth of the crimes alleged against the order; but he was shocked at the conviction forced upon him by the unqualified avowal, made in full consistory, by the seventy-two knights examined. He wrote at once to all the bishops of the Christian world, urging them to institute canonical inquiry into the case of the Templars residing in their respective dioceses. Then began the great trial which lasted four successive years, making all Europe one vast court of inquiry.

22. With a view to close this immense procedure, and to decide a question which held the world in suspense, the Pope convoked the fifteenth general council at Vienne. The first session was opened on the 16th of October, A. D. 1311. More than

three hundred bishops, exclusive of cardinals, answered the call of the Apostolic chair. All the official reports were submitted to the Fathers of the council, and more than six months were devoted to their discussion. Two opinions prevailed in the assembly. Some would have the investigation begun anew before the council, and punishment inflicted upon individuals without any mention of the order in general. This was evidently impracticable; many long years would have necessarily been consumed by this countless series of individual inquests, the materials of which must be gathered from every quarter of the world. Others maintained the necessity of speedily suppressing an order whose corruption was proved by the unvarying testimony of more than two thousand witnesses, which sufficiently warranted the justice of such a measure. The pious and learned William Duranti, bishop of Mende, induced the council to adopt a middle course, by requesting the Pope to pronounce the sentence himself, in virtue of the fulness of his Apostolic authority. Therefore, after a consistory composed of the most distinguished prelates, in presence of Philip, his three sons, his brother, Charles of Valois, and an immense multitude drawn together by interest or curiosity, Clement V. published the bull of suppression (April 3, 1312). Tender of the respect due to every judicial form, Clement declared that since the suit was not brought against the order, but against individual members, the suppression was decreed only *by way of provision*, or by Apostolic authority,* and not by condemnation or sentence; yet adding that the suppression was irrevocable, and that no one might thenceforth enter the order, wear its dress, or bear the name of Templar. The property of the order was transferred to the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who had lately con-

* "Ejus ordinis statum, habitum atque nomen, non sine cordis amaritudine et dolore, sacro approbante consilio, non per modum definitivæ sententiæ, cum eam super secundum inquisitiones et processus super his habitos, non possumus ferre de jure, sed per viam provisionis, seu ordinationis apostolicæ, irrefragabili et perpetuo valitura sustulimus sanctione."—(Bull *Ad Providam Christi*, DUPUIS, p. 422.)

quered the island of Rhodes and adopted its name. In regard to the knights themselves, the council acted with mingled kindness and severity. The Pope reserved to himself the sentence of the highest dignitaries; the remainder were left to be dealt with by the authority and wisdom of provincial councils. Clemency was urged in favor of the knights who showed signs of repentance for the crimes which they confessed. From the property of the suppressed order, they were to receive an honorable maintenance, to support and console their broken and branded existence. But those who met every charitable admonition with a stubborn impenitence were to suffer the severest severest penalties, civil and canonical.

23. Without consulting either Pope or council, Philip had already begun the work of punishment. The years 1310 and 1311 witnessed those extraordinary executions which filled the nation with astonishment and terror, and especially that of the fifty-nine Templars burnt in Paris near the Porte Saint-Antoine. After the Council of Vienne, the judicial investigation being wholly intrusted to the ecclesiastical tribunals, these executions ceased. That of the Grand Master, Jacques Molay, and of Guy of Auvergne, was a deplorable violation on the part of Philip of all ecclesiastical rights; Clement V., had no part in the deed. He had reserved to himself, as we have already said, the right to decide the fate of these illustrious prisoners. A commission of cardinals, appointed by the Pope and clothed with the full powers from the Holy See, accompanied by the Archbishop of Sens and some other prelates, came to Paris. The four chief dignitaries of the order appeared before the delegates of the Sovereign Pontiff and confirmed all the confessions made in the preceding examinations. But, on hearing the sentence pronounced which doomed them to perpetual imprisonment, Molay rose and cried aloud: "The time has at length come to disclose all the wickedness of the lie and to proclaim the truth. I accordingly declare before Heaven and earth that I have committed the greatest of crimes in granting the truth of those imputed to a guiltless order The

fear of death cannot induce me to confirm the first falsehood by a second; if so infamous be the condition, I gladly give up my life." The same recantation was made by Guy of Auvergne; though their two fellow-prisoners, Hugh Peyraud, visitor of France, and Geoffrey of Gonneville, preceptor of Aquitaine, held to their first avowal. The Papal commissioners, unwilling to act hastily in the unexpected occurrence, adjourned the proceedings to the following day and delivered the prisoners to the custody of the king's provost of Paris. But while the judges were in deliberation, Philip, hearing what had happened, without condescending to consult the Pope or his representatives, ordered the execution of the two unyielding Templars. On an order issued by the royal court, Jacques Molay and Guy of Auvergne were burnt alive on a small island of the Seine, the site now occupied by the Pont-Neuf (March 11th, A. D. 1314). The people, who had assembled in crowds to witness the execution, heard them, to the last, proclaim their innocence and that of the whole order.*

24. The Templars had flourished for a period of a hundred and ninety-four years. Their fall awakened an echo which still resounds through the domain of history, though shrouded in a veil of impenetrable mystery. Bossuet has said that "the Templars denied at the stake what they confessed on the rack." The antithesis is more pointed and brilliant than true, since it is incontestable that all the confessions were not wrung from them by torture. The splendor and renown of the Templars, their sufferings and final catastrophe, are still a subject of deep interest, though time has rolled a space of five centuries between them and us. So great is the power of misfortune, even when deserved, that it must ever win some sympathy;

* It is popularly though falsely believed, on the authority of Mézeray, that Jacques Molay, as the flames enwrapped him, with his last breath summoned the Pope to appear before the judgment-seat of God within forty days, and the king within a year. The death of Clement V. and of Philip the Fair (April 20th and November 29th, 1314), following so close upon that of the Grand-Master, lent a coloring of truth to the popular version and to the pretended summons of the Grand Master, which is mentioned by no contemporary writer.

and to this power the Templars owe many defenders. Compassion bears with it a certain undefinable and jealous glory. But we mistrust those tardy vindications which seem to place their highest glory in accusing a Pope. The line of demarcation between the conduct of Philip and that of Clement V., in this long and painful trial, seems to us plain enough to clear the memory of the Sovereign Pontiff from any shadow of reproach. The guilt or innocence of the Templars remains a problem in history. But that the order of Templars had become hurtful to the Church, is a fact beyond doubt, in history; Clement V. suppressed the order; Philip the Fair burned the Templars. It belongs to posterity to give to each one the credit of his works.

25. The general Council of Vienne was called to decide other questions more directly concerned in the maintenance of the faith. The Manichean sects of the Albigenses, so vigorously attacked and conquered, at last, in the south of France, where they had gathered all their forces, now appeared under cover of a false mysticism, as dangerons as it was criminal. Under the various appellations of Fratricelli, Béguards, Béguines, Bizoques, Dulcinists, &c., they taught the most impure doctrines of quietism, and held that man is capable of reaching a degree of grace and perfection which would make him impeccable. This point once attained, he is no longer bound to practise virtue; fasting and prayer become useless; he is freed from all human law and authority, in virtue of the freedom which is the unfailing companion of the Spirit of God; in fine, he may grant to sense and nature every imaginable gratification, without receiving any moral stain. Such was the final development, the last expression, of those infamous sects which, by an impious abuse of the highest teachings of gospel morality, made them a kind of refined seasoning to their gross voluptuousness. The sectaries were anathematized by the council. The attention of the Fathers was arrested by a serious division in the Order of St. Francis. The most austere followers of the primitive rule had obtained, in Italy, the permission of Pope Celestin

V. to unite in the strict observance, under the name of Poor-Hermits. An overstrained severity of discipline threw some of them into apostasy. On the ground that poverty was not only an evangelical counsel but a strict and universal precept, they declaimed against wealth and temporal possessions as a kind of idolatry. The *Mitigated*, on the other hand, fell into the opposite abuse, and sought to introduce a scandalous relaxation into the rule of poverty imposed by St. Francis. Both parties had their errors and their dangers. The council endeavored, by the introduction of a moderate constitution, to remove the abuses existing in the monasteries and to bring back those who had left them. But the prudent measure failed to heal the division. The lay-communities of Béguines also suffered from the neighborhood of the false mystics and to whom they seemed to bear a resemblance. The Fathers of the council condemned their manner of life and authorized only such as were willing to return to their original regularity. There is one decree of the Council of Vienne which claims the undying gratitude of the literary world; that which introduced into the West the study of the oriental languages. It was decreed that the Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean tongues should, in future, be publicly taught, wherever the Roman court was held, as well as in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Salamanca and Bologna; that two professors for each language should be maintained in Paris, by the king of France, and in the other schools by the Pope and the various prelates.

26. Events of vast importance had in the mean time happened in Italy and Germany. Albert I. of Austria had fallen in 1308 by the dagger of his nephew, John of Suabia. The murdered emperor is ranked by history among the oppressors of the people. It was during his reign that Switzerland, driven to desperation by the tyranny of its governor, Gessler, and freed by the heroism of William Tell, asserted its independence. Henry of Luxemburg was promoted (A. D. 1308) to the imperial dignity; Clement V. ratified the election and in the following year sent five cardinals, with special powers, to crown

him emperor, in St. Peter's church, at Rome. Rodolph of Hapsburg and his successors had entertained but slight relations with the Italian peninsula. Since the fatal attempt of Conradin, forty-two years had passed away, and the German standard was never unfurled south of the Alps, when, in 1310, it was known that Henry of Luxemburg, king of the Romans, was marching to Rome, to receive the diadem of the Othos and the Fredericks. Clement V. was guided by a motive of lofty policy in the step he was then taking. He had favored the claim of Henry only to thwart the design of Philip, who wished to secure the imperial crown for his brother, Philip of Valois. Henry VII. very soon forgot the ties of gratitude by which he was bound to the Sovereign Pontiff. Hailed with enthusiasm by the Ghibellines in Italy, he thought the juncture favorable to revive the obsolete pretensions of the house of Hohenstauffen, and to assume the character of restorer of the rights of the empire. Clement, alarmed at the new course taken by the emperor, appealed to the King of Naples, Robert of Anjou, who had succeeded his father, Charles the Lame, in 1309. Robert justified the confidence reposed in him by the Holy See and placed himself at the head of the Guelphs in Tuscany and Lombardy. Henry VII. immediately prepared to invade the Neapolitan States. Clement V. excommunicated him, and, as if God had wished to ratify the sentence by a solemn punishment, Henry was carried off by a short illness, in the flower of his age (1313). This event changed the condition of things. The German troops, deprived of their chief, disbanded and recrossed the Alps; the Guelphs again took the ascendant, and Italy was once more saved from the German domination. Clement outlived the emperor but a year; his strength was exhausted by his labors in the Council of Vienne, and he died at Roquemaure, on the 20th of April, 1314. Philip the Fair expired at Fontainebleau, on the 29th of November, of the same year, and was succeeded by his eldest son Louis X., called le Hutin (the Brawler). The philosophical schools class the king and the Pope in the same category; we trust that we have,

with sufficient clearness, drawn the line that widely separates their respective course of action. Clement possessed a natural kindliness of disposition, which led him to choose the milder course in every alternative; thus was he enabled to protect, at once, the rights of the Church and those of truth, in the midst of the stormy events which convulsed his Pontificate.

27. If we look upon the history of the Church only as a series of wars, divisions, heresies, or schisms, without taking into account the inward life and the wonders of Divine grace unceasingly renewed within its fold, we must necessarily form but a superficial judgment, having examined but one side of the picture. The saints are the soul and the heart of the Church. They perpetuate all that is truly high and holy in Christian life. Not always are their names surrounded with the renown and splendor of a worldly glory; but they are no less the salt of the earth, the light hidden for a moment under a bushel, which shall one day be known by a marvellous brightness. In the desert, in the shades of the cloister, in the lowliest social estate, as well as amid the gorgeous trappings of royalty, the saints are the glory of the earth, the living miracle of the world, the hope of the future and the models of coming generations. The Pontificate of Clement is adorned with a profusion of these illustrious examples of piety and virtue; and again we must lament the impossibility of more than inscribing their names upon our page, without those edifying details which nourish faith, enkindle new zeal, warm the heart and raise the soul. In Italy the blessed Joachim Pelacani, Anthony Patrizzi, Andrew Dotti and Bonaventura Bonacorsi, were the glory of the Order of Servites of Mary. St. Agnes of Monte-Pulciano, BB. Benvenuta Bojano, Emily Bicchieri and Margaret de Metela, illustrated the third Order of St. Dominic, while St. Clare of Monte-Falco practised the highest virtues of Christian perfection in the Order of St. Augustine. The Franciscan Order possessed BB. Conrad of Offida, Francis Venimbeni, Oderic of Friuli, Henry of Treviso, Angela of Foligno and Clara of Rimini. France admired a marvel of

virginity in wedlock, in St. Elzear, count of Sabran, and his youthful bride, St. Delphine, while St. Rosalind of Villeneuve, their relation, was practising all the rigors of penance in the Order of Chartreuse; and St. Roch, the glory of Montpellier, after devoting himself to the service of the plague-stricken, buried the light of his holiness in a lonely forest, happy to suffer, far from all human consolation, the painful infirmities contracted while nursing the victims of a loathsome contagion. At length he came back under the disguise of a foreign beggar, to die in a dungeon of his native Montpellier, where he was confined as a spy by his uncle, the governor of the city, to whom he was unknown. Spain gave St. Peter Pascal and St. Armengol of the Order of Mercy to shed their blood for the faith, by the Moslem's sword. Germany heard with reverent wonder the revelations of St. Gertrude, abbess of the monastery of Heldelfs, in Saxony; St. Mechtildes, her sister, walked by her side in the path of perfection. In the two extremities of Europe, St. Cunegunda, princess of Poland, and St. Elizabeth, queen of Portugal, sanctified the throne by all the virtues of the cloister. The Church of God is like the ocean; storms only serve to purify its waters.

CHAPTER II.

§ I. Pontificate of John XXII. (August 7, A. D. 1316—December 4, 1334).

1. State of the world at the accession of John XXII.—2. Canonization of St. Louis, bishop of Toulouse, and of St. Thomas Aquinas. Universities. Division in the order of St. Francis.—3. Heresy of the Fratricelli. Michael of Cesena. William Ockham.—4. Contest between Louis of Bavaria and the Holy See.—5. Excommunication of Louis by John XXII. Louis deposes the Pope. Election of the antipope, Nicholas V.—6. Popular outbreak against Louis of Bavaria and the antipope.—7. John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia. Submission of the antipope. Death of John XXII.—8. Controversy on the *Beatific vision.*

§ II. Pontificate of Benedict XII. (December 20, A. D. 1334—April 25, 1342).

9. Election and character of Benedict XII.—10. Building of the Papal palace at Avignon.—11. Publication of the bull *Benedictus Deus*, closing the controversy on the Beatific vision.—12. Diet of Reuss. Illegitimate marriage of the son of Louis of Bavaria.—13. Truce effected between Charles the Fair and Edward III. of England, through the intervention of the Pope.—14. Defeat of the Spanish Saracens on the field of Tarifa.—15. Death of Benedict XII.

§ III. Pontificate of Clement VI. (May 7, A. D. 1342—December 6, 1352).

16. Noble generosity of Clement VI.—17. Embassy of the Romans to Clement VI.—18. State of the world at the Pope's accession. Treaty of Malestroit between France and England.—19. Feigned submission of Louis of Bavaria to the Holy See.—20. Clement VI. deposes Louis of Bavaria and bestows the imperial crown upon Charles of Luxemburg.—21. Truce of Calais between France and England.—22. Expedition of Louis, king of Hungary, against Joanna, queen of Naples.—23. Nicholas of Rienzi.—24. The Black Plague.—25. Jubilee of 1350.

§ IV. Pontificate of Innocent VI. (December 18, A. D. 1352—September 12, 1362).

26. Compromise in the conclave. Election of Innocent VI. His first acts.—27. State of Europe at the accession of Innocent VI.—28. Cardinal Æg

dius Albornoz.—29. Peter the Cruel.—30. Battle of Poitiers. Peace of Brétigny.—31. Crusade organized by Blessed Peter Thomas. Death of Innocent VI.

§ V. Pontificate of Urban V. (September 27, A. D. 1362—December 19, 1370).

32. Election of Urban V.—33. Success of B. Peter Thomas in Egypt.—34. Excommunication and death of Peter the Cruel.—35. Wise administration of Urban V. The Pope acquaints the Sacred College and the Christian princes with his intention of returning to Rome.—36. Return of the Pope to the Eternal City.—37. The Eastern and the Western emperors at Rome.—38. St. Bridget. Return of Urban V. to Avignon. His death.

§ VI. Pontificate of Gregory XI. (December 30, A. D. 1370—March 27, 1378).

39. Election of Gregory XI. Revolt of Italy.—40. The Pontifical troops sent into Italy. St. Catharine of Sienna.—41. Return of Gregory XI. to Rome.—42. Wycliffe. Death of Gregory XI. at Anagni.

§ I. Pontificate of John XXII. (August 7, A. D. 1316—December 4, 1334).

1. The death of Clement V., happening at a distance from the natural seat of the Papacy and amid circumstances which had wrought great changes in the College of Cardinals, gave every presage of a stormy conclave. That which met at Carpentras justified the anticipation; it remained without result: the Holy See was vacant for nearly two years. At length, the cardinals, meeting in Lyons, elected James d'Euse, on the 7th of August, A. D. 1316; he took the name of John XXII. The new Pontiff was born of a humble family of Cahors; but he had studied in Italy, had resided at the court of Charles the Lame, and been preceptor to the two princes, his sons. If John XXII. was a Frenchman by birth, he had become an Italian by education and manners; the historians who accuse him of a blind partiality for France have overlooked his antecedents. As a cardinal he had learned the fickle disposition of the Roman people and the continual disorders to which anarchy doomed the Eternal City. As Pope, he understood

the necessity of rescuing the Holy See from the rival influence of the Guelphs and Ghibellines; he accordingly made his residence in the episcopal palace of Avignon, which was thenceforth known as the palace of the Popes; and from this throne, during the twenty years of his Pontificate, he ruled the Church and the world. In the interval preceding his election, Louis had left the throne of France to his brother Philip V., called le Long (the Tall); while a double election, in Germany, had set up, as candidates, Louis, duke of Bavaria, and Frederick of Austria, a son of the late emperor Albert I. (1314), who were now in armed competition for the imperial crown. Meanwhile, England, under the reign of the weak monarch Edward II., was dyed with blood by the contests of the nobles with the king's favorites and by the war against Robert Bruce, king of Scotland. Italy, still a prey to the fatal dissensions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, counted as many battle-fields as cities. Robert of Anjou, king of Naples and pupil of the Pope, was engaged in a contest with Frederick, king of Sicily. Christian blood was flowing in all parts of the world.

2. John XXII. inaugurated his Pontificate by the canonization of St. Thomas Aquinas and of St. Louis of Anjou, bishop of Toulouse and eldest brother of Robert, king of Naples. He had been, like his brother, under the direction of James d'Euse, and the feelings of the Pontiff may be imagined, as he raised upon the altars the prince whose youth he had trained. The saint's mother, the widow of Charles II., still lived. "What a triumph for you," wrote the Pope to her, "what a subject of joy to have given to the world a son whose influence pleads for you in heaven, while his glory crowns you upon earth! In consideration of his merits, of the many miracles wrought through his intercession, and by the advice of all the prelates of Our court, We have placed his name in the Calendar of the Saints." The human mind can hardly conceive a more touching situation than that of a mother, a queen, who sees her son the object of public worship, who can offer him her incense and prayers, collect his sacred relics and surround them with

all that love and veneration can suggest. While the Pope thus consecrated, by Apostolic authority, a memory which must have been to him most dear, he was also engaged in regulating all that could tend to the improvement of the studies and internal discipline of the universities. He founded the celebrated school of Cambridge, and granted numerous privileges to those of Orleans and Toulouse; he completed the collection of decretals by adding the bulls of his predecessor, which were called the *Clementines* (A. D. 1317). But John's solicitude was soon aroused by cares of weightier concern. The divisions introduced into the Order of St. Francis by the question of absolute poverty, though momentarily checked by the decision of the general Council of Vienne, were renewed with more animosity than ever during the interregnum following the death of Clement V. Popular favor leaned toward the Spirituals or Fratricelli; supported by the authority of Peter John d'Oliva, a Franciscan monk, but a man of intemperate zeal, they maintained that the Friars Minors could not claim ownership even of their own food. The Conventuals were accused of violating the vow of poverty by keeping in their houses the necessaries of life. The rabble broke into their monasteries and churches and gave them up to pillage. In the first year of his pontificate, John XXII. published the decretal *Quorumdam exigit*, in which, after a masterly discussion of the points disputed by the Spirituals, he commands them to abide by the judgment of superiors, and recommends submission in these remarkable words: "Poverty is great, and greater still is chastity; but obedience is above both these virtues." This paternal admonition was unheeded, and rigor became a necessity. The tribunal of Inquisition at Marseilles handed over four of the fanatics to the secular arm (1318), which condemned them to capital punishment. Grave men like Nicole, and passionate men like Sismondi, have ridiculed the sect of Fratricelli; they saw only a ridiculous vagary in the obstinate efforts of those monks to realize an impossible degree of poverty; and hence they tax the Church and the Pontiff with barbarous cruelty.

Not many years since, the doctrines of St. Simon, of Fourier and the phalanstery, were treated as mere absurdities; but fear soon took the place of contempt, when these senseless theories, suddenly joining the spirit of revolution, rose up against all principle, under the name of Socialism. What is Socialism, after all, but an offshoot of Fratricellian communism—property proscribed in the name of an immoral well-being, and opposed by Franciscan spiritualism, in the name of an overstrained perfection? Thus, names and forms may change, but the principles remain; and, after struggling for centuries to reach the path of progress, humanity is astonished to find that it has been moving in a circle.

3. The peace restored to the Order of St. Francis by these energetic measures was soon disturbed by a new contest, the more dangerous that it did not attack only the unity of the order, but jeoparded the very unity of the Church. The Spirituals, banished from their convents, took refuge in the theological schools and set up the proposition that "Jesus Christ and the Apostles, the models of evangelical perfection, never possessed any thing, either in particular or in common." The new tenet was no sooner given to the light than it overran the world like an electric flash. Michael of Cesena, general of the Franciscans, and William Ockham, an English brother of the same order, remarkable respectively for eminent station and superior powers of reasoning, openly embraced and upheld the error, the former with all the influence of authority, the latter with all his intellect. Ockham led the Nominalist school, which had fallen into disrepute during the latter half of the thirteenth century, until, raised up again by the efforts of his powerful mind, it had, in a few years, become the preponderating system. Leibnitz gave to Nominalism a crown of glory, in calling it the deepest sect of the schools. Ockham was, therefore, not only one of the most distinguished members of the Franciscan order, but one of the brightest ornaments of Christianity. The opinion embraced by him in the new controversy was of immense weight, and he secured its triumph

in the general chapter of the order, held at Perugia (A. D. 1322). The Franciscans undertook to support it as an article of faith, and to defend it against all attacks. The Pope justly considered the doctrinal decision of Perugia as a factious expression, and he immediately promulgated the decretal *Ad conditorem canonum*, in which he taught that, in things which are consumed by use, the distinction between the propriety and the use itself is inconceivable; that the use essentially presupposes a right, without which it would be unlawful. The Pontifical decree was not yet definitive; it foreshadowed the judgment which the Pope was preparing to pronounce; but it did not settle the question. Before pronouncing the final decision, the Pope deliberated during the space of a year, availing himself of every counsel, causing statements of the question to be drawn up by the most celebrated theologians of the universities, using every light, proceeding with that majestic deliberation which has ever characterized the Roman Church, and which stood out in such marked opposition to the hasty action of the chapter at Perugia. At length, the 12th of November, 1323, witnessed the promulgation of the decretal *Cum inter nonnullos*, by which the Sovereign Pontiff brands, as heresy, the proposition that "Jesus Christ and His Apostles possessed nothing, either in particular or in common, and that they had not the right of alienating what they might have had." Michael of Cesena and Ockham were excommunicated and withdrew to the court of Louis of Bavaria, who was then in open hostility to the Holy See. On presenting himself to the emperor, Ockham said to him, "Prince, I bring you the help of my pen; do you lend me that of your sword." Each fulfilled his part of the compact.

4. Louis of Bavaria had triumphed over his rival, Frederick of Austria, in the battle of Muhldorf (A. D. 1322). Frederick, defeated and a prisoner, renounced his claim to the crown. This event might have secured the peace of Germany and Italy, had Louis been willing to act his part as a Christian emperor; but, blinded by the promptings of an ambition which

grew in proportion as fortune seemed to smile upon him, he aimed at withdrawing the empire from the necessity of confirmation by the Holy See, and declared that he would wear his crown by the right of his sword and not as from the hands of the Pope. John XXII. now found himself standing opposed to Louis of Bavaria, exactly as St. Gregory VII. had been to Henry IV. He met the crisis with energy, and summoned the King of the Romans before his tribunal. Louis answered the summons by invading Lombardy and Tuscany, making an alliance with the Visconti of Milan, and everywhere stirring up a hostile feeling against the Pontifical authority. With a view more openly to brave the Sovereign Pontiff, he marched his army to Rome, where he was solemnly crowned emperor by a deposed bishop; while venal writers flooded Italy and Germany with insulting pamphlets, in which John was styled *Antichrist, heresiarch, the dragon with seven heads spoken of in the Apocalypse.* We could almost imagine the authors of such libels as prematurely developed disciples of Luther. Two celebrated doctors of the period, Marsilius of Padua, and John Jeaudun, signalized themselves by their bitter and boundless hate, even among the rabble of low slanderers, styled by a contemporaneous annalist: *Genimina viperarum.* In a work on the imperial and the Pontifical authority, entitled,"*Defensor Fidei,*" Marsilius maintained that "Jesus Christ had placed no visible head over His Church; that the primacy of St. Peter was a fable invented by the ambition of the Popes; that the emperor alone could raise one bishop above the others, and that this precedence was revocable at his will. It also belongs to the emperor to convoke general councils, to choose, install, judge and depose bishops." Here we may discover that the constitutional heresy which delivers up religion, bound and gagged, into the hands of secular princes and magistrates, is not a thing of yesterday. The doctrine of Marsilius of Padua, moreover, betrays the powerful reaction which was then going on in minds of men against the public law of the middle-ages and the political power with which it had clothed

the Popes. The time was not far off when the same public law should, in turn, undergo great changes. The Sovereign Pontiffs battled bravely against the tendency of the times. The rulers eventually triumphed, and thought to have achieved a great victory when they freed themselves from the political authority of the Popes. They soon learned that, by stripping their own power of this sacred sanction, they had surrendered it, naked and unarmed, to the fury of revolutions and popular caprice.

5. Meanwhile John XXII. had published a bull of excommunication against Louis of Bavaria and all his adherents, declared all his subjects released from their allegiance, and himself cut off from all right to the imperial crown. Louis thought himself powerful enough to brave the Pontifical sentence. On the 14th of April, A. D. 1328, he proceeded to the great square before St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, surrounded by all the pomp and parade of the imperial court; ascending a throne which had been raised above the assembled multitude, he caused his chancellor, amid the deep silence which reigned in the multitude, to make this proclamation: "Is there any one here present willing to undertake the defence of the priest James of Cahors, who styles himself Pope John XXII.?" The question was thrice repeated; no answer being made, the following royal decree was then read: "To give back to the Roman people their ancient glory, we have quitted our country and our family; we have come to Rome, the capital of the world, the centre of the Catholic faith." This pretentious exordium was followed by a sentence of deposition against Pope John XXII. "James of Cahors," said the edict of Louis, "that man of blood, that hypocrite who may justly be called Antichrist, or at least his forerunner, has been convicted of heresy by his writings against the holy poverty of Jesus Christ, and of treason by his unjust measures against the Empire, in our person. Therefore, by the unanimous advice and request of the Roman clergy and people, of the nobles, the bishops, and the faithful of Germany and Italy, we depose him from the bishopric of

Rome, from every ecclesiastical rank and dignity and command, that he be given up to our imperial officers to be punished as a heretic." To crown the sacrilege, Louis had only to create an antipope. Four days later, the Roman people were again called together in the same place. Two thrones were erected upon the steps of St. Peter's, on one of which Louis took his seat. At the same moment, a member of the sect of Fratricelli, Rainallucci of Corbière, was seen approaching through the throng, which made way for him as he advanced. Louis rose at his approach and invited him to sit upon the throne beside his own. The deposed Bishop of Castello, who acted as imperial herald, thrice put the question to the crowd: "Will you have Rainallucci of Corbière for Pope?" To each demand a certain number of voices replied: "We will." Then Louis rose, bestowed upon the antipope the name of Nicholas V., invested him with the fisherman's ring, and the whole assembly, in triumphal procession, entered St. Peter's church, where Louis and his creature crowned each other.

6. While Louis was losing valuable time in these sacrilegious ceremonies, the Pope was at work. On the very next day, in spite of the watchful German guards, a fearless hand posted upon the doors of the Vatican the sentence of excommunication pronounced against Louis of Bavaria, and which no one had yet dared to publish in Rome. A member of the house of Colonna, so long hostile to the Popes, repaired, by a holy daring, the revolts of past days. John rewarded his devotion by raising James Colonna to the episcopal dignity. At the Pope's request, Robert of Anjou, king of Naples, encamped with his army before the walls of Ostia. Fortune seemed to frown upon Louis of Bavaria from the day on which he consummated the schism; still he only redoubled his deeds of cruel violence. Two Roman citizens were burnt alive on the great square before St. Peter's, for the crime of calling John XXII. the rightful Pope. The antipope published two decrees confirming the deposition of John XXII., depriving all his ecclesiastical adherents of their benefices, and threatening with

fire all seculars who refused to forsake his cause. Louis undertook to execute the sentences with his troops. Frederick of Sicily, and the Ghibellines in Lombardy, openly showed their indignation against the schismatical intrusion of the antipope. They refused to send to Louis the subsidies long since promised. He was in want of means, and sought to levy an extraordinary tax upon the city of Rome. The people revolted and Louis was forced to fly, dragging along with him his Pontifical puppet and his court. While passing through Viterbo and the other cities of the Pontifical domain, the royal train was pursued by the insults of the rabble, who threw stones at it, crying out: "Death to the antipope! Long live the Holy See!" The excommunicated prince seemed fated to see every stay give way at once; Marsilius of Padua, who was quite convinced, in the course of this journey, that his imperialist doctrines had not yet worked their way into the popular heart, died of exhaustion, hunger and fatigue. Milan and Pisa, upon which Louis tried his system of forced taxation, were not more docile; and the monarch, leaving his antipope to protect himself, hastily quitted Italy and hurried on toward his own kingdom.

7. A champion of the outraged honor of the Holy See appeared at the same time in Lombardy, in the person of John of Luxemburg, son of the Emperor Henry VII., and crowned by his father, in 1310, king of Bohemia. He did not sit upon that royal throne. A stranger to his subjects, as much in manners as in blood, he preferred the faithful people of his duchy. Indeed, all Europe was his residence; for he appeared with his trusty followers wherever weakness needed a helping hand against the strong oppressor. John possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities which make the hero. His noble countenance was a true index of his lofty soul; active, tireless, careless of danger and of difficulties, he was the very type of chivalry in its highest sense; the lists and the field were his real kingdom, and there he had won a renown which made him the most influential prince in Europe. His presence in Italy was the signal of a Guelphic reaction which gave the death

blow to the party of Louis of Bavaria. Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Pavia, Novarra, Parma, Modena, Mantua, Reggio and Verona declared for John of Luxemburg. Everywhere he recalled the exiles, crushed the factions and blotted out the last traces of discord. The Romans, wild with joy, hoped, for a time, that these changes would give them back the Sovereign Pontiff. The antipope, Rainallucci of Corbière, hastened to Avignon, in the garb of a penitent, with a rope about his neck, and publicly threw himself at the Pontiff's feet. Touched by his sincere repentance, John kindly embraced him, offered him a lodging in his palace and daily sent him dishes from his own table. Happy in the close of the deplorable schism and in the submission of Italy, John was preparing to restore the Holy See to Rome; but he was removed by death, at the age of ninety years, before he could accomplish his design (December 4, A. D. 1334). Years had not weakened the tireless energy of his mind; his pontificate was a model of prudent, firm and well-regulated administration. During the eighteen years of his reign, John XXII. governed the world without quitting the walls of his palace, without once going forth to enjoy the lovely scenery about his beautiful residence. He regulated the internal administration of the Pontifical court; to him the Roman chancery and the tribunal of the Rota owe their existence. His care was especially given to the regulation of the finances. The expenses of the ecclesiastical government were supplied by four sources of revenue. 1st. The offerings of the faithful; 2d. The subsidies furnished by kingdoms placed under the immediate protection of St. Peter. These kingdoms were seven in number, viz.: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Portugal, Aragon and England; 3d. The feudal imposts levied upon the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and upon the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, as fiefs depending upon the Holy See; 4th. The domanial possessions. But the difficulties of collection, the dishonesty of the collectors and the ill-will of princes too often choked up these sources of revenue. To meet the want, Clement V. and John XXII. extended the duties on

annats, expectancies and tithes. The annats were the first year's income of a vacant bishopric, in favor of the Roman court. The expectancy was an assurance given by the Pope to a cleric, of obtaining a benefice in a certain cathedral, when it should become vacant; this promise was subject to a tax which went to the Pontifical treasury. The tithe was a duty of the tenth part, levied on property of all kinds. John XXII. was the first Pope who applied these contributions to the temporal needs of the Papacy. If we remember that the sums thus collected were turned to the most sacred use, to the support of numerous good works, to the maintenance of general order, to the subsistence of the ambassadors, nuncios, legates and other officers of the Pontifical court, we cannot take offence at this seeming wealth. As a temporal power, the Papacy suffers the same need as any other government. With it, money is not an end, but a means. John XXII. simplified the operations of the intricate system of finance, and, at his death, left the Pontifical treasury in a flourishing state.

8. In the last years of his life, John, in treating of the intuitive vision, seemed to lean to the opinion that the blessed will enjoy the presence of God only after the General Judgment. This was a purely speculative opinion, which the Pope merely advanced on theological arguments, without any intention of uttering a dogmatic definition. The Fratricelli, who had already charged him with heresy in the question of the poverty of Jesus Christ, eagerly seized this new occasion of assailing the Pontiff who had rebuked them; but John cleared himself by stating that he had simply put forward a debatable opinion, like all those which were then discussed in the schools. To silence more effectually any calumnies on the subject, the Pope, on his death-bed, made a most orthodox profession of faith, touching the beatific vision.

§ II. Pontificate of Benedict XII. (December 20, A. D. 1334—April 25, 1342).

9. The Sacred College met in conclave at Avignon. The influence of Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord first drew the votes upon Cardinal Comminges. The cardinals demanded of him that, in the event of his election, he should promise to keep the Holy See in France. Cardinal Comminges replied: "Not only would I refuse to purchase any new dignity at such a price, but I would rather give up that which I now hold; for I am convinced that the Papacy, thus transplanted from its native soil, would be placed in a situation of the greatest danger." Having, by this noble reply, ruined his own chances of election, he was forsaken by all his late partisans, who now cast their votes, with the evident intention of throwing them away, upon James Fournier, called the White* Cardinal, whose election no one would have suspected. To the great astonishment of the conclave, he was found to have received two thirds of the votes; he was accordingly proclaimed Sovereign Pontiff and took the name of Benedict XII. The son of a baker of Saverdun, he entered the Order of Citeaux and became a distinguished theologian; his merit alone had raised him to the cardinalate, and now Providence had led him, by mysterious ways, to the pinnacle of ecclesiastical greatness. He proved himself worthy of his elevation by the austerity of his life, the strictness of his principles, and the firmness of his character. He showed none of the natural weakness of flesh and blood. "A Pope," he used to say, "should be like Melchisedec, without father, mother, or genealogy." He took the greatest care to bestow benefices only upon worthy ecclesiastics and after a strict examination. "It were better that the dignities remained vacant" he said, "than that they should fall into unworthy hands." Benedict was ruled by a high sense of duty,

* The cardinal had received his surname from the white Cistercian habit he always wore.

which, on certain occasions, gave to his personal character a degree of energy seldom equalled. "Had I two souls," said Benedict, one day, to the King of France, "I might sacrifice one for you; but I have only one, and that one I shall try to save."

10. Among the last thoughts of John XXII., the most important was that of restoring the Roman court to Italy. Benedict XII. took up the project, and it was on this occasion that the illustrious Petrarch addressed to him a celebrated epistle in Latin verse, in which he represents Rome under the figure of a desolate widow calling upon her spouse to return. Two legates were sent to bear the glad tidings to Italy; but they found that country in such a state of factious disorder that they advised the Pope to delay his return. On the other hand, the cardinals, who were mostly French, entreated the Pontiff to remain at Avignon, and not to expose the Holy See to the storms which awaited it in Italy. Thus compelled to remain in France, the Sovereign Pontiff set about building for the Papacy an independent dwelling, which might answer the purposes at once of a palace and a stronghold. He accordingly raised upon the rock of Notre-Dame-des-Doms the edifice which still stands, and of which he completed all the northern portion.

11. The death of John XXII. left two important matters to be settled by his successor: the question of the beatific vision, and the quarrel of Louis of Bavaria with the Church. The controversy on the beatific vision had become too notorious, had awakened too lively an interest in the minds of the princes, doctors and theologians of the day, to be waived. Conferences on the subject were opened at Avignon, within the second month of the new Pontificate, and lasted a year. At length, on the 4th of February, A. D. 1336, in a solemn consistory, Benedict XII. promulgated the decretal *Benedictus Deus*, in which he defined, in virtue of the Apostolic authority, that "the just souls, which have no guilt yet to expiate, enjoy, immediately after death, the intuitive vision,

that is, the happiness of beholding God, face to face, as He is."

12. The contest with Louis of Bavaria was not so easy of solution. Benedict undertook to end it by gentle means, which accorded better with his natural mildness of disposition than severe measures. He wrote to Louis, proposing the terms of reconciliation, and sent special legates to Germany, charged to enter into an agreement with the monarch upon these conditions. Louis met these generous advances by a feigned submission. He promised to annul the measures taken against John XXII., to revoke all grants of Church property made in the name of the empire, to perform whatever penances the Pope might think fit to impose, and to make satisfaction to the Roman court on a number of other equally important points. This was but a feint suggested by the faithless policy of Louis. By the advice of Michael of Cesena and William Ockham, whose perfidious counsel he always followed, while sending these words of peace to the Sovereign Pontiff he was assembling the electors and princes of the Empire in a diet at Reuss (A. D. 1338), where he published a decree maintaining that "the imperial dignity derived directly from God, that the election alone constituted the emperor, that the confirmation of the Pope only lowered the majesty of the empire, and that whoever held a different opinion was guilty of high-treason." On learning this bold assertion, Benedict gave expression to his indignation at the treachery of Louis in energetic terms. "Your Holiness," said the Bavarian ambassadors, "lately used milder language in regard to our master." "He has chosen to return evil for good," replied the Pope. The king soon found an occasion to crown his scandalous career. Margaret Maultasch, duchess of Carinthia and countess of Tyrol, had long been wedded to John Henry, a son of the King of Bohemia. The unprincipled duchess determined to quit her husband, and offered her dominions to Louis of Bavaria, on condition of his procuring her union with his son, the Marquis of Brandenburg. The proposal was doubly criminal, for, beside the scandal of an

immoral divorce, there was between Margaret and the Marquis of Brandenburg an impediment of kindred in the third degree. Benedict at once interposed his authority to hinder the accomplishment of this criminal project; but an alliance which added two fair provinces to his hereditary domain was a more convincing argument with Louis than the Pope's remonstrances. Recalling the ultra-imperialist maxims of Marsilius of Padua, Louis himself authorized the divorce of Margaret from Prince John Henry, granted a dispensation for the impediment of kindred between the princess and his son, and solemnized their union with royal pomp (1340). Such proceedings closed every avenue to a reconciliation.

13. The zeal of Benedict found an equally arduous field in the relations existing between France and England. The death of Philip V. (A. D. 1322) left the French crown to Charles IV., the third son of Philip, and, like his father, surnamed the Fair. Charles died in 1328, without male issue, and with him the eldest branch of the Capetians became extinct. Philip VI., or Philip of Valois, ascended the throne. He was the son of Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair; but Edward III. of England disputed his succession, on the claim transmitted by his mother Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair. By the Salic law, which excluded females from the right of succession to the throne, the claims of Edward III. had no legal foundation; but he had a powerful army to back them and a hereditary hatred against the royal family of France. Hostilities began with equal fierceness on both sides. In this juncture Benedict displayed the greatest energy; he ordered public prayers throughout all Christendom to obtain from Heaven the close of a struggle which desolated the Church and rejoiced the enemies of the faith. Addressing the wiser counsellors of either monarch, he exhorted them to take pity upon the miseries of the people and to urge upon their masters the necessity of concord. A year's truce followed this peaceful intervention (1340–1341).

14. His authority triumphed in Spain, over difficulties of another nature. He prevailed upon the King of Castile, Al-

phonso XI., to break off his criminal relations with Eleanora de Guzman, reconciled him with the King of Portugal, and silenced all the dissensions which tore the Spanish Peninsula, weakening the strength of the Christians and increasing the boldness of the Mussulmans. The African Moors, availing themselves of the disputes of Christian rulers, were preparing to cross the straits with a formidable armament under Alboacen, king of Morocco. Benedict was greatly distressed at the danger which threatened Spain. All Christendom was concerned in the coming struggle. The Greek empire, beaten down on all sides, opposed but an insignificant barrier to the Turks; Germany, France and England were divided; Italy was but one great battle-field, where Guelph and Ghibelline bled for a fruitless preponderance. What would become of Europe when the Pyrenees ceased to be a bulwark? The Pope felt the need of strengthening the resistance in Spain, and he accordingly summoned into the field the valor of Christian princes and knights, by preaching the Crusade in every land. The forces of Castile, Aragon and Portugal, when joined by the knights of St. John of Calatrava and of St. James, by the Genoese troops and the barons of all the kingdoms of Europe, numbered forty thousand men, not an eighth of the Saracen army, which historians number at three hundred thousand foot and seventy thousand horse. The Moorish host laid siege to Tarifa;* the Crusaders hastened to the rescue; and the walls of the beleaguered city witnessed one of the bloodiest struggles mentioned in history (October 30, A. D. 1314). Two hundred thousand Mussulmans were left upon the field, while the remains of the formidable expedition which had threatened Spain with utter ruin, hurriedly re-crossed the Straits under cover of night. On the morrow the Christians looked in vain for their insolent foe. With the tidings of this brilliant success, the king of Castile sent to the Pope twenty-four Mussulman standards, which were suspended to the arches of the Pontifical chapel.

* The present Josa, situated on the Straits of Gibraltar, S. E. of Cadiz.

Benedict XII., whose paternal care had so opportunely restored harmony to the Peninsula, might justly claim to share the honor of this splendid feat of arms.

15. While Rome, still the prey of factions, forgot her rightful lords, she was renewing, for her idol Petrarch, the pagan ceremony of a coronation in the Capitol (A. D. 1341). Benedict, however, had not forgotten Italy; he sent, as legate to that wretched country, Bertrand de Deux, archbishop of Embrun, who fulfilled his mission with admirable tact. By prevailing upon the Colonnas and Orsini in Rome to conclude a truce for several years, he restored quiet to the city. His efforts were equally successful in reëstablishing harmony in the Pontifical States, the Duchy of Spoleto, the Romagna, and the Marches of Ancona. These pacific triumphs were the last of Benedict's Pontificate; he died at Avignon on the 25th of April, 1342. His administration was marked by useful reforms and by the abolition of several arbitrary exactions, by which some bishops, under pretext of dues, oppressed the ecclesiastics in their pastoral visitations. He made every effort to give back to the cathedrals the exactness of the divine service, which is the life of piety. Ambition, and carelessness in the observance of monastic vows, had gradually weakened the religious spirit among the regular canons, the monks of St. Benedict and those of Citeaux. Benedict drew up wholesome regulations to revive the regularity, love of study and primitive fervor of the three orders. Under his reign the finances continued to prosper. Though he had abolished the reserves and expectancies, yet, as the strictest economy was observed in the least details of his administration, the ordinary income met its expenses. The origin of the Papal tiara is ascribed to the reign of Benedict XII.; its triple diadem represents either the three powers: royal, imperial and sacerdotal; or the spiritual royalty over the faithful, the supremacy over the bishops, and the temporal princedom of Rome.

§ III. Pontificate of Clement VI. (May 7, A. D. 1342—December 6, 1352).

16. The Holy See remained vacant only thirteen days. The votes of the conclave, assembled at Avignon, fell spontaneously upon Cardinal Peter Roger, who took the name of Clement VI. The new Pope was born in the castle of Maumont in the diocese of Limoges. He was presented to John XXII. by Cardinal Mortemart, his fellow-countryman, who loved him with the tenderness of a father. The Pope discovered and appreciated the qualities of Peter Roger, who became successively bishop of Arras, archbishop of Sens and of Rouen, the confidential adviser of Philip of Valois, and finally cardinal under Benedict XII. Clement VI. loved splendor and magnificence; he displayed all their pomp upon the Pontifical throne. His large-hearted generosity, his mildness, liberality and amiable qualities of mind even outshone the external pageantry which surrounded him. He often repeated the maxim of a celebrated emperor: "No one should leave the presence of the prince unsatisfied;" and his own rule was: "We are Pope only for the happiness of Our subjects." When compelled by necessity to refuse a favor, he could always redeem the refusal by the manner in which it was given. During the first year of his pontificate, he issued a bull calling upon all clerics without benefices to apply to him for one. Avignon was thronged with petitioners, and no one withdrew without having received some favor. To meet the claims of his liberality, Clement reserved to himself the nominations to abbeys and bishoprics, declaring all conventual and capitulary elections null. When reminded that these nominations were abuses, and had always been rejected by his predecessors: "Ah!" said the Pope, speaking of his liberal presentations, "my predecessors knew not how to be Popes."* May we not look with indulgence upon some unusual reserves in a Pontiff whose whole aim was the happiness of his subjects?

* "Prædecessores nostri nesciverunt esse Papa." (Baluze, Vid. Vita, p. 311.)

17. As soon as the Romans learned the elevation of Clement VI., they seized the opportunity of again soliciting the restoration of the Holy See to Rome. Petrarch, now become a Roman citizen by his coronation at the capital, was a member of the embassy sent to lay the request before the Pope. The Romans had not yet awaked from their Utopian dream of an independent republic; they begged the Pope to receive the titles of Senator and Governor of the city, not as Pope, but as Lord Roger. This clause alone is sufficient proof of the spirit of anarchy which still ruled them. We are often told that the Popes transferred their See to Avignon only in obedience to French influence, to which they were willing to sacrifice their freedom and their dignity. This is a historical calumny. An exiled prince would lower his character by accepting a crown on such conditions as those now offered to the Pope; he could enter Rome only in triumph; a compromise with a republic was unworthy of the Papacy. It was this consideration which led Clement VI. to refuse the offers made by the Romans, notwithstanding all the eloquence and poetry of Petrarch. Still, to show the Eternal City that, even amid all its wanderings, it was still the favored child of the Church, Clement shortened the interval of the Jubilee to fifty years, and by the bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius* (A. D. 1343) proclaimed it for the year 1350. "We shall gladly seize the favorable moment to restore the Papacy to its natural seat," said the Pope to the deputies; "but the moment does not seem to us to have yet arrived."

18. In his political relations with Europe, Clement found himself in a trying position. In Spain, the excesses of Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, the ambition of Peter the Ceremonious, king of Aragon, and the attempts of both these monarchs were preparing disastrous days for the Peninsula. France and England, united, for a short season, by the wisdom of the mediator, but always hostile by the rivalry of their monarchs, were again at war. In Germany, Louis of Bavaria, persisting in his rebellion against the Roman Church and at the same time, the

avowed protector of a handful of schismatics, once more threatened the Italian States. Naples was still at peace under the rule of its good king, Robert of Anjou; but that prince was sinking into the grave under the weight of premature old age, and the fatal signs of a revolution already began to appear among his subjects. The intricate situation called for a Pontiff, firm, active and energetic. Clement VI. was equal to his Providential mission; his quick eye took in at a glance the state of things, and his energy placed him at once in the field. It was of primal importance to maintain, between France and England, the treaties, of the violation of which those two powers mutually complained. Two cardinals were sent to the two kings, who lay encamped before Vannes. The influence of the Sovereign Pontiff prevailed, and the negotiations resulted in the truce of Malestroit (January 19, A. D. 1343). The truce was but for three years, and yet even during this interval was broken; but the deeply-rooted hate of the belligerent powers gave no ground for better hopes.

19. Meanwhile, the Cardinals Aymeri de Chastellux and Curtil visited Lombardy to confirm the Pontifical authority in that part of the Italian peninsula. This mission was doubly important, as upon its issue depended the success of the step which Clement was preparing to take against Louis of Bavaria. The Pope meant to come to a final understanding with the schismatic. "It is unbearable," said he, "that, for thirty years, Louis should have set at naught two Popes, and is now preparing to brave a third." Struck with fear by these hostile dispositions, the King of Germany understood the necessity of submission, at least in appearance. In spite of all the endeavors of the imperialist school, the popular mind was still strongly in favor of the Sovereign Pontiffs; besides, the exactions of Louis had alienated the affection of all his subjects; the adulterous union of his son with Margaret had aroused Bohemia and Moravia; the people were becoming weary of the rule of a monarch always at war with the Holy See. An act of submission was easy to Louis. He announced to the Sove-

reign Pontiff that he acknowledged all his faults, resigned the empire into his hands, and would resume the reins of government only by his order. This humble profession was received at Avignon as a forerunner of peace after these long disputes; but Louis had no other view, in this humiliation, than that of gaining time by a feigned resignation. In the month of September, A. D. 1344, he called a general Diet of the empire at Frankfort. "We are prepared," said the king to the assembled knights, "to lay down the imperial crown. We shall never incur the reproach of sacrificing the public weal to our personal interest. Still, if your prudence judges the Pope's conditions unreasonable, we shall not hesitate, for the honor of the Empire, to dare the dangers and sufferings which await us." He then laid before the electors, as coming from the Holy See, the conditions which he had himself submitted to the Pontifical judgment. With one voice, the assembly protested against the ambition and violence of Clement. "These articles," cried the barons, "would be the ruin of the Empire; your oath cannot be binding under the circumstances; it would be a crime to fulfil it." An embassy, composed of the noblest and most distinguished members, was charged to convey to Avignon the decision of the imperial Diet of Frankfort. Clement saw through the deceitful policy of Louis of Bavaria, and from that hour negotiation became useless; the monarch's deposition was decreed.

20. The choice of a successor to the Empire was now the Pope's only care. He had first thought of John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, and had even offered the honor to that prince; but John was aged and sightless; a great name without life or power. He felt his inability, and offered, in his place, his son, Charles of Luxemburg, one of the most polished and courteous knights of the period, and then thirty-six years of age. Philip of Valois favored the claim of Charles, with a view to revenge himself on Louis, who had formed an alliance with England. In 1345, Charles of Luxemburg went with his father to Avignon, where he was received with a pomp and magnificence worthy of the dignity to which he was destined

The Pope assured himself of his dispositions and caused him to sign a promise that, in the event of his election to the imperial throne, he would respect the estates of the Church in Italy; confirm all the existing rights of the Holy See; give help and assistance to the Roman Church against the attempts of Louis of Bavaria; annul all the acts of that prince, and never renew the claims of the house of Hohenstauffen. Charles gave the required pledge, and kept it with a fidelity but too rare at that time. On the 13th of April, A. D. 1346, Clement VI., secure in the step he was about to take, published a bull declaring Louis of Bavaria deposed from the royal dignity, releasing his subjects from their allegiance, and directing the electors of the empire to proceed at once to the election of a new emperor, threatening, in case of their refusal, to make the choice himself. In accordance with this express injunction, the electors of Treves, Cologne, Mentz, Saxony, and Bohemia * met at Rheims and elected Charles of Luxemburg, who then took the title of Charles IV. (July 20, 1346). On the 10th of November, in the same year, the Pope confirmed the election in a public consistory. Charles was emperor as fully as the possession of the lawful title can constitute the authority; but he had now to win the substance of his dignity, which still remained in the hands of his rival. The importance of his position aroused all the energies of Louis. At the head of his whole army, he visited the Rhine cities, everywhere satisfying himself of the fidelity of his subjects. Charles, unable to gain entrance either into Aix-la-Chapelle or Cologne, was forced to hold his coronation ceremony at Bonn, in the presence of a few knights true to his cause. The Germans styled him, in derision, the "Emperor of the Priests." God took upon Himself to proclaim the justice of His Pontiff's choice. On the 11th of October, 1347, in the midst of a great hunt, Louis was stricken down by apoplexy. This sudden death changed the position of

* These electors were: Baldwin of Hutzelburg, archbishop of Treves; Waldemar of Juliers, archbishop of Cologne; Gerlach of Nassau, archbishop of Mentz; Rodolph, duke of Saxony; and John, king of Bohemia, the father of Charles of Luxemburg.

affairs; all opposition vanished, and the authority of Charles IV. was acknowledged throughout Germany. Thus ended the long struggle between the empire and the Holy See.

21. The difficulties between France and England promised no such peaceful solution. The fatal defeat of Crecy plunged all France into mourning. Clement was a Frenchman and shared the general grief of his country, which the disastrous field had robbed of the flower of its nobility—Charles of Alençon, the king's brother, the aged hero, John of Luxemburg, who, blind as he was, would still be carried to the field to fight the English once more, beside thirty thousand men-at-arms. England hailed, as the hero of the day, the king's son, a youth scarce sixteen years of age, afterward celebrated as the Black Prince; this battle signalizes the first use, in Northern Europe, of artillery and gunpowder. The Pope hastened to offer his mediation. Two legates, the Cardinals Hannibal de Ceccano and Stephen Aubert, prevailed upon the two monarchs to sign a truce, at Calais, on the 28th of September, A. D. 1347, to last until the 24th of June, 1348.

22. Naples was at this period made the scene of the most lamentable events. Robert of Anjou died in 1342, leaving his throne to his eldest daughter, Joanna, whom he had given in marriage to Andrew, second son of the King of Hungary. The character of the princess was a compound of elegance, frivolity and intrigue. Her conduct and morals were far from regular; they had already shocked the public mind, which was driven to the highest pitch of indignation when it became known that on the 20th of September, A. D. 1345, King Andrew had been cruelly murdered in the queen's own apartments. Joanna, instead of pursuing the assassins, openly took them under her protection; Louis of Hungary swore to revenge his brother's death. The indecent haste with which the queen bestowed her hand upon the Prince of Tarentum, her favorite courtier, revolted all Europe. The King of Hungary sent before him, to the guilty queen, a letter remarkable for its laconic brevity: "Joanna, the irregularity of your past life, the impunity of the assassin, your

precipitate marriage, sufficiently prove you guilty of the death of your first husband." With the speed of a thunderbolt, the king of Hungary crossed the Alps, traversed the whole of Italy, and fell upon the Neapolitan States before Joanna and the Prince of Tarentum could gather an army to meet him. On the 24th of January, 1348, he entered the capital, where he began to act with an implacable severity. The rigor of the brother's vengeance struck terror into all the inhabitants, while Joanna and her husband fled by sea to France, and hastened to Avignon to place themselves and their States under the protection of the Sovereign Pontiff. Clement, without as yet pronouncing upon the merits of the case, accepted their appeal and called the matter before his tribunal. Legates were sent to Naples to acquaint the victorious king with this decision; but that short interval had sufficed to change the current of events. Louis of Hungary had learned that it is easier to win a kingdom than to keep it. The Neapolitans soon became weary of his stern and despotic rule; their wishes were favored by a plague, and, after a sojourn of four months, Louis quitted Naples. The fugitive queen, with her princely consort, entered almost simultaneously by another gate. But her formidable conqueror was resolved to give her no peace. A second triumph was as easy as the first, and Joanna reduced to the limits of her capital, again took to flight and sought an asylum at Gaëta. Fortunately for her, the king of Hungary was beginning to grow weary of these distant expeditions, which drained his treasure without leading to any lasting result. He was accordingly prepared to give a favorable ear to the propositions of an accommodation, made by Pope Clement through Cardinal Guy of Bologna; he agreed to restore her kingdom to the queen, on the condition that she should juridically clear herself of the murder of Andrew, and pay an indemnity of three hundred thousand florins to cover the expenses of the war. The first clause was easily complied with. When the case was opened before the Pope, no witness appeared at his tribunal to accuse the queen, and, as no

authenticated charge was made against her, she was pronounced guiltless. The payment of the indemnity was simply impracticable for a queen whose treasure was completely drained. A renewal of hostilities seemed inevitable, when the Hungarian deputies declared that their master had not made war to amass wealth, but to revenge a brother's blood, and that he remitted the indemnity at first required. This generous resolve drew from the consistory loud expressions of admiration, and a final treaty of peace, signed by the plenipotentiaries, was ratified by the Pope, on the 14th of January, 1352.

23. Meanwhile, Rome had again been undergoing the throes of popular revolution, from which sprung one of those celebrated adventurers who astonish the world, perplex history, shine for a brief moment, as heroes, and fall back, as rapidly as they rose, into the obscurity to which they seemed to have been doomed. Nicholas of Rienzi, whose birth was in the lower walks of life, was one of those daring characters for whom every revolution is a stepping-stone to power. The horrors of anarchy which he witnessed, even in his tender years, had wearied his soul. He would take back his country to the most glorious periods of the past. With this object, he obtained a place in the second deputation sent to Clement VI., and spared no entreaties to induce the Pontifical court to recross the Alps. But the time had not yet come. The Sovereign Pontiff, the enlightened patron of every form of talent, to which his palace was ever open, admired the eloquence, the bold aspirations and superior mind of the youthful deputy. He sent back Rienzi loaded with gifts, and bestowed upon him the lucrative office of Apostolic notary resident at Rome. This favor was used by the tribune as an offensive arm against his benefactor. On the 20th of May, A. D. 1347, Rienzi went up to the Capitol, caused himself to be proclaimed Liberator of Rome and Italy, published a constitution which placed the dictatorship in his hands and proposed to rebuild the Roman Empire on the plan of Augustus. Couriers were sent to Avignon to beg the Pope's con-

firmation of this new power. Rienzi's renown was, in the mean time, becoming known in Europe; the tribune was looked upon as an extraordinary man, his name was on every tongue; the poets, headed by Petrarch, wrote his praise in verses which soon became popular. Clement was wise enough to make no open resistance to an enthusiasm which was too violent to be lasting. He returned an evasive answer, acknowledged the constitution in so far as it was within the laws of justice, at the same time blaming the irregular and revolutionary manner in which it had been established, and reserving the right of afterward pronouncing a final sentence, when he might deem it proper. Time and the course of events settled the matter without the intervention of the Pope. Rienzi's character was not equal to his high position; he was dizzied by the lofty pitch of power he had reached. Pride carried even to folly, and a rule degenerating into cruelty, soon disgusted his warmest partisans. A tumult had raised him upon his lofty pedestal; a tumult dragged him down. He fled to Germany, disguised in a Franciscan habit; the legate of the Holy See pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication against him and his adherents; the authority was placed in the hands of the Pontifical vicar and the senators. In a few days no trace remained of the tribune's power (1348).

24. While the Sovereign Pontiff was exerting the most generous efforts to quench the flames of war which ravaged France, England, Spain, Italy and Germany; the East poured in upon Europe a most fearful scourge. The disastrous contagion known as the Black Plague, and coming from the Western provinces of China—then called Cathay—was brought by some Italian ships to Pisa and Genoa. It spread with frightful rapidity through Italy, France, Germany and England. Two-thirds of the population of Europe were swept away. Here again was witnessed one of those results of great public calamities, of which it would be hard to explain the natural cause. As the symptoms of the plague were somewhat like those of poison, the mortality was ascribed to corruption in the atmosphere and water, and the Jews were charged with producing the corruption

by the use of certain hurtful compositions. Some Jews, overcome by torture, having acknowledged the truth of this charge, and some poison having been actually found in a well, the suspicion soon grew into an assumed fact. A general slaughter of the Israelites then began in Switzerland, Alsatia and in all the Rhine provinces. Clement VI. was too enlightened to credit the charges made against the Jews, and his fatherly heart was too deeply wounded, by the persecutions which they suffered from popular credulity, to look on in silence; he accordingly threw over them the ægis of his Pontifical authority. By a bull of the 4th of July, A. D. 1348, he decreed that the Jews should not be made the victims of groundless charges, that they should not be touched, either in their persons or property, without the sentence of the lawful judge. Amid the general irritation, this decree produced but a partial effect; the Pope issued a second bull, on the 26th of September, in which, after proving the innocence of the Jews in the present case, he ordered all the bishops to publish a sentence of excommunication against those who should carry on the persecution in any way whatever. During the whole period of the epidemic, Clement displayed all the zeal and charity which was to be expected from the common Father of the faithful. Severe as was the visitation of the disease at Avignon, the Pope never thought of quitting his post. Like a good shepherd, he stood by his flock in the hour of danger. He paid physicians to minister to the poor, supplied the funds for a regular association to remove and bury the dead, and exerted the most vigilant care to check the progress of the contagion. The action of the disease was too wide-spread to come entirely within the Sovereign Pontiff's reach; he supplied the absence of his personal ministry by granting to all the metropolitans the right of giving, by their suffragans and parish-priests, a general absolution to all the faithful who died of the plague, adding the most ample indulgences for all the priests and faithful who devoted themselves to the care, whether spiritual or temporal, of the sufferers. Consoled by these favors, the sick bore their pains more pa-

tiently, died with greater resignation, and those who were not yet stricken down found in them the generous courage of charity. The idea of divine justice, so visibly stamped upon the visitation, aroused among the people a fanatical spirit of devotion, such as had already been witnessed in the preceding century. The Flagellantes re-appeared in Flanders, Lorraine, Hungary and throughout Germany. They soon began to disturb the civil administration by their deeds of plunder, cruelty and license, while the Church was called to act against several errors in matters of faith. Philip of Valois shut them out from France, and Pope Clement condemned them in a bull of the 20th of October, 1349, by which he enjoined all bishops and princes to check the progress of the superstition by preventing the meetings of the sects and confining their leaders (1348–1350).

25. The Jubilee was opened just as the plague was beginning to abate its violence. This spiritual favor—as of old, the rainbow after the flood—was a sign of the reconciliation of Heaven and earth, and a source of deep consolation to those whom the plague had spared. Everywhere the faithful hailed the coming season of grace with heartfelt joy. The prodigious number of pilgrims whom piety led to Rome was noted by historians as a remarkable event. From the beginning of the Jubilee, at Christmas, until the 28th of March, on which day the festival of Easter occurred in that year, there were at times twelve hundred thousand, and never less than a million pilgrims in the Eternal City. The throngs of pious strangers who poured through its gates might almost throw a doubt upon the truth of the fact that a three-years' plague had well-nigh turned the world into one vast solitude. For two years, the epidemic had so exclusively occupied all minds that few other events have been chronicled. Human energy seemed to stand appalled before this destroying monster. Italy was the first country that showed signs of returning life, and the awakening was signalized by a reaction, more formidable than ever, against the Pontifical power. The Pepoli of Bologna, the Manfredi of

Faënza, the Pollenta of Ravenna, the Ordelaffi in Forli, the Malatesta at Rimini, the house of Este in Ferrara, became the heads of as many separate States. At Milan, the Duke-archbishop John Visconti seized upon a portion of the Romagna, in contempt of the rights of the Holy See. The Pope summoned him before his tribunal (A. D. 1351). The archbishop made no immediate answer, but requested the legate to appear, on the next morning, in his cathedral, where, before the assembled people, he caused the Pontifical summons to be repeated; then holding up in one hand his episcopal crozier and a drawn sword in the other, he turned to the nuncio exclaiming: "Go, tell the Pope, my lord, that with the one I shall know how to defend the other." Clement answered the defiance by placing Milan under interdict. Visconti then came to terms. The Pope consented to pardon him on the payment of a fine of one hundred thousand florins to the Apostolic chamber (1352). This was the last Pontifical act of Clement VI.; he expired on the 6th of December, two years after Philip of Valois, who had died in 1350, leaving his crown to his son John II., called the Good, whose reign was doomed to bring disaster on the land he ruled.

§ IV. Pontificate of Innocent VI. (December 18, A. D. 1352—September 12, 1362).

26. The conclave which met at the death of Clement VI. was signalized by a hitherto unexampled proceeding, betraying new and strange pretensions on the part of the cardinals. They drew up a kind of compact, which all signed and swore to observe. By this deed the future Pope could create no new cardinals without the consent of the Sacred College; the same consent was necessary for the nomination and deposition of the higher officers in the Roman court, for the bestowal of the government of provinces or cities in the Pontifical States. Had such a compact ever possessed the force of a law, the Pope might indeed have still remained the object of the people's

veneration; but he would have been, none the less, only shadow of power; the Sacred College would have ruled. The Cardinal of Ostia, Stephen Aubert, a native of the little village of Beyssac in Limousin, was elected on the 18th of December, A. D. 1352, and took the name of Innocent VI. His first act was to annul the compact made by the cardinals * and to revoke the constitution of his predecessor on the reserves and expectancies. He discountenanced the plurality of benefices and enjoined each incumbent, on pain of excommunication, to keep the law of residence, which measure cleared the Roman court of a host of idle courtiers seeking only their own interest. The magnificence of Clement VI. gave way to a strict and frugal administration and to an enlightened zeal for reform. Holy orders and benefices were reserved for worthy candidates. "Ecclesiastical dignities," said Innocent, "should be the reward of virtue, not of birth." Thus the Pontifical throne is successively filled by men of the most opposite dispositions, uniting in an eminent degree the most various qualities. An ever-watchful Providence chooses, at each period in the Church's career, the most fitting pilot to steer her course; unity of teaching, the deposit of faith, are guarded with the same integrity, notwithstanding the difference in the various administrations.

27. The political state of Europe was, at this time, most critical, and the new Pope was called upon to settle a number of important and complicated questions. In the North, France and England had broken their truce, and were making ready, notwithstanding all the efforts of Cardinal Guy of Boulogne, for a third struggle, more disastrous than either of the former ones. In the South, Italy was but one great field of blood. The authority of the Holy See was merely nominal there. Castile was still wasted by the fury of Peter the Cruel. Germany alone was at peace under its emperor, Charles IV.; the policy of Clement VI. had triumphed.

28. Charles, true to his promises, had annulled the acts

* Innocent VI., before his election, had signed the compact, with the addition of the following clause: "In so far as it is consistent with justice."

and decrees of Louis of Bavaria, in so far as they opposed the rights of the Popes. In 1355 he set out for Rome to receive the imperial crown; his journey through Italy resembled a triumphal march. Cardinals, delegated by the Pope, presided at the coronation, after which Charles immediately quitted the Eternal City. Innocent had, meanwhile, been maturing the design of restoring the Papal chair to Italy. The task involved nothing less than a conquest; the Pope set himself to the work with energy. To this end he devoted the means left in his hands by a frugal administration. The success of the undertaking required that its leader should be a man endowed, at once, with political genius and military valor. Such a man was fortunately found in the very ranks of the Sacred College, and Innocent VI. had the tact to discover his worth. Cardinal Ægidius Albornoz had been counsellor of state and standard-bearer to the King of Castile, Alphonso XI. He had greatly contributed to the brilliant victory of Tarifa, after which the Castilian monarch insisted upon receiving the honor of knighthood at his hand. Having been afterward promoted to the archbishopric of Toledo, he continued to serve his country until the accession of Peter the Cruel. The open remonstrances which he had the courage to address to the tyrant resulted in his being compelled to seek shelter from his revenge under the shadow of the Apostolic chair. His reputation had reached Avignon before him, and Clement VI. made him a cardinal. Resigning his archbishopric of Toledo, he attached himself exclusively to the Pontifical court. This was the leader to whom Innocent intrusted the army he wished to send into Italy. With our modern views, we cannot understand the idea of a military cardinal. A complete reaction against the system of the middle-ages has so perfectly separated the two powers, that a cleric, though gifted with every quality that makes a great man, may no longer serve his country by his talents or his counsel. Each particular age views the same facts in a light peculiar to itself. Men did not think in the fourteenth century as they do in the nineteenth; and

so Spain had her Ximenes; France, her Cardinal d'Amboise, and later, a Richelieu; nor have their names left a stain on the page of history. Albornoz belonged to this race of great men. For fifteen years Italy was the scene of his masterly plans and ready execution; here he displayed the hidden resources of military science with the most intricate combinations of policy; all that a powerful mind can bring to bear upon complicated positions; all the readiness of consummate skill to profit by the chances of fortune; in a word, all the intrepidity of a hero joined to the unshaken firmness of a sage. At the end of his immortal mission, the Holy See was again in possession of its Italian States, which had been lost to it for half a century, and Albornoz has earned the gratitude of the world by the great benefit conferred upon it in the reëstablishment of the Papal power in Rome. This fickle people still dreamed of the days of its heathen glory; the name of Rienzi was again becoming popular. Albornoz knew that to wear out prejudices by yielding a little to them at times, is more efficient than open resistance; he recalled the tribune from his exile in Germany, obtained his release from the excommunication which weighed upon him, and then sent him to the Romans. The news of his approach aroused all the old enthusiasm of the people in his regard. The multitude, intoxicated with joy, ran in crowds to meet him; it was as if Scipio Africanus had once more come in triumph to the Capitol. Had Rienzi known how to use his power with moderation, his reign might have been long; but for him greatness was an intoxicating beverage, and his reason was disordered by the draught. His extravagance, pride and debauchery, which were only varied by deeds of bloody revenge, soon aroused the popular indignation against him. Hardly a year had passed since his triumphant restoration, when his ears were stunned with the cries of, "Death to the tyrant! Long live the people!" The Capitol is surrounded by a furious mob. The tribune appears at a window and motions for silence; the outcry is redoubled, and the palace is set on fire; the multitude is ever ready to outrage to-day the idols

before which it bowed but yesterday; Rienzi's remains, after receiving the grossest insults of the excited populace, are thrown into the flames (A. D. 1354). Albornoz did not think the hour had come to take possession of Rome. Seldom do lasting peace and order follow, without gradual transition, the last struggles of anarchy. He allowed the Romans to raise up a new dictatorship, more disgraceful than any that had preceded it, in favor of a cobbler named Lelio Calzolaio. The Romans seemed at a loss for means to disgrace themselves. The cardinal was, in the mean time, successively destroying the petty despotisms set up in the various towns of the Marches of Ancona and the Romagna; he wrested Bologna from the hands of the Visconti, and, after a series of brilliant victories, concluded treaties of submission and peace with the Malatestas, the Ordelaffi, the Manfredi and Pollentas, and finally brought under his power the whole domain of the Church, by the splendid feat of arms at San Ruffello (1361).

29. While the temporal power of the Papacy was winning these triumphs in Italy, its moral influence was less successful in other quarters. In Spain and France the authority of Innocent VI. was ignored. At the very opening of his reign, Peter the Cruel had repudiated his royal consort, Blanche of Bourbon, one of the most accomplished princesses of the period, to give himself up to all the excesses of a criminal passion for a female adventurer named Maria Padilla, who was, in turn, put away to make room for Jane de Castro. The shameless monarch dared to contract an alliance with this last victim of his unbridled passion, in spite of the ties which bound him to the queen; and two false prelates, the Bishops of Avila and Salamanca, were found to sanction the divorce and bless the sacrilegious nuptials. Blanche was imprisoned in the castle of Siguenza; the bishop of that see, for daring to plead the cause of the wronged and outraged queen, was put in irons. The Pope, on learning the outrage, sent an internuncio to Castile and pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Peter the Cruel, Jane de Castro, Maria Padilla and the two venal pre-

lates. The kingdom of Castile was, at the same time, placed under interdict. The tone of the Sovereign Pontiff, on this occasion, was worthy of the defender of outraged religion and morality. "The whole world," says the Pontiff to the tyrant, "is shocked by the accounts of your disorders; your scandalous life is no longer a secret to any one. God had set you up to correct the wanderings of the people, and you have become their leader in iniquity! O crime! O infamy! The sword which the Almighty gave into your hands to punish the wicked and to defend the good, you brandish against an innocent woman!" Peter answered the reproaches of the Sovereign Pontiff by sending two executioners to murder the hapless queen in her dungeon. The thunders of the Church were unavailing against the cruelty of a crowned barbarian; but Blanche of Bourbon was a French princess; France had a Duguesclin to avenge her wrongs.

30. The kingdom of France had now fallen so low that its final ruin might not unreasonably have been predicted. In 1356, war was again begun between Edward III. and King John. At the head of eighty thousand men, the French monarch had succeeded in surrounding, near Poitiers, sixteen thousand English, commanded by Edward and his son, the Prince of Wales. Cardinal Talleyrand, the Pope's legate, hastened to the field and spoke words of peace. The English, who thought themselves irretrievably lost, offered to restore all their conquests. Talleyrand entreated King John to spare so much Christian blood and to accept so fair an offer; John was unyielding. Never was a battle begun with a greater presumption; and never was a field more disgracefully lost. The English sought only death, and fought like lions; the most unlooked-for triumph crowned their valor. Ten thousand knights, the flower of the French chivalry, remained upon the field. The king, his son, and a number of great lords were captured (A. D. 1356). France uttered a wail of despair and robed herself in mourning at the news of this fearful disaster. Innocent had been unable to avert the evil, but he at once set about

repairing it. A truce of two years was signed at Metz (1357), by the Prince of Wales and the Dauphin Charles, who had seized the reins of government when his father was taken prisoner; this truce was due to the efforts of Cardinal Talleyrand. At the expiration of the truce, Edward took up arms once more against a kingdom without an army, wasted by the faithless depredations of Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, and torn to shreds by contending factions, sprung from its own lacerated bosom. Innocent alone could save France; and he did it. Androin de la Roche, abbot of Cluny, was charged by the Pope to negotiate a peace. The meeting took place in the village of Brétigny, about a league from Chartres, and the treaty was signed on the 18th of May, 1360. Its conditions reduced the territory of France to a few provinces, while England gained an immense preponderance; but it struck off the chains of King John. The peace of Brétigny was then esteemed a master-stroke of policy. It may, perhaps, even now be looked upon in that light, if we reflect upon the imperious necessity existing for it, the difficulties to be overcome in its execution, the joy it gave to both parties, and the gratitude felt toward its author, since both English and French joined in entreating the Sovereign Pontiff to bestow the cardinal's hat upon the abbot Androin, as a reward for his skilful negotiation.

31. The Papacy watched over the general wants of the Catholic world. Italy, now in arms, furnished no subsidy; France and England were so deeply engaged in their national contest, that they forgot to pay their tithes; Germany alone could afford the means necessary for so many undertakings. To crown the series of misfortunes, Charles IV. hitherto devoted to the interests of the Holy See, refused to allow in his States the collection of the Pontifical dues. The anxiety caused at Avignon, by this gloomy state of things, was soon dispelled. Charles had been, for a moment, misled by exaggerated notions of reform; he was easily convinced by the mild representations of Innocent, and recalled his prohibition. The Pontiff's attention was next drawn in another direction. John Palæologus,

the eastern emperor, had lately seen the city of Adrianople, the key of Greece, the bulwark of the empire, fall into the hands of Amurath I. The East, reduced to a few scattered and disjointed provinces, was utterly defenceless; Byzantium was in its agony. Palæologus begged more earnestly than ever for the help of the chief of Christendom; as an inducement, he promised the re-union of the two Churches, a re-union so often tried but always thwarted by the bad faith of the Greeks. There was, at Avignon, a man whose energy and talent seemed to warrant, for the expedition to the East, a success like that of Cardinal Albornoz in the Peninsula. This was Blessed Peter Thomas, an apostle, a diplomatist, a dauntless warrior, equally preëminent in the council and in the field. Repeated missions had made him thoroughly acquainted with the wants and the manners of the people of the East. Innocent appointed him legate *a latere*, and intrusted him with the organization of a Crusade. With a fleet of Venetian galleys and the squadron of the Knights of Rhodes, Thomas visited Smyrna and the other seaports of the Asiatic coast, inspired the Christians with new hope and courage and at length reached Constantinople, where he was received with transports of joy; the schismatical Patriarch was deposed, and the emperor tendered to the legate his oath of fidelity to the Holy See. Thomas laid siege to Lampsacus, and took it by storm in sight of a Turkish fleet, powerless to defend it. The islands of Crete and Cyprus abjured the schism and acknowledged the Roman supremacy. After these brilliant successes, Thomas returned to Europe to obtain additional forces; but he did not find Innocent VI., who had sunk under the weight of years and infirmities, on the 22d of September, A. D. 1362, in the tenth year of his Pontificate.

§ V. Pontificate of Urban V. (September 27, A. D. 1362—December 10, 1370).

32. Twenty-one cardinals went into conclave, and before the close of the first day two-thirds of the votes were given to

Cardinal Hugh Roger, a brother of Clement VI. Moved by a sentiment of humility seldom found in the history of great men, the prelate, whose thoughts were fixed upon works of holiness and never turned to the tiara, refused the proffered honor. The suffrages then turned to Cardinal Raymond de Canillac, but not in sufficient numbers to insure his election. At length, to put an end to all delay and intrigue, it was agreed that the Pope should be chosen without the Sacred College, and, on the 27th of September, A. D., 1362, the abbot of St. Victor's of Marseilles, William Grimoard, was elected Sovereign Pontiff. The abbot was at the time in Florence, on his way to Naples, to fulfil a mission intrusted to him by Innocent VI. From that city he addressed to the conclave a letter of acceptance, and assumed the name of Urban V. The new Pontiff was a Frenchman, born in the castle of Grisac, near Mende; but all his sympathies were for Rome. Long before his election, he had openly made known his views on the subject. He considered the removal of the Holy See to Avignon as a temporary measure, of which the highest interests of the Church required the speedy change. As Pope, it was in his power to realize the project. To him the Papacy owes that glorious initiative.

33. His first care was to carry on the expedition begun by his predecessor and so gloriously opened by Blessed Peter Thomas. The successful commander was now visiting all parts of Europe, accompanied by Peter of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, everywhere imparting a portion of the enthusiasm with which they were themselves animated and receiving favorable answers. John II. of France, Wlademar III. of Denmark, even the proud Duke of Milan, Barnabo Visconti, who had succeeded his uncle, the archbishop, in the government of that city—all took the cross. An immense armament was the result of this generous impulse on the part of these princes; all seemed to promise a powerful and triumphant expedition. But before crossing the sea to fight the Mussulmans, John was mindful of his obligations to his English conquerors. Finding him-

self unable to fulfil all the conditions of the treaty of Brétigny, he went back to London of his own accord, as a prisoner, with these noble words, which are more glorious than fields of triumph: "If truth were banished from earth, it should find an asylum in the hearts of kings." His was the bearing of a true hero; to meet such noble conduct with equal generosity, Edward had but one course to pursue; to break the chains which were thus asked of him. But in this he failed; and John died in the Tower of London, a prisoner on parole. He was succeeded by his son Charles V., surnamed the Wise. The Crusade was without a leader; the King of Cyprus and Peter Thomas could gather but five hundred horse and six hundred foot for an undertaking which would have needed all the powers of the West. Around this little nucleus they rallied the army of the Knights of Rhodes, ten thousand in number, and on the 4th of October, A. D. 1365, this handful of Christian warriors triumphantly entered the city of Alexandria, defended by upward of fifty thousand Saracens under the Soldan of Egypt. Had the victors been supported, a second Latin kingdom might have been established in Jerusalem; but their weakness in numbers lost them the fruits of their splendid daring. Four days after their entrance into the capital of Egypt, they again set sail for Cyprus. Their losses were not irretrievable so long as Peter Thomas, the soul of these undertakings, was spared to them. But, worn out by the labors of so many arduous missions, and still more by grief at his inability to rescue the Saviour's sepulchre from the tyranny of the Unbelievers, he fell at last, on the feast of the Epiphany, 1366. He had lived an apostle and a hero; he died the death of the blessed. The splendor of his virtues, the prodigies which glorified them after death, and the judgment of the Church, have asserted his claim to the title.

34. Urban V. was now engaged in another Crusade. Upon his accession to the Pontifical throne, he had renewed the sentence of excommunication pronounced against Peter the Cruel, with the addition of a sentence of deposition, conveying the

kingdom of Castile to the king's natural brother, Henry of Transtamare. For nearly twenty years France and Italy had been overrun by bands of plunderers who ravaged city and country under the various names of *Compagnies blanches* (white companies), *Jacquerie*, *Routiers* and *Tard venus* (late comers). Urban V. vainly endeavored to enlist these disorderly bands in the Eastern expedition. The mere thought of fighting the Turks, who would bring them, as they said, to an evil end ("qui les feraient mourir de male mort"), filled them with dread. It was easier to persuade them to cross the Pyrenees with Bertrand Duguesclin for their leader and a bounty of two hundred thousand livres in gold, paid by the Apostolic chamber. Peter the Cruel was powerless against this formidable invasion, and was forced to give up to his brother his crown, with his life, which the latter took with his own hand. This tragic resolution of the question took place in the year 1369; it was hailed by Spain as an inestimable benefit, and won for Henry of Transtamare the glorious title of Liberator.

35. Urban V. was steadily carrying out a policy of wise and useful reform. Benefices were bestowed only upon pious and learned candidates. The modest worth which thought itself hidden in the shade of seclusion was astonished at finding itself discovered and drawn forth by the Pontiff's hand, to be placed upon the candlestick. Pope Urban had appointed a certain number of prudent and strictly conscientious agents in each province, to gather the information necessary to guide him in his choice, and to send him faithful reports. By this means he soon acquired a clear and correct knowledge of the capacity, morals, learning and piety of nearly every ecclesiastic. He then sent out visitors who, without distinction of persons, rewarded the meritorious, punished the bad and deposed the unworthy. The highest eulogy of this Pontificate is contained in the answer made by Cardinal Talleyrand,* when asked what

* Cardinal Talleyrand, by his consummate skill and unerring policy, had for half a century exercised a paramount influence in the court of Avignon. It was said of him that he had promoted many Popes but would not be one himself.

he thought of Urban V., "I think," replied the aged Cardinal, "that we have now a Pope. Duty compelled us to honor others; but we fear and reverence the reigning Pontiff because he is powerful in word and work." The Sovereign Pontiff was preparing for the translation of the Holy See. In 1365, the emperor, Charles IV., visited Avignon to confer with him upon the great project. The removal from Rome had, to a great extent, lowered the Papacy. This position had not been of its own choosing, but was a natural consequence of the factious dissensions in Italy. The assertion of many superficial historians, that the Popes of the fourteenth century pledged themselves to the French monarchy to reside beyond the Alps, is false; the best proof that such an engagement never existed is the fact that the French kings never appealed to it in their endeavors to oppose the removal of the Holy See. The Popes dwelt in France only so long as it pleased them to do so; they quitted it only with the same restriction and in spite of the efforts of kings to the contrary. Still their residence at Avignon placed them in an abnormal position. In a temporal point of view, no city can take the place of Rome as the seat of the Pontifical power. Since the transfer of the See to Avignon, the Sacred College had been almost entirely made up of Frenchmen. Their habits, manners and affections were in harmony with their place of abode. This was doubtless an honor for France. But the exclusively local character thus given to the Roman court had an appearance of nationality in strong contrast with its traditions and duties of universality. Other nations naturally found, in this position, a pretext for jealousy and mistrust. "Rome," said Pope John XXII., "must ever be the capital of the world, whether we wish it or not." Urban V. was keenly alive to the exigencies of his position. In 1366 he acquainted the Sacred College and all the Christian princes with his intention of returning to Rome in the following year. Cardinal Albornoz, whose policy was crowned by this resolution, since it was made practicable only through his victories, received directions to prepare the palace of Viterbo and

the Vatican for the reception of the Sovereign Pontiff. Charles V. of France at once sent, as ambassador to the Pope, Nicholas Oresme, whose reputation for learning and eloquence was at its height in Paris. He was charged to use every available means to turn Urban V. from his purpose. The ambassador employed all the resources of the oratorical art to dissuade the Pontiff from his purpose; representing the anarchy which was rending Rome and Italy, and holding up all the advantages offered by a residence in France, his native land; but he was convinced of the fruitlessness of his efforts when Urban replied to his lengthy discourse: "Not only have you failed to dissuade Us from our projected undertaking, but your arguments rather serve to hasten Our departure." Petrarch was more favorably heard when he wrote to the Pope: "You give bishops to the other churches; will you not restore her own to Rome?" The French cardinals, with three exceptions, joined their entreaties to those of Charles; but the Pontifical resolve was irrevocably fixed; nothing could shake it. Urban threatened to depose the delinquents and to give their places to Italians; there was no remedy but to bow before a will so firm.

36. On the 30th of April, A. D. 1367, the Pontifical court left Avignon and embarked at Marseilles upon a fleet of twenty-three ships fitted out for the purpose. On the 3d of June the Sovereign Pontiff landed at Cormeto, where he was received by Cardinal Albornoz with an immense concourse of nobles and prelates of the States of the Church. A deputation of Roman citizens laid at his feet the sovereignty of Rome with the keys of the Castle of St. Angelo. The Pope hastened to Viterbo, where he received the ambassadors sent by the various Christian powers to congratulate him on his happy return. The emperor, the Queen of Naples, the King of Hungary, the republic of Tuscany—all seemed to vie with one another, on this occasion, in magnificence and devotion. We may safely assert that never was homage more heartfelt. The brilliant pageant was increased by the arrival of the Patriarch of Constantinople, accompanied by a number of great Eastern lords. The prelate

brought an assurance of the sincere return of the Greek emperor to Catholic unity, and of an approaching visit of that prince to the Pontifical court. The general rejoicings were interrupted only by the death of Cardinal Albornoz (August 24, 1367). Three months later, Urban V. made his triumphal entry into Rome, which, for sixty years, had not enjoyed the presence of the successor of St. Peter. The air was filled with shouts and hymns of joyful praise. The Pontifical train could with difficulty make its way through the dense throngs that packed the streets, closing around the escort eager to gaze upon the features of their pastor, so long and so earnestly desired. Urban went first to the church of St. Peter to pray at the tomb of the Apostles, and then took possession of the Vatican.

37. Within a year, Rome was made the scene of another and scarcely less imposing display, by the reception of the emperors of the East and of the West. Charles IV. came to receive the imperial crown from the hands of Urban V., in the church of St. Peter; John Palæologus wished to renew, in the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff, his oath of fidelity to the Roman Church. Urban received him on the steps of St. Peter's; the Greek emperor made three genuflexions as he approached the Pope and prostrated himself to kiss his feet. The Pontiff raised him up, affectionately embraced him, and led him by the hand into the Basilica amid the solemn chant of the Te Deum. Palæologus hoped to obtain from the West some help against the Turks; Urban made every effort to organize a Crusade, but the time of those expeditions was forever gone. Charles V. of France was wholly taken up with the duty of raising his kingdom from the fall it had received in the treaty of Brétigny. Edward III. needed all his strength to hold his conquests. Charles IV. of Germany was too far advanced in age to risk a distant expedition; beside, he was not a warrior, and his whole attention was given to the civil and ecclesiastical reform of his States. Urban himself did not long enjoy the peace and quiet he had hoped to find in Rome

38. The factious and uneasy spirit of the Italians was soon again in motion. Sedition and tumult began to resume their reign in the cities of the Ecclesiastical States, and the Pope learned to regret the peaceful abode of Avignon. The cardinals availed themselves of these dispositions to urge the Pope's return to France. After some hesitation, the Pontiff thought proper to yield to their prayers. This determination was a source of deep grief to all the faithful, who saw in it a return of the exile of the Papacy. Rome was at that time the abode of an illustrious Swedish princess, whose virtues the Church has since crowned with the title of saint. Bridget was born under the cheerless skies of Scandinavia, and her very piety seemed to have borrowed some of the native harshness of the climate. The very mention of her penances is fearful; they might be deemed incredible, did we not know that divine love raises human nature above itself. Though St. Bridget was so severe toward herself, her outward bearing was marked by modesty, mildness and charity. Piety seemed to possess her in its very perfection, even from the cradle. At the early age of seven years, God began to favor her with His communications, which became more frequent as she grew in age. In one of her visions she was told to make a pilgrimage to Rome; her object was to obtain the Pontifical sanction for a religious order which she had lately founded. When the Pope made known his intention of quitting Rome, St. Bridget was favored with a revelation and commanded to make it known to Urban V. The saint fulfilled her mission, and warned the Pope that a speedy death awaited him in France. Either Urban doubted the authority of the revelation or intended to avoid the result by afterward returning to Italy, and his resolution remained unchanged. On the 16th of September, A. D. 1370, the galleys of the French king landed him at Marseilles, and on the 24th he entered Avignon amid transports of joy on the part of the people, the more lively as they had thought never to see him again. But St. Bridget's fatal prophecy was soon verified. While the full vigor of strength and energy seemed to promise

him a long reign, Urban was suddenly seized by an unknown disease, which, by its rapid progress, gave warning of his approaching end. It is said that his soul was filled with a lively sorrow for having restored the Holy See to France, and that he made a vow to return to Rome in the event of his recovery. But he was never to see Rome or Italy again. He died on the 19th of December, 1370, after a Pontificate of eight years.

§ VI. Pontificate of Gregory XI. (December 30, A. D. 1370—March 27, 1378).

39. Providence gave to the illustrious deceased a worthy successor in Cardinal Peter Roger of Beaufort, a nephew of Clement VI. He took the name of Gregory XI., and was the last of the French Popes. The principle of French exclusion, which has since prevailed in the Papal elections, rests upon no Apostolic law or Constitution. It is a natural result of the situation and of the fear that a French Pontiff might renew the transfer of the Holy See into his own country. All contemporary historians vie with each other in extolling the virtues of Gregory XI.—his humility, modesty, prudence, liberality, unruffled sweetness and affability of disposition, form the theme of their unbounded praise. He likewise saw the importance of restoring the Papacy to its natural seat; and, happier than his predecessor, he settled the great question. It seems to us that sufficient credit has not been given to the French Popes for the fact that the first steps toward the restoration of the Holy See to Italy came entirely from them; that they carried it out with heroic courage, against all the entreaties of the Sacred College and the multiplied obstacles of all kinds which barred their way. The first difficulty which met the new Pope, in the execution of his project, came from Italy itself. The flames of discord had broken out with renewed violence, and Milan had joined Florence in a powerful league against the Pontifical power. A troop of adventurers, led by an Englishman named John Hawkwood, offered their services to Barnabo

Visconti and the Milanese lords. This band of marauders plundered all the towns of the Romagna and of the Marches of Ancona. The inhabitants, expecting no help from the Pope, joined the freebooters and ravaged the whole country under a standard on which was written, in letters of gold, the word *Liberty*. The disorder spread like a contagion. Viterbo, Perugia, Assisi, Spoleto, Civita-Vecchia, Ravenna, and Ascoli, threw off the authority of the Roman Church. The insurrection had broken out in the month of November, A. D. 1375, and at the end of December there was not a single port in Italy where the Pope could land. The republic of Venice had first raised the standard of revolt; against that power Gregory aimed his first blow.

40. Spiritual weapons alone would have been powerless to check so many seditions. The Pope took into his pay a force of Bretons, commanded by two valiant knights, John of Malestroit and Sylvester of Bude. This independent troop, comprising six thousand horse and four thousand foot, had levied a tribute upon the southern provinces of France. They were warriors of fierce and untrained courage, as renowned for their blustering as for their valor, and when asked if they expected to enter Florence: "Since the sun enters it," replied the fearless adventurers, "why should not we?" Such were the champions won by the skilful policy of the Pope to the defence of the Holy See. The Bretons crossed the Alps, accompanied by Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who laid Florence under interdict, excommunicated the chiefs of the Republic and summoned them to appear in person before the tribunal of the Apostolic See. The Pontifical army rolled like a torrent through all the towns within the jurisdiction of the Republic; the Florentine garrisons quailed before these fierce opponents and fell back upon the capital. Meanwhile the Pope banished all Florentine traders from Avignon; he pursued them through every part of Europe; he allowed the confiscation of their goods, the imprisonment of their persons and their subjection to bondage. These measures overthrew the whole commerce of Florence and caused it a loss

of three millions of florins. The chiefs of the Republic, terrified by this display of vigor, began to think of treating for peace. In the convent of the Sisters of Penance of St. Dominic, at Sienna, dwelt a holy virgin named Catherine, who lived on earth like an angel of heaven. She was one of those chosen souls that God loves to fashion in the mould of perfection, even in the tenderest age, to show them to the world as the marvels of His grace. She was but twenty-nine years of age, and yet all Italy was full of the renown of her virtues. To this lowly virgin the nobility of Florence now turned, deeming her the best defender of their interests before the court of Avignon, the only ambassador capable of appeasing the just indignation of the Sovereign Pontiff. The servant of God was accordingly summoned to Florence and loaded with honors. The noblest citizens went out to meet her and begged that she would undertake their reconciliation with the Holy See. Catherine took upon herself this delicate mission, for the glory of God; and the youthful religious, whose life had hitherto flowed smoothly on in cloistered silence and rapt contemplation, suddenly found herself the envoy of a powerful republic. Gregory XI. received Catherine of Sienna with all the distinction due to her virtue and devotedness; and as a proof of his thorough confidence, and of his desire for a reconciliation, he left to her judgment the conditions of the treaty, only recommending her to save the honor of the Church. But the negotiations were not yet to close. While the saintly ambassadress of Florence was trying to smooth the way for peace, the Republic had established the famous tribunal known as the *Eight of the War*. On learning this news at Avignon, the Pope said to the saint: "Believe me, Catherine, they will deceive you as they have already deceived me." The war still continued with unabated fury. The Florentines had met the terrible Bretons with Hawkwood's Englishmen. Conflagration, slaughter and pillage, under various standards, visited every town in wretched Italy.

41. Notwithstanding the anarchy which was rending the Peninsula, Gregory still prepared to set out for Rome. St

Catherine strongly urged the measure. "You ask my advice touching your return to Rome," wrote the Saint in 1376. "In the name of Jesus Christ crucified, I say that you should start as soon as you possibly can." The disputes between France and England, so fatal to the first kingdom under John, were more equalized, since the prudence of Charles V. had somewhat restored the fortunes of France. The interests of this kingdom, then, could no longer hold back the Sovereign Pontiff. On the 13th of September, A. D. 1376, Gregory XI. looked for the last time upon the Pontifical palace and city of Avignon. As he passed through Provence, the people flocked about him to manifest their deep regret at his departure. He was awaited at Marseilles by twenty-two galleys, commanded by the Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes, Ferdinand of Heredia. The restoration of the Papacy aroused so great an enthusiasm in Italy, that even the republic of Florence, though waging war against the Church, sent to Gregory a splendid ship, equipped at the expense of the republic. The fleet weighed anchor on the 2d of October. "Great God!" exclaims the French annalist, an eye-witness of the scene, "who can express the tears and sighs and wails to which the cardinals then gave free course! The Pope himself wept. No, the throes of childbirth are less agonizing than was the pang of such a parting. On the 18th of January, 1377, the Pope, on horseback, made his entry into Rome, surrounded by multitudes intoxicated with joy. His path was strewn with flowers; flaming torches lighted his way, the walls reëchoed the repeated cry: "Long live Gregory XI!" Nothing was wanting to add to the splendor of the pageant; nothing save, perhaps, the triumphal pæans with which Petrarch would have hailed the wished-for event; but the poet had died three years before (1374). In reëstablishing the Holy See at Rome, Gregory found there a popular magistracy existing under the name of *Bannerets*, who, however, came at once to lay at the Pontiff's feet the wands emblematic of their rank and power. Gregory, moved by a noble sentiment of generosity, wished to signalize the opening of his

administration by no changes in the form of government. He accordingly allowed things to move on in their wonted course; but he soon had occasion to repent of his liberality. In the history of the Church, nothing has been found to equal the fickleness of the Roman people, unless it be the patience of the Popes. Gregory soon found himself beset by the eternal factions which cursed the city; and he was obliged to withdraw to Anagni.

42. To the anxiety caused by these political troubles was suddenly added the alarming intelligence that a great heresy was springing up in England. The author of the new doctrine was an Oxford theologian named John Wycliffe, a proud, restless spirit, but deeply versed in scholastic subtleties. His office of guardian in the university having been transferred to a certain monk, Wycliffe appealed to the Holy See, which confirmed the last appointment. From that time Wycliffe's anger was turned against the Pope. He was at first content to renew the errors of Marsilius of Padua, concerning the ecclesiastical power; but he soon fell into a systematic heresy. Wycliffe's doctrine may be viewed under two aspects: the philosophical, and the theological. Philosophically, this reformer's doctrine is a rude compound of Manicheism, Pantheism and Fatalism. In his system, God abandons the world to the powers of evil, or, in other words, the good principle obeys the evil; every creature partakes of the divine nature. Blind necessity rules every event; whence it follows that there is, in God, neither providence, nor liberty, nor power. Theologically, Wycliffe taught pure Presbyterianism; the Pope was no longer the head of the Church Militant; there was no longer any use for cardinals, patriarchs, bishops and councils; the priests and deacons could discharge all the sacred functions. Wycliffe was clearly the forerunner of Luther. Gregory XI., in a congregation of cardinals, condemned the innovator's propositions and wrote to Richard II., who had lately succeeded his father, Edward III., on the English throne, urging him to use the strictest measures to check the growing error at the outset.

The new doctrines were condemned in a council held at Lambeth by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but Wycliffe continued to dogmatize more boldly than ever. Gregory did not see the end of this dangerous heresy; he died at Anagni on the 27th of March, A. D. 1378. Before breathing his last, he framed a decree announcing that, to avert the danger of an interregnum, it would suffice for the next Pontiff to receive a simple majority of votes to constitute a lawful election. The existing regulation required two-thirds of all the votes for a valid choice

CHAPTER III.

Western Schism (September 20, A. D. 1378—November 11, 1417.)

Lawful Popes in Rome.	Antipopes at Avignon
Urban VI. (April 9, A. D. 1378—October 15, 1389).	Robert of Geneva, styled Clement VII. (September 20, A. D. 1378—September 16, 1394).
Boniface IX. (November 3, A. D. 1389—October 1, 1404).	
Innocent VII. (October 17, A. D. 1404—November 6, 1406).	
Gregory XII. (December 30, A. D. 1406—abdicates at the Council of Pisa, for the peace of the Church, June 5, 1409).	
Alexander V. (June 26, A. D. 1409—May 3, 1410).	
John XXIII. (May 17, A. D. 1410—abdicates, for the peace of the Church, at the Council of Constance, May 29, 1415).	Peter di Luna, styled Benedict XIII. (September 28, A. D. 1394—his authority ended in the Council of Constance, July 26, 1417).

Martin V. (November 11, A. D. 1417) restores peace to the Church and ends the Great Western Schism after a struggle of thirty-nine years.

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§ I. Pontificate of Urban VI. (April 9, A. D. 1378—October 15, 1389).

1. Historical reflections upon the Great Western Schism.—2. Theological view of the schism.—3. The system adopted in classifying the lawful Pontiffs and the antipopes.—4. Election of Urban VI. Troubles arising out of the election.—5. Character of the new Pope. Breach between Urban and the cardinals. Letter of St. Catherine of Sienna to the cardinals.—6. Election of the antipope Clement VII.—7. The University of Oxford supports the rightful Pope against the University of Paris.—8. St. Peter of Luxemburg, cardinal-bishop of Metz. — 9. Affairs of Naples. Charles of the Peace.—10. Charles of Anjou. War of Charles of Durazzo against Urban VI. Death of Urban VI.

§ II. Pontificate of Boniface IX. (November 3, A. D. 1389—October 1, 1404).

11. Election of Boniface IX.—12. Alliance between Ladislas, king of Naples, and the Holy See.—13. Bajazet I., sultan of Turkey. Battle of Nicopolis. Battle of Ancyra. Death of Bajazet, a captive of Tamerlane.—14. St. Vincent Ferrer.—15. St. John Nepomucene.—16. Death of the antipope Clement VII. The cardinals at Avignon elect a successor in the person of Benedict XIII.—17. Doctors of the University of Paris. Peter d'Ailly. The Chancellor Gerson.—18. Benedict XIII. driven from Avignon. Death of Boniface IX.

§ III. Pontificate of Innocent VII. (October 17, A. D. 1404—November 6, 1406).

19. Election of Innocent VII.—20. Troubles in Rome appeased by the intervention of Ladislas, king of Naples. Death of Innocent VII.—21. St. Colette.

§ IV. Pontificate of Gregory XII. (December 30, A. D. 1406—is deposed in the Council of Pisa, June 5, 1409).

22. Letter of Gregory XII. to the antipope Benedict XIII.—23. Gregory refuses to appear at the Conference of Savona.—24. Council of Pisa.—25. Legitimacy of the Council of Pisa. Gerson's *De Auferibilitate Papæ*.—26. Deposition of Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. by the Council of Pisa.

§ V. Pontificate of Alexander V. (June 26, A. D. 1409—May 3, 1410).

27. Election of Alexander V.—28. The Catholic world divided between three obediences. Death of Alexander V.

§ VI. Pontificate of John XXIII. (May 17, A. D. 1410—abdicates in the Council of Constance; recalls his abdication, and is finally deposed on the 29th of May, 1415).

29. Election of John XXIII.—30. Ladislas in Rome.—31. Sigismund, emperor of Germany.—32. Council of Constance.—33. John XXIII. leaves Constance. Is deposed and submits.—34. Abdication of Gregory XII.—35. Deposition of Benedict XIII.—36. Condemnation and execution of John Huss and of Jerome of Prague.

§ I. Pontificate of Urban VI. (April 9, A. D. 1378—October 15, 1389).

1. With the Pontificate of Urban VI. the Church enters upon the lamentable period of her history, when the Papacy

seemed, in the eyes of the world, torn and almost destroyed. The removal of the Holy See to France bore its bitter fruit only after the return of the Popes to Rome. The great majority of the cardinals were Frenchmen;* and it was not without a pang that they quitted their palaces on the banks of the Rhone and the Durance. The popular clamors which surrounded the conclave during the election resulting in the promotion of Urban VI. only added to their earnest longing for their native land. Whatever designing historians may say to the contrary, this was the only cause of the twenty-second schism, which, from its length and deplorable consequences, has been called the Great Western Schism. Consummated by the uncanonical election of Robert of Geneva (Clement VII.), it was carried on under the influence of French policy, which was interested in the return of the Popes to Avignon and in supporting the claims of a rival of Urban VI., whose authority was acknowledged by England. The decisions of the University of Paris, on this great question, have been repeatedly brought forward as strong arguments by the opponents of the rightful Popes. History, as impartial as truth itself, must say that these decisions could not help, in spite of their authors, being dictated by foreign influences and national antipathy. The support given to the antipopes by the pious and prudent monarch, Charles V., sprang from the same sources; and on his death-bed that great king thought it proper, for the peace of his own conscience, to declare that he submitted to the decision of the Church in the question of the schism. He was evidently not positive about the authority of the Pope at Avignon.

2. In a theological point of view, the Great Western Schism, however lamentable in other respects, offered no material hinderance to the growth of the virtues and holiness which constitute the interior life of the Church. Great saints were not wanting to give the brightest examples of perfection,

* The conclave which elected Urban VI. was composed of sixteen cardinals, of whom eleven were Frenchmen, four Italians, and one Spaniard.

under both obediences. If it be asked where we shall seek for the centre of unity, the ever-visible authority, while divided Christendom presents the appearance of two hostile camps, we answer that, by a special Providence, it dwells in the Papacy itself. Though the understanding of men was confused by the seemingly double embodiment of the spiritual power, still one universal and well-defined belief pierced through every cloud of doubt: that the Papacy must be one, like the God-Man it represents. The faithful, thus divided in their views of a fact, were not at variance on the principle; the schism was a question of persons, not of principles. It was not essential to know whether the See of St. Peter should be in Rome, or at Avignon; but whether it was really filled by Urban VI., or by Clement VII. Some theologians of great authority even assert that this fatal division should not be called a schism, because the number of obediences did not impair the principle of unity, since all the churches equally held, as an article of faith, that there is but one only Roman Church and one only Sovereign Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, who was, indeed, for each one of them, the Pontiff they respectively acknowledged; and not several Roman Churches and several Sovereign Pontiffs. The variety of claims to authority, then, divided Christian society only upon a matter of form, not upon a fundamental point of law and doctrine. When time shall have cooled the heat of passion, and the nations, weary of ceaseless strife, feel the necessity of unity of opinion, we shall find them at the feet of the Papacy, still sovereign and unchanged, in spite of all the disorders of revolution, laying aside all feelings of hate, and throwing themselves into the arms of Christian charity. The Church never seemed in greater danger, and yet never was she more truly great; overcoming, by the strength of her foundation, the disorders raised by the rending of her authority; protesting against abuses; instituting reform; everywhere putting scandal to flight by a display of the highest virtue; shielding truth against the attacks of heresy; hurling

her thunders at Wycliffe, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and their followers; and still ever guiding the world in the path of justice and truth. Never did the Church appear more admirable than during the fearful tempest called the Great Schism; never did she more splendidly show that none but a Divine Hand was at the helm. Had the Church been a human institution, it must inevitably have fallen at a juncture when all the resources of genius, the powers of intellect, the united endeavors of learned doctors, the combined authority of princes, and even the efforts of the very saints, were powerless.

3. The historians to whose lot it has fallen to record this stormy period are divided as to the system on which to base the legitimate succession of Sovereign Pontiffs, amid so many and such vehement disputes. Some refuse to give the title of antipopes to the Pontiffs who sat at Avignon.* We feel that we can hardly err in following, in this particular as in all others, the usage of the Roman Church, which has registered on the roll of Sovereign Pontiffs the names of those who sat at Rome during the period of the Great Schism, placing among the antipopes the two Pontiffs of Avignon. We have yet to learn to be catholic by halves. Besides, one simple preliminary consideration will suffice, even independently of the principle of authority, to justify the opinion which we adopt. Was there, at the time of Clement's election by the dissident cardinals, at Fondi, a Pope already elected? With the history of the period open before us, there can be but one answer. For three months Urban VI. had been acknowledged as lawful Pope by all the churches of the Catholic world. The cardinals who afterward took part in the new election, had, during all this time, given the most unquestionable proofs of their submission to the reigning Pope, at whose

* Of this number is the Abbé Christophe, whose work has been our guide since the Pontificate of Clement V. Here we are compelled to differ from him in opinion, for reasons which shall be given as the narrative of events naturally suggests them. This diversity of opinion does not detract from our high esteem for his talent, and for the incontestable merit of his work, from which we have largely borrowed.

hands they had received indulgences, favors and dignities. They had unhesitatingly taken part in the ceremony of his coronation, and given notice of his election to all the princes of Christendom. They had uttered no protest. There was undoubtedly, then, a Pope already in power, when they elected Clement VII.; and that Pope was Urban VI. It is idle to assert that the election was not free. This objection will be met when we treat of the facts in their proper place. The acts of violence to which they refer lasted but one day. For three months the cardinals had been perfectly free, and yet they had not protested; they had sworn to be faithful to Urban VI. We repeat it, there was already a Pope at the time of the conclave of Fondi; therefore, Clement VII., who was there elected, was an antipope. This looks clear and simple enough to us, standing, as we do, aloof from the passions and prejudices of the period. It was not so plain at that time; hence the fearful extent of the schism. It was indispensably necessary to lay down these fundamental principles, as a preliminary to the narrative of events which we are about to present.

4. At the death of Gregory XI., the sixteen cardinals then at Rome met in conclave in the Vatican. The great square before St. Peter's was filled by an armed multitude crying aloud: "Give us a Roman Pontiff!" The anxiety of the people was quite natural, in view of the well-known intention of many of the cardinals to elect a French Pope, with the hope of an ultimate restoration of the Holy See to Avignon. But the popular wish was not easy of accomplishment. There were but two Roman cardinals in the Sacred College; of these, one was too young, not having yet reached the canonical age; the other, on the contrary, was weighed down by age and infirmities, and died at the close of the conclave. During the whole night, the armed crowd kept guard upon the Vatican with unabated clamor. Under the circumstances, the French cardinals were compelled to abandon the design of electing one of their own number. It was proposed to dress a Franciscan monk in

the Pontifical robes and to present him to the people as the new Pope, in the hope that this might serve to calm their agitation. But the Cardinal of Limoges, the chancellor of the King of France, stood up and spoke as follows: "We must of necessity choose an Italian Pope; now, you, Cardinal of Florence (Pietro Corsini), cannot aspire to the Papacy, because your republic is hostile to the Roman Church. You, Cardinal of Milan (Simon de Brossano), have no better claim, since you are a subject of the Visconti, who have always fought against the rights of the Church. Cardinal Orsini, you are too young to be Pope, whereas you, Cardinal Thebaldeschi, are too far advanced in years. Therefore, I look beyond the Sacred College and give my vote to Bartholomew Prignano, archbishop of Bari." These words were like a ray of light to the conclave; the votes, with only two exceptions, were for the archbishop. That prelate had managed the Roman chancery, under Gregory XI., with the greatest distinction, and had won, in the discharge of that duty, universal and deserved esteem. In the private conferences which preceded the conclave, the cardinals had already spoken of him in connection with the Sovereign Pontificate, which circumstance explains the favor with which his name was received as soon as it was uttered by the Cardinal of Limoges. But Prignano was absent. The cardinals feared to acquaint the multitude with the result of the election, since the Pontiff-elect was not a Roman. The public excitement was at its height; the crowd still clamored for a Roman Pontiff, and Prignano was a Neapolitan. Meanwhile the Archbishop of Bari had been summoned to the conclave. When informed of his election, he alleged his want of capacity, and refused his consent. The cardinals entreated him to receive the glorious burden. Yielding, at length, to their prayers, he gave his consent, and took the name of Urban VI., amid the solemn strains of the Te Deum and the cries of the exultant multitude. All the cardinals did homage to the new Pope, attended him in the ceremonies of the *possesso* and of his coronation, which took place in St. Peter's, on the festival of Easter, A. D. 1378. They sent notice

of the event to their colleagues at Avignon and to the Christian princes of Europe. Urban VI., then, was acknowledged by all Christendom. The cardinals constituted his court, pledged themselves to him as they had done to his predecessor, sought favors and indulgences at his hands; and one of them, Cardinal Glandève, was promoted to the see of Ostia. This state of things lasted three months, without a single voice being raised to protest.

5. The new Pope brought to the discharge of his Pontifical duties an energy which was characterized as violence, a strictness of principle represented as rigorism, a frankness of speech ungenerously attributed to passion. From the very opening of his administration, he freely proclaimed his intention of obliging titularies to the duty of residence, and of reforming the luxury of the Roman court. He even published a sumptuary law, to which he was himself the first to conform, and by which he regulated the establishments, and even the meals of the cardinals. This measure was, it must be allowed, worthy of a Pope; though it may be said that Urban did not sufficiently take into account the power of long-indulged habits, and the kind of prescriptive force attached to uninterrupted usage. They who know human nature and its proud weakness, know that the reformation of such abuses must be very gradual, and that the surest way of confirming it in evil is to try to force it into good! * These measures alienated the minds of the cardinals, which were yet more embittered by Urban's positive refusal to their formal request, that the Holy See should be removed to Avignon; this refusal was certainly fully justified by late events. Yet this was the pretext of which the cardinals availed themselves to break openly with Urban VI. They met at Anagni with the avowed intention of holding a new election, alleging that the former one "had not been free." The three Italian cardinals remained with the Pope. With a view to seduce them from their duty, those at Anagni wrote to them

* *Histoire de la Papauté pendant le XIV^e^ siècle*, t. 3, p. 19.

individually, holding out to each one, successively, the certainty of his election. They fell into the snare and joined the seceders. While ambition and intrigue thus scattered the men who should have stood by him to the last, St. Catherine of Sienna hastened to Rome and gave to the Sovereign Pontiff the help of her virtues and her burning eloquence. "Can it be true," she wrote to the cardinals at Anagni, "that you, who should be the bucklers of the faith, the defenders of the Church, the pastors of the flock, have become hirelings, and ungrateful children! For you know the truth, you know, and have repeatedly proclaimed, that Urban VI. is the rightful Pope; that his election was rather the work of a heavenly inspiration than of your worldly wisdom. To what, then, can your change be ascribed, if not to the venom of self-love which poisons the world? Thus it is, that instead of standing firm, as the pillars of the sacred edifice, you are borne like chaff before the winds. Instead of shedding abroad a sweet odor of holiness, as flowers of the Church, you infect it with your pestilential error; instead of shining as lights set upon a mountain, you have become followers of the angel of darkness." The admirable letter, which we should have wished to quote entire, was of no avail. Urban made a last effort; he offered to lay the validity of his claim before a general council. Their refusal of this proposal will ever remain an indelible stain upon their memory. Urban then created twenty-six new cardinals to fill the places left vacant by the seceders. It is a remarkable fact that, in the course of this contest, which nothing could make excusable on the part of the cardinals, not even the violence and harshness with which they charged Urban; that Pontiff, whom they styled passionate, a man of unbridled temper, never once resorted to the spiritual weapons at his command, while the cardinals flooded the world with copies of a manifesto, in which they abused the Pope as an apostate and an intruder.

6. This factious measure resulted as might have been expected. The false cardinals quitted Anagni, where they felt too unsafe, for Fondi, a city of the Neapolitan States, whither

they had been invited by Joanna, queen of Naples, who had espoused their cause. Here they met in conclave on the 20th of September, A. D. 1378, and the first ballot, to the utter astonishment of the three Italian cardinals, each of whom looked upon his own election as certain, resulted in the promotion of Robert of Geneva, under the name of Clement VII. The schism was consummated. Robert of Geneva belonged to an old and illustrious house allied by marriage to most of the royal families of Europe. It cannot be denied that he possessed great personal courage and a certain greatness of mind which gave him something of the bearing of a prince; but he was a prelate of overweening ambition, worldly in his manners, passionately fond of display, and of light and frivolous tastes; in a word, just such a man as might be expected to accept the part of an antipope. St. Catherine of Sienna protested with all her power against the schismatical election. The greater part of Christendom continued to acknowledge Urban VI. as legitimate Pope. Germany, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, England, Brittany, Flanders, Spain—notwithstanding some momentary inconstancy on the part of the Kings of Castile and Aragon—all Northern Italy and, in fine, the Emperor of Constantinople, remained true to his authority. The schism would have been crushed at the outset, had not France upheld the cause of Clement VII., who went to reside at Avignon, where he was received with enthusiasm. The influence of France prevailed with those nations accustomed to yield to its sway, as the Queen of Naples and the Kings of Cyprus and Scotland. To these nations only did the authority of the antipope extend, notwithstanding all the proclamations and decrees of the University of Paris to the contrary.

7. The point at issue might be summed up in the question: Was the election of Urban VI. canonical or not? In reply to the repeated protests of the French canonists, the Oxford theologians brought it to a triumphant conclusion. Their leading arguments were the following: "1. It is alleged that the election was not free; but the Roman people did not limit the

choice of the conclave to any particular individual. They only demanded, and not without reason, that the Pope should be a Roman; and the cardinals did not even yield to this demand, but chose a Neapolitan of whom the people had never thought. They cannot, therefore, complain that they were forced to promote a man not of their own choice. 2. When the Archbishop of Bari was informed of his election, he resolutely refused the honor offered to him. The cardinals entreated him to yield to their prayers. If the election had not before been free, it certainly became so then. Instead of recalling, the cardinals confirmed it by their entreaties. They cannot complain that Urban VI. was raised to the Papal chair against their will. 3. The cardinals crowned the new Pope. Even those who had left Rome returned for the ceremony. How could they have spontaneously returned to crown a Pope whom they had not elected? 4. If there was any violence, it was only during one night. Whereas for three whole months the cardinals remained quietly with Urban VI., received Holy Communion from his hand, pledged him their fidelity, sought and received his favors. The people did not stand in arms around the Pontifical palace during these three months. The cardinals were then free; they freely communicated with Urban VI. as rightful Pope. 5. There is but one alternative; either the cardinals knew and believed that Bartholomew Prignano was Pope, or they knew that he was not. If, in their belief, Prignano was Pope, why did they elect Clement VII.? If he was not Pope, why did they acquaint all Christendom with his election as legitimate? If the notification was a lie, they tried to deceive all the Holy Church of God; from that time forth, their testimony must, therefore, of justice and necessity, become worthless." To us these arguments seem conclusive; nor do we know that they have as yet been answered. Thus it is that in our view of the case, as in the judgment of the Roman Church, Urban VI. was the rightful Sovereign Pontiff and Clement VII. an antipope.

8. From Rome and Avignon, their respective residences, the two Pontiffs launched their anathemas against each other,

but here ends the parity between the two Pontificates. Clement VII., the Pope of the French, delighted in the splendor of his court, appropriated the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom and lowered the dignity of his usurped tiara by subjecting it to the royal influence. "What a sad condition!" cries the French writer Clémengis. "Our Pontiff Clement had become so utterly the slave of the courtiers that he bore the most shameful treatment from them without daring to complain. It was upon courtiers that he bestowed bishoprics and other dignities of the Church. He bought the favor of princes by gifts, by granting them tithes upon the clergy, by the preponderance which he gave them over ecclesiastics, so that many secular lords were more truly popes than Pope Clement himself." We must, however, state, as a modification of this extract from a contemporary writer, that Clement VII. made some appointments which did not dishonor the Church. It was his choice which placed the episcopal see of Metz in charge of St. Peter of Luxemburg, who was born in 1369, in the town of Ligny. He was a youth of fifteen when Clement called him to the government of the church of Metz and to the cardinalate, though he was never ordained priest. The virtues and sanctity of Peter were far beyond his years. He died at the age of eighteen and was canonized in 1527, from which time he became the patron saint of Avignon, where he had spent the last moments of his life. Still, however great may have been his merit, his promotion to the dignities of bishop and cardinal may justly be deemed premature, and, in taking this step, Clement rather obeyed the desire of winning the support of an illustrious and powerful family than the voice of the canonical regulations.

9. Urban VI. was pursuing a different course in Rome. He has never been charged with any act of guilty weakness toward princes. If any thing, he may be said to have entertained too high a sense of the Pontifical dignity and independence. The only reproach which history can bring against him is an undue attachment to his nephew, the Chevalier Prignano, who proved lamentably unworthy of his favors, and the

worthlessness of the favorite, heightened by his shameful disorders, reflected with greater force upon the august character of his uncle. Urban's first act of authority was directed against the Queen of Naples, who had scandalized Italy by her schism in espousing the cause of the antipope. This defection was the more criminal, as the kingdom of Naples was a Pontifical fief. Pope Urban deposed the queen, freed her subjects from their allegiance, and requested Louis I. of Hungary to send him Charles, duke of Durazzo, as he had determined to bestow upon him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. The queen was childless. Her fourth husband, Otho, was incapable of an armed defence of her rights. To avert the threatened blow, she adopted Louis, duke of Anjou, brother to the King of France, as her son. This skilful stroke of policy brought a new element into the contest; but Joanna was not to reap the fruit of her well-concerted manœuvre. The death of Charles V., king of France, delayed the departure of the French expedition, while, on the other hand, Charles of Durazzo had already reached Rome. The prince, hitherto poor and unknown, was in the prime of life when he stepped upon the soil of Italy as a conqueror. His manners betrayed none of the rude training of the camp; his speech was fluent, winning and persuasive; but under this fair exterior lurked a deep dissimulation, a pitiless heart, and that unprincipled policy which gains its end without regard to the justice of the means. He received from Urban VI. the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, with means and men to put him in possession of his realm; he swore fidelity to the Holy See, and marched against the Neapolitan troops commanded by Otho of Brunswick. The arm of divine vengeance was at length about to strike the faithless queen. The march of Charles through Italy was a triumphal progress. The people revolted and opened the gates of the city. Joanna surrendered and her rival remained master of the kingdom. The queen, a prisoner in the castle of the Egg, was awaiting her fate when, on the 22d of May, A. D. 1382, as she was praying in the royal chapel,

two Hungarian soldiers rudely broke into the apartment and offered her a cup filled with a poisoned draught. "Drink!" cried the soldiers; but the wretched queen refused the cup Then laying their hands upon their swords, "Choose," said they, "between poison and the sword." Joanna chose the kind of death which seemed to her less frightful; and after making her confession she drained the fatal draught. While she was still struggling in the agonies of death, the impatient executioners hastened her end by strangling. Thus perished, after a reign of thirty-eight years, this princess, who has been too generally accused to be held wholly guiltless, too deeply calumniated not to deserve pity.

10. The triumph of Charles should have set at rest all Pope Urban's solicitude about the kingdom of Naples; but his hopes were disappointed. The conqueror forgot all the promises he had signed when only a pretender. As soon as the succession of Charles VI. to the throne of France, with all the confusion usually attending the first moments of a regency, had been finally settled, Clement reminded the royal council of the Neapolitan expedition designed by the late king in favor of Louis of Anjou. Louis came to Avignon, to receive from the antipope the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. He then set out for Italy at the head of a brilliant army. In this enterprise Louis was accompanied by Amedeus VI., count of Savoy; the Chevalier de Montjoie, count of Geneva and brother of Clement VII.; Henry of Brittany, Raymond des Beaux, and by a number of nobles who were willing to share the fortunes of Louis, hoping, under his standard, to increase their power and military renown. They marched through the whole length of Italy, following the shore of the Adriatic, and reached the territory of Abruzzo, July 13, A. D. 1382. But Charles was not so easily conquered as the late queen. He concentrated his forces in the strongholds, removed all means of subsistence and left the splendid army of Louis to be wasted by hunger and the parching climate of Italy. This system proved successful, and his rival died of vexation (1384), while the remnants

of his expedition were scattered and destroyed. This new triumph made Charles more haughty and overbearing in his conduct toward Urban VI. The Pontiff came in person to Naples to demand the observance of the treaties. Charles, in contempt of the most sacred laws, dared to seize the Pope and to confine him as a prisoner. He also succeeded in drawing six cardinals into a plot against the Pontiff's life. But Pope Urban succeeded in escaping and took refuge in the fortress of Nocera, one of his own castles. The rebel cardinals were tried, their guilt was proved, and capital punishment followed. In this case justice was stronger than mercy; the Pope was inflexible. Yet in this circumstance he acted as kings usually do in like cases; though it has been attempted to fix this as a blot upon his name. In his complicated position, beset by snares, surrounded by traitors, clemency would perhaps have been misplaced. However this may be, Charles still carried on hostilities and besieged him in his retreat, in return for a sentence of excommunication and deposition which the Pope had just issued against him. The castle held out against the Neapolitan army for seven months, when it was relieved by a Genoese squadron which the Pope had called to his assistance. The ingratitude of Charles did not long remain unpunished. At the death of Louis the Great, king of Hungary, the nobles of the kingdom offered the crown to the King of Naples. The hope of wearing both great crowns at once was too tempting for the grasping ambition of Charles. He accepted the offer, set out for his new realm, and was enthusiastically received at Buda. His proud and haughty bearing soon revolted all the Hungarian magnates. Before a year had passed, Charles fell by the dagger of an assassin; and, to hasten the death which seemed too slow to his enemies, a draught of poison finished the work begun by the steel. He must then have remembered the tragic end of Queen Joanna, which had been consummated, by his order, in the same manner (1386). Louis of Anjou seized the occasion to revive his father's claims to the throne of Naples. Clement VII. received him at Avignon with royal pomp, and

renewed in his favor the investiture of the Neapolitan States. The young prince marched into Italy at the head of a formidable army and succeeded in establishing his claim to the crown of Naples, notwithstanding the efforts of Queen Margaret and Ladislas, the widow and son of Charles. Urban was preparing to oppose the usurper, when he died, at Tivoli, on the 15th of October, 1389. Few Pontiffs leave a more incriminated name. Much evil and very little good has been said and written of Urban, and the storms which visited his Pontificate afford an easy explanation of this animosity. Urban VI. was gifted with an unusual love of justice, an angelical purity of morals, the utmost simplicity of life, an unconquerable horror for simony, and a thorough acquaintance with ecclesiastical learning. It was his misfortune—a common one—to possess the defects of his qualities. His severity toward himself was also too often exercised in his dealings with others; his austerity terrified the prelates accustomed to a life of luxury, display and ease. Their protest took the shape of the Great Schism of the West.

§ II. Pontificate of Boniface IX. (November 3, A. D. 1389—October 1, 1404).

11. When the announcement of Urban's death reached Avignon, an extraordinary council was held in the Pontifical palace. A courier was instantly dispatched to the King of France, begging him to use his influence with the Roman cardinals, to prevent an election. This would, doubtless, have been the surest means of putting an end to the schism; and all the Christian princes expressed this conviction. But, before their ambassadors could reach Rome, a successor had already been elected, in the person of Pietro Thomacelli, who took the name of Boniface IX. The Roman cardinals were urged to this precipitate measure by the fear of seeing the Holy See again transferred to Avignon. Clement VII. immediately excommunicated his rival, who replied by the same censures. Boniface IX., on as-

cending the Pontifical throne, found himself first engaged with the seditious spirit of the Roman people, who thought to find, in the schism, a favorable opportunity of recovering their freedom, and of at length establishing the ideal republic they had for so many centuries been building. But the Pope was unexpectedly supported by a kingdom which, at first sight, seemed to promise him more trouble than help. At his death, Urban VI. had seen Louis of Anjou seated upon the throne of Naples, and the party of the youthful Ladislas apparently crushed without hope of recovery. Boniface IX. raised up the fallen prince; the Pontiff was a Neapolitan; he knew better than any one else the character, habits, and manners of his fellow-countrymen, and how unpopular was the French rule among them. He was connected with all the families devoted to the fallen house, and made a masterly use of his influence to combine all the resources of the most ingenious policy. Louis of Anjou, a young, inexperienced prince, brought up in a land where disputes were always settled by armed arbitrament, and where the art of negotiation was far less popular than that of war, was unable to stand against the skilful combinations of the Pope. Moreover, Ladislas was far superior to him both as a warrior and a politician. The treasury of Boniface afforded him an exhaustless fund for the payment of his troops, and he entered Naples in triumph, while Louis, forsaken by all his subjects, withdrew to France.

12. Ladislas, in gratitude to the Sovereign Pontiff, helped him to re-establish his authority in Rome. With this assistance, Boniface definitively restored the temporal power of the Papacy in all the States of the patrimony of St. Peter. He deprived the citizens of the right of sovereignty which they claimed, and showed that the government of the State belonged exclusively to the Pontiff, who alone could appoint all public functionaries, and he abolished all popular magistracies.

13. In following the train of domestic strife entailed upon Europe by the Great Schism, we have, for a moment, lost sight of the other portions of the Catholic world, lately snatched from

a more threatening danger than that from which it had been saved by Charles Martel on the field of Poitiers. The Turkish sultan, Bajazet I., poured down his countless hordes upon the frontier of Hungary (A. D. 1396). Sigismund, who then reigned in that kingdom, which formed the bulwark of Christendom, called upon the European princes for help. The sultan was less intent upon a war of conquest than of religion, as appears from his boast that "he would feed his horse with a bushel of oats upon the altar of St. Peter's." This blasphemous boast stirred up in the heart of France the warlike ardor of the Crusades; the remains of France's chivalry, so nearly annihilated at Crecy and Poitiers, flew to the banks of the Danube, under the command of the Count of Nevers, John the Fearless, afterward Duke of Burgundy. He resigned the chief command of this brilliant expedition to the Marshal de Boucicaut, the greatest captain of his day, after Duguesclin. This army joined the forces of Sigismund before the walls of Nicopolis, a name linked with the memory of a most fatal and bloody reverse. On the 25th of September, 1396, the sultan cut to pieces the Christian army, the only hope of Europe. The cowardly flight of Sigismund decided the fortune of the day. Not a Frenchman gave ground; each man made a rampart of the Saracens slain by his own hand. But even their unparalleled heroism was forced to yield to the weight of numbers. Boucicaut, John of Nevers, Enguerrand of Coucy, and the Count of Eu, were made prisoners, with all their surviving followers. They were stripped, and, with their hands tied behind their backs, were brought before the fierce conqueror, who ordered the slaughter of all the private soldiers, for whom he did not expect a great ransom. The nobles spared by his cupidity were led away captives into Bithynia. Defenceless Europe was appalled at the tidings of disaster from Nicopolis. The Christian name was seemingly doomed to be swept away from the soil of Europe by a new Mussulman invasion, when Providence sent another ravager of nations, the celebrated Mongol conqueror, Tamerlane, to attack with his undisciplined hordes the troops of Bajazet. The

two worlds seemed to have met on the plain of Ancyra, where the struggle took place, in which Bajazet was conquered and taken prisoner. The humiliations inflicted by Tamerlane upon his wretched captive almost pass the bounds of belief. He used his body as a step to mount his horse; he obliged him to crouch beneath his table when he eat, and limited his means of subsistence to the crumbs which fell to the floor; finally he kept him in an iron cage, in which the victor of Nicopolis killed himself by dashing his head against its bars.

14. Far from these scenes of blood, Italy admired the miracles, the zeal and the virtue of St. Vincent Ferrer. This glory of Spain was born at Valencia in 1357, and the world was soon full of his renown. Entering the order of Friars Preachers, he made St. Dominic the standard of his perfection. Cardinal Peter di Luna had been sent by the antipope to establish his jurisdiction in Spain; here the cardinal won the confidence of St. Vincent Ferrer, who sincerely believed Clement to be the legitimate Pope. On his return to France, Peter di Luna was accompanied by the humble religious.* Clement would have attached the saint to his court, but God called him to the apostolate. He spent fifteen years in the missions of Provence, Piedmont, Savoy, Lombardy, and Spain, everywhere sowing the seed of the gospel, which God fostered by renewing for him the miracle of Pentecost. Though Vincent preached in Latin, he was understood, at once, by Greeks, Germans, Englishmen and Hungarians, who knew no language but their own. The conversions wrought by his preaching recalled the won-

* It may seem strange that St. Vincent Ferrer should have acknowledged the authority of the antipope. We have already mentioned St. Peter of Luxemburg, who did the same. A contemporary writer, St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, thus speaks on the subject: "During the whole period of the schism, each obedience was recognized by learned doctors and persons illustrious for holiness and even for the gift of miracles. But in the case of a double Pontifical election, we cannot see that it is essential to salvation, to hold that such or such a Pope, in particular, is the lawful Pontiff. The people are not bound to know the canon law, nor, therefore, to decide which candidate was canonically elected. It is enough for them to have a general intention of obeying the rightful Pope, whoever he may be · and in this they may rely upon the judgment of their bishops.

ders of the Apostolic age. It is computed that twenty-five thousand Jews were converted by his ministry.

15. At the same period the capital of Bohemia witnessed the glorious death of a martyr to the secret of the confessional. Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, succeeded his father Charles IV. on the German throne (A. D. 1376); a life of debauchery, cruelty and turpitude won him the infamous surnames of the Slothful and the Drunkard. The crowned monster had received the hand of Jane, daughter of Albert of Bavaria, an accomplished princess, whose virtues were in strong contrast with the vices of the unworthy emperor. The brutal conduct of her husband only confirmed her in the way of perfection. She had intrusted her spiritual direction to St. John Nepomucene, a canon of Prague, whose reputation was spread far and wide. Under his guidance the pious empress made daily progress in the way of salvation. But a corrupt heart turns the highest virtues into poison; those of the empress served but to irritate the savage mind of Wenceslaus, who had long neglected her to give way to the most shameful disorders. Still his jealousy increased with his neglect; the simplest actions of the princess awakened his suspicions. Blinded by his passion, he sent for St. John and commanded him to reveal the confessions of the empress. The holy priest, filled with horror, endeavored to show the emperor how sinful was his sacrilegious curiosity. Wenceslaus, maddened by the refusal, ordered Nepomucene to be stretched upon a rack, while executioners applied burning torches to various parts of his body. The martyr bore the barbarous treatment with heroic courage; in the keenest agonies of the torture, no word escaped his lips save the sacred names of Jesus and Mary. He was taken half dead from the rack, and thrown into a dungeon. On learning the condition of her director, the empress threw herself at the feet of Wenceslaus, and by prayers and tears obtained the release of the servant of God. His freedom was short-lived, for the emperor soon sent for him again and abruptly said: "Choose between death and the instant revelation of the confessions of the empress." The

saint made no answer; but his silence was more eloquent than words. The emperor, losing all reason in the excess of his rage, ordered his guards to throw the heroic confessor into the river as soon as the darkness should be deep enough to hide the execution from the people. St. John used the few hours of life now left him to prepare for his sacrifice, and during the night he was thrown, bound hand and foot, into the waters of the Muldaw, which wash the walls of Prague (May 16, 1383). On the morrow, a halo of heavenly light revealed to the faithful the body of the martyr and the emperor's crime. The whole population of Prague hurried to the banks of the stream to venerate the precious relics. General indignation broke out against Wenceslaus. In 1394 the Bohemian nobles seized his person and confined him in a castle, where he was guarded like a wild beast. He succeeded in effecting his escape and again ascended the throne, whence he was hurled down by a second revolution (1397). As if fortune could not weary of heaping favors upon him, he again overcame the rebels and seized the reins of government. But his excesses, now more unbearable than ever, finally let loose upon him all the force of popular vengeance. The princes of the empire asked the consent of Boniface IX. to depose the monster, which was granted. A general diet held at Ladenstein declared Wenceslaus deposed, and elected in his stead Robert of Bavaria king of the Romans; the election was ratified by Boniface IX.

16. Thus, while the Papacy, rent by a schism of which no human mind could foresee the end, seemed fated to lose all its power and influence, it was still powerful enough to take away and to bestow crowns at will. The remainder of this Pontificate was devoted to strengthening the foundations which supported the Roman government. Clement VII. died at Avignon on the 16th of September, A. D. 1394. The University of Paris was uneasy at the obstinacy of the antipope, and the despair of ever effecting the peace and union of the Church by such fruitless negotiations produced a reaction in its own midst, unfavor-

able to the Pontiff of Avignon. A solemn assembly of the French doctors and princes, convoked by Charles VI. in one of the lucid intervals of his illness, unanimously approved the proposition of forcing both Pontiffs to an absolute renunciation of their claims, in order that a new election might be held. Ambassadors were sent to bear the decree to Clement VII., who died of vexation at the tidings. "In an age of peace," says a learned historian,* "Clement's personal qualities would have made him a Pope worthy of praise; the schism made him a Pontiff less than tolerable; and we cannot overcome a feeling of sadness when we see the depth to which this fatal division lowered men and principles." The cardinals at Avignon then broke up into different factions; some thought that no successor should be given to Clement VII., others would have Boniface himself elected. Had the latter opinion prevailed, the schism would necessarily have received its death-blow. Unfortunately, the majority adopted the more mischievous opinion: it was resolved to proceed to a new election, under the illusory pretext that a vacancy would offer less facility for the extinction of the schism. However, before entering the conclave, each cardinal was required to swear upon the Holy Gospels that, in the event of his election, he would spare no means to restore the unity of the Church, not even excepting the abdication of the Sovereign Pontificate. Such promises are more easily made than kept, and ambition will never want means to escape their fulfilment at the appointed hour. The votes of the conclave fell upon Peter di Luna, who took the name of Benedict XIII. (September 28, 1394). The new Pope was of a mild, affable and winning disposition, of an exemplary and irreproachable life, and was one of the most earnest in favor of the oath required before the conclave. He renewed it immediately upon his enthronement; but, either he was insincere, or the all-conquering love of power soon changed his disposition. He began by excom-

* M l'abbé CHRISTOPHE, *Histoire de la Papauté*, t. III., p. 139.

municating Boniface IX., and returned a somewhat sharp answer to the complaint of the King of France, that they had been too hasty in an election which could only perpetuate the schism.

17. The University of Paris, which had been, for half a century, discussing this interminable question and striving to solve it by a deluge of addresses and memorials of every kind and quality, deemed it a personal offence that the cardinals of Avignon should have acted in this serious matter without consulting it. The doctors urged the king and the princes who ruled in his name to withdraw from the jurisdiction of Benedict, without, however, submitting to that of Boniface. The most anomalous doctrines were put forth in the midst of this anarchy. When the French doctors were asked where the centre of unity would reside, one of them answered: "Have we not the archbishops of Sens, Lyons and Bourges?" The very darkest days of the Church offered no worse expression. "It is time," cried other declaimers, "to rescue the kingdom from the tyrannical exactions of the Popes." The liberties of the Gallican Church found warm defenders in the disorders produced by the schism. Under a show of great zeal for the unity of the Church, the university was only surrounding the subject with a more tangled web of intricate and sophistical discussion. Meetings were multiplied; the ponderous eloquence of the doctors and masters-of-arts poured forth, from an exhaustless source, a thick, turbid stream of undigested learning, swathed in pedantic Latin which they called Ciceronian. Yet two great figures stand out from the throng so eagerly striving to make the schism a stepping-stone for their ambition. Pierre d'Ailly, called the "Eagle of France," and the "Hammer of the Heretics," was then chancellor of the University of France. He was born in 1350, of a poor family of Compiègne, but had started early on the path of renown, by a devoted application to study. His uncommon talent shone with the greatest splendor, and he soon stood among the most celebrated doctors of the period, whether in philosophy, theology, or canon law

He had acknowledged the authority of Clement VII. and of Benedict XIII., by whom he was respectively raised to the bishopric of Cambray, and to the cardinalate in 1411. Notwithstanding the bonds which tied him to the schism, he showed a true independence of character, working, in good faith, for the restoration of unity, and distinguished himself in the Councils of Pisa and Constance, where his authority and eloquence were ever enlisted in the cause of truth and justice. The high dignity which he left vacant in the university, by his promotion to the see of Cambray, was ably filled by one of the scholars who most largely share the celebrity of the period. The name of Gerson recalls the scourge of heresy and schism, the light of councils, and the scholar who has, more than any other, added lustre to his genius by a true modesty of character. Born of poor but honest parents, in the village of Gerson,* in Champagne (A. D. 1363), he was, at an early age, sent to Paris to cultivate the happy dispositions with which nature had favored him. His progress was rapid, his success brilliant. He was a worthy pupil of Pierre d'Ailly. If the admirable work known as the "Imitation of Christ" came to us from his pen, he has proved that a soul inspired by faith and charity needs none of those adventitious aids of style, to which we attach too much importance, to compose the most admirable of books, after the gospel. After leading, for nearly thirty years, the first university in the world, and winning an immortal name in the Council of Constance, Gerson came to bury his learning and renown in Lyons, in the collegiate church of St. Paul, where he devoted the last days of his noble career to teaching children the first principles of the faith. During the schism, he labored for the peace of the Church with that prudent moderation which conciliates all minds, but also with the unconquerable perseverance which is sure to triumph over every obstacle.

18. The University of Paris showed its displeasure at the

* The remains of this village may now be seen near the city of Réthel

election of Benedict XIII., by decreeing the nullity of his jurisdiction. All French subjects attached to the court of Avignon received an order to quit it at once. Marshal Boucicaut, the hero of Nicopolis, had just returned to his native land from the chains of the Turkish sultan, which had been broken by a heavy ransom. He received the command of an army intended to keep Benedict a prisoner in his palace at Avignon; but the antipope effected his escape and found an asylum in Marseilles, under the protection of Louis of Anjou, titulary king of Naples and count of Provence. Meanwhile Boniface IX. died in Rome, where he had firmly re-established the Pontifical power and won the eulogy long since pronounced on the great Fabius: "Cunctando restituit rem" (October 1, A. D. 1404).

§ III. Pontificate of Innocent VII. (October 17, A. D. 1404—November 6, 1406).

19. At the death of Boniface IX., ambassadors from the court of Avignon were already in Rome, charged by Benedict XIII. to negotiate a reconciliation. They tried to prevent the cardinals from holding an election; but the Roman people, who had been momentarily checked by the firm and vigorous hand of the last Pope, now sought to profit by his untimely death to regain their freedom. The mob ran through the streets with loud cries of, "Viva il Popolo!" Terrified by this seditious movement, the cardinals thought it necessary to give themselves a head. To guarantee both the general interests of Christendom and the particular wants of Rome, the cardinals, before entering the conclave, signed a solemn declaration, substantially the same as that which had preceded the conclave of Avignon. Each cardinal bound himself personally, in case of his election, to effect the union of the Church, even by the renunciation of the Sovereign Pontificate. Under these circumstances, the conclave proclaimed Cardinal Meliorato, with the title of Innocent VII. The new Pope had already won all hearts by his learning, his pure and simple manner of life, his horror of avarice

and simony, and an exemplary piety. It was hoped that his modesty and perfect freedom from all personal vanity would succeed in healing the schism which had now been rending the See of Peter for so many years. His reign was too short to allow the realization of the hopes entertained of him. Perhaps it may also be said that power has charms capable of seducing the noblest hearts and against which virtue itself is not always proof.

20. The first care of the new administration was to put down the political reaction which followed the death of Boniface IX. Without troops, means, or allies, Innocent VII. seemed destined to fail in his undertaking. A champion appeared in behalf of the Papacy, but under circumstances of equal intricacy. In bringing aid to the Sovereign Pontiff, he seemed to act only from a motive of gratitude; but his skilful and deceptive policy was based on less disinterested and more ambitious views. He had chosen for his motto the significant words: "Aut Cæsar aut nullus." By intervening in the troubles of Rome, he thought to open the way for the re-establishment of an Italian monarchy of which he should be the head. With this intention, he marched an army before the gates of Rome, for the ostensible purpose of protecting the life and freedom of Innocent VII. Though terrible in private broils, the Romans always felt their courage cool at the sight of armed soldiery. The arrival of Ladislas was enough to restore perfect order. In return for this service, the Pope bestowed upon the King of Naples the government of Campania and of the city of Ascoli. Ladislas, to whom this concession seemed to promise a successful issue to his hopes for the future, now returned to his states. His departure was speedily followed by a second revolt of the Roman people, and the Pope withdrew from the tumult, to Viterbo, whence he was soon recalled by the fickle and inconstant Romans; he died in his capital on the 6th of November, A. D. 1406. Benedict XIII., still at variance with France, was wandering along the shores of the Mediterranean, shifting his court successively from Genoa to Savona,

from Savona to Monaco, from Monaco to Nice, and finally to Marseilles.

21. God seemed to multiply marvels of Christian virtue in proportion as the schism surrounded the Church with greater difficulties. St. Colette was now the glory of France and the restorer of discipline in the order of St. Clare. Colette was born at Corbie, in 1380, of poor and humble parents. Her earliest years were marked by a love of retirement and prayer; humility was her favorite virtue. The severest practices of penance had nothing that could daunt her courage, and she took the religious habit in a monastery of Poor Clares. Here God made known to her that she was to work a reform in the order of St. Francis. As soon as she was convinced of her vocation, she went to confer on the subject with Benedict XIII., and to obtain from him the necessary powers. "Born in France," says F. Berthier, "and having passed her life in solitude, Colette never doubted the authority of the Popes of Avignon." In this she followed the teaching of the bishops in her own country; she was a representative of the simple-hearted confidence which guided the faithful, who, without seeking to set up their own judgment in important questions, followed, without hesitation, the decision of their lawful superiors. Benedict at first made some objections to the requests of Colette, but yielded, in the end, to her prayer; he made her superioress-general of the Poor Clares and authorized her to make whatever regulations she might think fit to promote the honor of God and the salvation of souls. Eighteen monasteries of nuns and several communities of monks, both in France and Germany, received her reform. Death took away Colette in the midst of her good works, and God was pleased to show the glory of His servant by many miracles. As if the holiness of this period was to be shared by both obediences, the Roman Church was illustrated by St. Bernardin of Sienna, who was at this time beginning to draw the attention of Italy by the splendor of his evangelical life. He was born in 1380, at Massa, of the powerful family of the Albizeschi, and was early distinguished by

a tender piety and a special devotion to the Blessed Virgin. While pursuing his studies at Sienna, Bernardin won the admiration of his masters by his quick and graceful imagination and his progress in learning, while his virtues gave him a still higher claim to their esteem. Holiness seemed to beam forth in his countenance, his words and all his actions. He afterward undertook the mission of recalling the Franciscans of the stricter observance to the first fervor of their institution. The Church has enrolled his name in the catalogue of her Saints and raised altars in his memory.

§ IV. Pontificate of Gregory XII. (December 30, A. D. 1406—deposed by the Council of Pisa, June 5, 1409).

22. Once more the opportunity was offered of giving back to the Church unity of government. Both parties were heartily tired of the schism; they had both promised themselves to bring it to an end by abstaining from double elections at the death of the two claimants. The King of France, on learning the death of Innocent VII., wrote at once to the Roman cardinals, entreating them to suspend their election until some final measures could be agreed upon. Unfortunately, his letter was too late. The Roman cardinals, left to their own unaided resources, amid the factions by which the last Pontificate had been so fearfully agitated, felt that Rome could not do without a Pope; and this conviction, rising above all considerations of a higher order, induced them to form the conclave. Before engaging in any electoral proceeding, they resolved to place the election in the impossibility of offering any obstacle whatever to the work of peace, by subjecting the successful candidate to such an obligation of resigning the Papacy, that he might seem less a Pontiff than an agent charged to lay down the Pontifical dignity.* With this object in view, they drew up a document more explicit than that which had been signed at the election of Innocent

* "Ut se magis procuratorem ad deponendum Pontificatum, quam Pontificem factum existimare posset."—*Spec. Hist.*, Sozom. Pistor. p. 1190.

VII., by which they pledged themselves, collectively and individually, that if any one of their number were elected he should give up the Pontifical dignity, readily, freely and entirely, in the event of his rival's abdication or death ; after which the two Colleges should meet to choose a legitimate Pastor by a canonical election. The future Pope bound himself, moreover, within the space of three months after his enthronement, to convoke a general council to end the schism, and to appoint no new cardinals. He was, immediately upon his election, and before its public announcement, fully to ratify and approve each article of the convention, and finally to renew the ratification and approval in the first public consistory held after his coronation. The cardinals, with their hands upon the Holy Gospels, swore to observe these conditions, and Cardinal Angelo Corrario was proclaimed Sovereign Pontiff as Gregory XII. The uprightness, generosity, lively faith and real virtues which characterized the aged cardinal of seventy years, gave the council every hope that he would prove more faithful to his promise than any other. His first acts, indeed, warranted the hope. On the day after his promotion, he thus wrote to Benedict XIII. : "You see into what an abyss of shame and misfortunes the Church has been plunged by a schism of thirty years. It is for you to ask your conscience what course you should follow. For Our part, We openly announce Our design and fixed resolve. In proportion to our conviction that Our claim is just, do We perceive the merit of sacrificing it to the peace and union of Christendom. It is no longer time to discuss the question of rights, but to make them yield to the public welfare, and to the exigencies of the times. We are prepared to resign Our lawful claims to the Papacy, if you are ready to do the same."

23. This letter caused the deepest emotion in France. Public thanksgiving was solemnly offered up; the long-desired haven of peace and union seemed reached at last. Benedict would not be outdone in generosity by the Roman Pontiff. In his reply, he declared his readiness to accept, at once, the conditions offered, and to give up the Pontifical dignity,

entirely and unreservedly, for the good of souls. This protestation filled the measure of public joy. A conference between the two Pontiffs was appointed to be held at Savona; Benedict came to the appointed place, with great pomp; the prayers of France went with him. But the Catholic world learned, with the deepest sorrow, that Gregory XII., notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the cardinals, had refused to meet the engagement. Regardless of the oath by which he had thrice bound himself, he appointed four new cardinals, two of whom were his nephews. This conduct of Gregory is a fresh proof that the stores of human ambition contain expedients for eluding the most solemn engagements, which lie beyond the farthest range of mortal vision.

24. After so many fruitless attempts, it was evident that the coöperation of the Pontiffs could not be relied upon to end the schism. Yet this disastrous state of things could not be allowed to last. Discipline, weakened by so many repeated struggles, contempt for the ecclesiastical censures so often abused, the neglect of the most sacred rules of the highest duties, habits of simony, relaxation of morals, unchecked license, disorder and anarchy—all baneful results of the schism—threatened to throw back the Church into the most disastrous days of her history. The danger was imminent, the situation without precedent or example, an extraordinary evil called for an extraordinary remedy. The Spirit of God, which never forsakes the Church, suggested the only possible means of salvation. The glory of the initiative belongs to France. Charles VI., or, rather, the council of regency which ruled in his name, decided that a perfect neutrality should thenceforth be observed toward both Pontiffs. Most of the Christian princes followed the example. Negotiations were opened with the cardinals of both obediences, and they were at length withdrawn from their respective Popes. The two colleges opened communications, and a council, in which they should all take part, was convoked at Pisa, for the 25th of March, A. D. 1409. Gregory withdrew to Gaëta, under the protection of Ladislas,

king of Naples, while Benedict returned to his home at Saragossa, to weep over his ruined hopes and blasted ambition.

25. At the period fixed for the general council, Pisa received the ambassadors of all the Christian princes, twenty-two cardinals, the titulary Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Aquileia, one hundred and eighty archbishops and bishops, three hundred abbots, and an equal number of doctors in theology. The canonicalness of this assemblage has been called in question. It seems to us to admit of none. It is quite true, according to the principles of canonical jurisprudence, that, under ordinary circumstances, no council can be held without the sanction of the Roman Pontiff. But, in the present case, neither Pontiff could have brought together a general council, since neither was universally acknowledged. In the doubt which then existed about the legitimacy of the Sovereign Pontiff, the cardinals were empowered, and even bound, to act as if the Holy See had been vacant. No general council can be convoked without the Pope's consent; but the very object of the council was to point out the centre of this authority by a final decision, and to with draw it from the cloud by which it was then surrounded. Both competitors had, at their election, promised to coöperate in the work of peace. Both had broken their word; Gregory openly, Benedict with a dissimulation more in keeping with the subtlety of his character, and with an appearance of good faith which no longer deceived any one. It then devolved upon the cardinals who had elected them, who had bound them by formal conditions, who had constituted them their representatives to end the schism, "as agents, to lay down the Pontifical dignity at the fitting time," to take into their own hands the work of restoring lost unity. They understood their duty; the Council of Pisa was the work of their devotedness to the Church, and will ever be their proudest title to glory. The theologians who wrote in support of the council's rights were moved by an ardor and animation which sometimes carried them beyond the bounds of the law. Gerson, whose reputation

gave him an almost sovereign authority, wrote two treatises on this subject, which caused a great sensation. In the first, the illustrious chancellor refuted, with a great deal of sound judgment and moderation, the various objections brought against the council. But in the second, entitled *De Auferibilitate Papæ*, he reasoned from a particular question to a general conclusion, and asserted that, in any case, a Pope may be deposed by a general council. All tradition protested against this doctrine, which Gallicanism has since tried to revive. The deposition of Gregory XII., Benedict XIII., and John XXIII., by the Council of Constance, of which we shall treat hereafter, cannot be quoted as precedents in favor of this opinion. These two councils were not called to pass judgment upon a legitimate and universally acknowledged Pope, but, on the contrary, to constitute a Pope, and thus end the division of the Papacy. The shortest, and, in fact, the only means of reaching this end was simply to effect a renunciation of both obediences, in order to concentrate all the suffrages and all interests on one person. The plan was but partially successful in the Council of Pisa, because passions were still too warm; it triumphed, later, at Constance, thanks to the co-operation of Christian rulers.

26. After summoning Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. to appear before the council, the Fathers of Pisa entered into a careful examination of the important question. The various expedients calculated to bring about a pacification were discussed at length. The debate resulted in the decision that both claimants should be required to renounce the Sovereign Pontificate, that all authority should be withdrawn from them, and thus a Pope elected by the cardinals of both parties could rule without opposition. Viewing, as we do, from a distance, the events which then agitated all minds, the system of cession adopted by the council seems to us most fitting to end the dispute. The object would have been reached but for the pretensions of the rivals and the obstinate attachment of some rulers to their obedience. Neither Gregory nor Benedict appeared before the council. On the 5th of June, A. D. 1409,

the doors of the Basilica, in which the council sat, were thrown open to the multitude which poured in to hear the final sentence. Amid the deepest silence, the Patriarch of Alexandria raised his voice and announced that "Peter di Luna and Angelo Corrario, known in their respective obediences as Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., were deposed from the Pontificate, that the faithful were released from all obedience to them, and that the Holy See was vacant." This sentence, as unexampled as the circumstances which called it forth, was received with acclamations of joy, and followed by a solemn Te Deum.

§ V. Pontificate of Alexander V. (June 26, A. D. 1409—May 3, 1410).

27. Notwithstanding the obstinacy displayed by the two deposed Pontiffs, in refusing to accept the sentence pronounced against them, the Holy See was vacant; the Council of Pisa now turned its attention to the choice of a successor whose claim should be unassailable. In the preliminary meetings, the manner of the new election was a matter of dispute. Some were of opinion that the election should be made by the whole council; others held that the cardinals—though they held their dignity from a somewhat doubtful source—should alone be intrusted with the choice, in order not to swerve from established usage. The latter opinion prevailed; and the cardinals, after pledging themselves by oath to disregard, in the holy work, all secondary personal interests, entered into conclave. Never was Heaven implored with more fervent vows for the happy issue of a Pontifical election. The council, the ambassadors, the faithful—all were in prayer. No doubt was felt that the schism was at its last gasp. On the 26th of June, A. D. 1409, all the votes centred on Cardinal Peter Philargi, of Candia, who took the name of Alexander V. Never was election more free from political intrigues and court influence. The new Pope could boast neither long lineage nor powerful rela

tions. He had been charitably harbored, while still an infant, in the island of Candia, and knew neither father, nor mother, nor kindred. His merit and intelligence supplied the want of all human recommendations. Having received the habit of the Friars Minors, he studied successively in Bologna, Oxford, and Paris, and published a Commentary on the "Liber Sententiarum" of Peter Lombard, equally remarkable for depth of thought and elegance of style, and which won for its author the well-deserved admiration of the theological world. After having, for some time, held the archiepiscopal see of Milan, he was raised to the cardinalate by Innocent VII., and at length ascended the Papal throne at the age of seventy years. The election of Alexander V. gave rise to an incredible enthusiasm in the city of Pisa. The goodness of the Pontiff was as boundless as his charity; he had known misfortune, and his highest ambition was to make others happy. His bounty soon drained the Pontifical treasury, and he loved to repeat with a true spiritual gayety: "I was once a wealthy bishop, I have since been a poor cardinal, and now I am a needy Pope."

28. This accession, though hailed with such joyous acclamations, only complicated, instead of extinguishing the schism. Instead of two, there were now three rival claimants for the Pontifical authority. Gregory XII., in his retreat at Gaëta, was still acknowledged by the Neapolitan States, Hungary, Bavaria, Poland, and the kingdoms of the North. Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Scotland, with the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, remained true to Benedict XIII. The jurisdiction of Alexander V. was recognized only in France, England, Portugal, and Northern Italy; though Rome soon followed their example, and Avignon, so long the dwelling of the antipopes, submitted of its own accord to the authority of the legitimate Pontiff. The envoys of the Roman people met the Pope at Bologna, whither he had proceeded after the Council of Pisa, and laid at his feet the keys of the Tternal City, entreating him to honor it by his presence. The Pope received them kindly and promised to accede to their request. With a

view to the reëstablishment of unity in the Church, he convoked a general council for the year 1412. His plan of administration also included the reform of abuses, the repression of simony, the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, now becoming daily more desirable on account of the progress of the Turks; and finally the extinction of the Wycliffe heresy, which had left England to ravage Germany. Death, however, thwarted his plans, he expired at Bologna on the 3d of May, A. D. 1410; his last words were addressed to the cardinals who stood about his death-bed: "Peace I leave you, my peace I give you."

§ VI. Pontificate of John XXIII. (May 17, A. D. 1410—abdicates at the Council of Constance, recalls his abdication, and is finally deposed on the 29th of May, 1415).

29. The peace which Alexander V., on his death-bed, would have left to the world, was to be conquered. Seventeen of the twenty-three cardinals constituting the Sacred College met at Bologna. They went into conclave on the 15th of May, and three days afterward Balthazar Cossa, cardinal of St. Eustathius, was elected, and took the name of John XXIII. The new Pope was not yet a priest at the time of his promotion, which circumstance will explain the charges brought by contemporary writers against his worldly life. Balthazar Cossa, was a Neapolitan; the noble rank of his father, John of Troja, lord of Procida, had early accustomed him to a luxurious manner of life. Being destined for the Church, he studied canon law at the University of Bologna. Boniface IX., perceiving in him the rare tact, correct judgment, bold conceptions and prompt action, which make a useful man, raised him to the cardinalate and employed him in the most important affairs. The cardinal faithfully served the interests of the Holy See in a legation to Bologna. Still, it must be confessed that Cossa did not always use his influence with disinterested zeal, but too often allowed his actions to follow the promptings of personal ambition. His

life, moreover, was too much like that of the secular princes of the age, and the world admired in him rather the great military and political leader, than the edifying prelate. Whatever may have been the failings of John XXIII., he certainly made a bitter atonement for them. The blow which ended his Pontificate, forever crushed his earthly hopes; and never did he appear greater that when, beaten down by the storm of adversity, he equalled his misfortunes by an admirable submission.

30. The reign of John XXIII. was inaugurated by a series of triumphs closely followed by corresponding reverses. An attempt of Ladislas, king of Naples, to surprise Rome, was defeated by the valor and devotedness of the Pontifical troops. A deputation of Roman citizens was sent to entreat the Pope to fix his See in the Eternal City. He yielded to their request, and his entrance into the city of the Apostles was celebrated with unwonted pomp. John had summoned Louis of Anjou to meet Ladislas. He named the French prince gonfalonier of the Roman Church, and intrusted its standard to his keeping. Louis led a splendidly equipped army into the kingdom of Naples, and conquered his opponent in the celebrated battle of Roccasecca (May 19, A. D. 1411). Had the victor made good use of his advantage, Ladislas would have been undone. But the French are better soldiers than organizers. Ladislas availed himself of the moments lost by his rival. He succeeded in rallying his scattered forces, placed his strongholds in a state of defence, and took possession of the various passes by which the enemy could reach the heart of the kingdom. Louis soon found himself in want of money and provisions and unable to hold the field he had won; his whole endeavor was then to lead back his army to Rome, whence he himself soon started for Provence. Within a year (1413), Ladislas was again before Rome, with a large army. The Pontifical troops deserted their posts at the approach of the Neapolitans. The city was sacked, while the Pope fled, almost alone, to Viterbo, and Ladislas completed the subjection of the Roman territory.

31. The imperial throne had been left vacant by the death

of Robert of Bavaria (A. D. 1410). The empire became a spoil offered to the ambition of the German princes. Among the real candidates, two were foremost, with very nearly equal influence: Sigismund, king of Hungary, and Josse, marquis of Moravia and elector of Brandenburg. When these two powerful champions entered the lists, all others disappeared, and the imperial prize was left to be disputed by them alone. With a view to add weight to his claims, Sigismund hastened to solicit the support of Gregory XII., whose cause he favored, promising to use his best endeavors to end the schism in his favor. But John XXIII. was too skilful a diplomatist not to appreciate the great advantage of an alliance with the King of Hungary. He spared no pains to secure his allegiance and offered him his patronage, which was accepted. John then wrote to the electors, urging them to bestow the crown upon the King of Hungary, whom he represented as the prince most worthy to uphold the dignity of the empire. His appeal had the desired effect, and Sigismund was proclaimed, by the Diet of Frankfort, Emperor of Germany (A. D. 1410). The Pope thought that he had secured a faithful ally in Sigismund, and he accordingly wrote from his retreat at Viterbo, soliciting help against Ladislas. But the new emperor aimed at something higher. He deemed it a nobler task to labor for the extinction of the schism than to take part in personal quarrels, and, without returning any direct answer to the Pope's appeal, he sent him ambassadors to request the convocation of a council for the following year. John had hoped to bring the schism to an amicable end, and he was somewhat startled by the emperor's proposal. Yet he felt bound to yield his consent, and accordingly sent legates to confer with Sigismund about the most suitable place for the meeting of the council. Sigismund named Constance, a city within his own realm, and the opening of the council was appointed for the 1st of November, 1414. The last favorable event of John's Pontificate occurred shortly before this memorable date. Ladislas died suddenly at Naples (1414), leaving the throne to his sister, Joanna II. His death saved Italy

from the general conquest which he meditated, and which it could hardly have resisted, against his formidable army and persevering ambition.

32. The whole Catholic world was looking toward Constance, whither it had sent its most illustrious representatives. Eighteen thousand ecclesiastics of all ranks thronged the city and its neighborhood. All Europe was in motion; the Emperor Sigismund appeared in person at the deliberations of the great assembly. The nuncios of Gregory XII. and of Benedict XIII. came with full powers from their masters. John was at first doubtful as to the course he should adopt; but the cardinals at length induced him to preside in person over the meetings of the council. The first session was opened on the 5th of November, with all the dazzling splendor which John XXIII. loved to exhibit in great solemnities; but the gorgeous pageantry, in which he affected to display the glories of the Papacy, was but an ephemeral triumph. To preserve order in an assembly of this size, it became necessary to divide it into nations; each entitled to one vote only. The divisions were four in number: Italy, France, Germany and England; Spain was afterward added to the list, when the council had decided the case of Peter di Luna. These national divisions separately discussed the various questions proposed for general deliberation. Their respective suffrages were decided by a majority of voices. The result of these conferences was then communicated in the general congregations and read in the sessions of the council. This system of organization destroyed whatever hopes John might have rested upon the preponderance of Italian prelates. The first question laid before the council was, to determine the best means of effecting a union. Two means were offered: the unconditional recognition of John XXIII. and the deposition of the two other Pontiffs; or the simultaneous abdication of the three claimants and the definitive election of a universally acknowledged Pope. John himself naturally advocated the first proposition, which might perhaps have been adopted, but for the publication of a memorial containing the most serious

charges against the Pontiff's person and his private life. This accusing voice utterly deprived the Pope of the consideration and energy necessary to rule the general mind. A decree was read in the fifth session, which blasted all his hopes. The proposition of an absolute renunciation had been unanimously adopted, and the Pope was requested to sign a formula of abdication in the following terms: "For the peace of the whole Christian world, I declare, I promise, I pledge myself, and I swear before God, the Church and this holy council, freely and of my own accord, to give peace to the Church by a simple abdication of the Pontificate, as soon as the council may deem it proper and when the measure may secure the restoration of unity." The Pope read the formula in silence, and then said: "It has always been my intention to win peace for the Church; for this am I in Constance. I accept the formula." At these words, the emperor, the cardinals and all the members of the council broke out into expressions of thanksgiving; the bells were rung in token of gladness; the Te Deum was solemnly chanted, while every eye was dimmed with tears of joy. On the next day the Pope officiated Pontifically. At the close of the ceremony, seating himself upon his throne before the altar, he read aloud the formula which he had accepted on the preceding day. Before uttering the words: "I promise, I pledge myself, I swear," he left his seat, knelt at the foot of the altar, and laying his right hand upon his heart, said, in a voice of deep emotion: "Thus do I promise." The whole multitude broke forth into a resistless storm of applause. The emperor rose, thanked the Pope on his own and the council's behalf, and, laying aside his crown, knelt to kiss his feet. The joy of the clergy and people was unbounded.

33. Had John persevered in this course of action, he might indeed have lost the Papacy, but he would have won a stainless and undying glory.* But in an unhappy hour he yielded to

* While speaking of the difficulty experienced by these Pontiffs in renouncing the Papacy, we cannot forbear quoting the following words of M. Artaud de Montor, remarkable for their tone of prudence and moderation: "We do not believe," says the learned writer,

other inspirations, and, on the night of the 21st of March, fled secretly from Constance to Schaffhausen, whence, a few days afterward, he sent forth a long memorial, striving to justify his conduct by bitter complaints against the oppression he had suffered at Constance, with the most violent invectives against the emperor and the council. The assembly was more indignant than surprised at these threats. The most extreme opinions on the authority of the Sovereign Pontiffs were freely uttered and discussed. Gerson, the chancellor of the University of Paris, endeavored to prove the superiority of the council over the Pope. These radical principles were rejected by the more prudent and moderate members. On March 30, A. D. 1415, the council promulgated a decree containing the three following clauses: "1. Every individual, of whatever rank, even though he be Pope, is bound to obey the Council of Constance in what concerns faith, the extinction of the present schism, and the reform of the Church in its head and in its members. 2. Whoever stubbornly refuses to obey the decrees, statutes and regulations of the council, shall be held amenable to canonical punishment. 3. Pope John XXIII., the prelates and all the other members of the council have always been free. The flight of the Sovereign Pontiff was an open violation of his engagements." Meanwhile the Pope everywhere proclaimed that his oath had been extorted by violence and that he did not feel bound to abide by it; and he withdrew, for greater safety, to Brisach. The council opened negotiations with the fugitive Pope, but they proved fruitless. He might still have warded off the blow which threatened him. Had he suddenly appeared in the midst of the assembly and freely resigned into the hands

"that the motive of this lengthened resistance can be sought in the force of ordinary obstinacy, of that common obstinacy which binds certain men to the things of earth. Nor should we, perhaps, even class among human frailties the somewhat unnatural tenacity which refuses to give up what has been acknowledged by cardinals, by whole nations, and by rulers, deeming it a right which no power existing among us can take away. We may not, then, indulge in harsh judgments, in useless and unmeaning anathemas. God has not made man strong enough to survive many such struggles."—Lives of the Sovereign Pontiffs, t. III., p. 262.

of the Church's representatives the dignity which he was no longer able to maintain, he would have spared himself the greatest humiliation; but he remained inflexible, and, on the 29th of May, the council began its twelfth session, which was to crush forever the earthly hopes of John XXIII. As a matter of form, the culprit was summoned for the last time. The promoter then announced that, all the canonical formalities having been satisfied and the procedures ended, the hour of justice had now arrived. The Bishop of Arras rose and read the sentence, which concluded with the following words: "The holy council declares John XXIII. deposed and deprived of the Sovereign Pontificate, releases all the faithful from their obedience to him, and forbids them henceforth to acknowledge his claim to the rank or title of Pope." This sentence, which was without a precedent in history, was read amid a deep and solemn silence. The whole assembly confirmed it by the usual word, *placet*, and the Pontifical seal was broken. Four cardinals were charged with the painful mission of communicating the sentence to the fallen Pontiff. Misfortune had, within a very short time past, chastened the soul and ennobled the character of John XXIII. He received the envoys of the council with calm and dignified resignation, and made this reply to their announcement: "I swear never to protest, either in public or in private, against this sentence, and I now here renounce, of my own will, whatever right I may have to the Papacy. Not only do I wish no longer to remain Pope, but I would that I had never held the dignity; for since I bore that august title, I have never known a happy hour." A resignation so lofty repairs many faults and blots out the memory of many failings. And yet it did not disarm the enemies of John XXIII. Sigismund, fearful, perhaps, that John might soon repent of his abdication, confined him to the castle of Manheim, under the care of Louis, palatine of the Rhine. The imprisonment of the fallen Pontiff was a measure of severity from which his absolute submission should have saved him.

34. The council was still at work. There were yet two

claimants to be disposed of. Gregory XII., enlightened as to the realities of his position, by the fall of John, made Count Charles of Malatesta the bearer of two Pontifical bulls to the Council of Constance. The first recognized the legitimacy of the council, the second contained an absolute renunciation of the Papacy. The two acts were read in a general session, amid the acclamations of the Fathers. Gregory had, meanwhile, called together for the last time the members of his council at Rimini, where he had found an asylum under the protection of Malatesta. In their presence, he renewed his abdication, and protested that he would never again look to the Sovereign Pontificate. Returning to his rank of cardinal, to which was afterward added the title of perpetual legate in the Marches of Ancona, he died two years later at Recanati, great in history by the generous tone of his unconditional abdication.

35. Benedict XIII. did not follow his example. He still asserted his claim, supported by Scotland, Aragon, Castile, Sardinia and Corsica, but especially by his indomitable resolution. Shutting himself up in the stronghold of Peñiscola, in the kingdom of Valencia, he avowed his firm resolve to live and die a Pope. Sigismund requested an interview, which took place at Perpignan. The emperor, in the name of the council, urged him to give up all his claims, and, for the good of the Church, to resign a dignity which would be forcibly taken from him in the event of his resistance. The stubborn old man replied only by evasion and subterfuge. Sigismund demanded a final answer. Benedict then convoked a solemn consistory, which he addressed at great length, ending with these words: "'I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith; for the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice.' I am now the sole Pontiff. In the present state of things, it is not I who keep alive the schism, it is the assembly at Constance. Let them acknowledge me as Pope, and then there will be no schism, since there are no rival claimants. But never shall it be said that I forsook the bark of Peter, when God had placed me at the helm." These words

so plainly betrayed his motives of personal ambition as to detach Ferdinand of Aragon from his cause. Benedict learned, on his return to Peñiscola, that the king had forsaken his obedience. In vain did St. Vincent Ferrer exert all the resources of his mind and his influence to bend the obstinacy of the antipope. "Holy Father," urged the saint, "it were far better to live in poverty than to maintain discord among Christians by an excessive attachment to earthly dignities." His prudent counsels were unheeded. Benedict had recourse to his spiritual weapons, and, as though they could longer have been formidable, launched an anathema against the King of Aragon and declared his states forfeited. The bull produced an effect directly opposite to that which the antipope expected. The Kings of Castile, Navarre and Scotland abandoned his cause. With these events to facilitate their work, the Fathers of Constance, in their thirty-seventh session, pronounced the irrevocable deposition of Benedict XIII. A solemn Te Deum followed the reading of the sentence which overthrew the most powerful bulwark of the schism. The first part of the council's work was done.

36. During the negotiations with Benedict XIII., the council had pronounced a solemn judgment upon John Huss, Jerome of Prague and their adherents. These two disciples of Wycliffe had come to Constance to advance their errors, which were reducible to four leading propositions: "1. The Church is a mystical body, of which Jesus Christ is the head, the just and predestined are the only members, to the exclusion of sinners and the reprobate. Since no one who has been predestined can be lost, no member can be separated from the body of the Church; excommunication, therefore, does not cut off from eternal life. Besides, the Pope and the bishops not being empowered to make the distinction between the elect and the reprobate, the Church would not cease to subsist even were there neither Pope nor bishops. 2. Every action of a virtuous man is good; every act of a sinner is bad; hence civil and religious officers lose their respective authority by the commission of

mortal sin, in which case revolt is a right. 3. Jesus Christ alone has the power to bind and to loose; the delegation of that power, made by Him to the Apostles and to their successors, involves no more than a mere declaration that forgiveness is granted or withheld; hence, sins are remitted by contrition alone and not by the priest's absolution. 4. The Scripture is our only rule of faith and conduct; any ecclesiastical ordinance opposed to the Scripture deserves neither respect nor obedience. Thus, it is contrary to the Scripture to restrict, within certain territorial limits, the power radically granted to every priest to preach the gospel." These four propositions contain the germ of all Protestantism. They were obstinately defended by John Huss and Jerome of Prague, in spite of all the public and private conferences, exhortations and entreaties which were used to win a recantation. Huss, indeed, seemed for a moment to waver; but, as he was about to sign the profession of faith, which was dictated in the Bohemian dialect, he threw away the pen, exclaiming: "Never shall I be guilty of such a sacrilege!" On the 6th of July, A. D. 1414, the final sentence was, therefore, pronounced, and the heresiarch, degraded from the priesthood, was placed in the hands of Sigismund, who condemned him to the stake. As the flames were encircling the pile, the Duke of Bavaria called out to him: "Will you retract?" "It is better to obey God than man," replied the misguided fanatic; and with the words: "Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon me!" John Huss expired. Jerome of Prague met with the same fate. The flames that consumed these two innovators wrapt Bohemia, Moravia and a part of Poland in a conflagration of civil strife, which all the endeavors of the Emperor Sigismund, during the remainder of his reign, were powerless to check. The Council of Constance is charged with having violated the safe-conduct granted to the Bohemian reformers by Sigismund, and with an unjust display of excessive rigor in their regard. These two charges rest, respectively, upon a false understanding of facts and a real or assumed ignorance of the legislative system

of the middle-ages. In granting safe-conducts to John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the emperor had no intention of exempting them from obedience to the decrees of the council. He meant only to protect them during their journey and while they remained in Constance; during which period they were treated with due regard and left perfectly free. Until then they had only been suspected; but when their doctrine had been condemned, their stubborn defence of it against the unanimous judgment of the Fathers changed their situation and placed them in open revolt. They were now obstinate culprits; they became amenable to the penal legislation then in force. This legislation, as we have already noticed, was charged to protect an essentially Christian society. Whatever could tend to weaken the faith, or to undermine its foundations, was a crime of high-treason against society. Hence the rigor of the laws against heresiarchs and sectaries. Though circumstances differ now, yet we are not justified in viewing a fact of past history by the light of our present habits and ideas. Our age has too often seen the criminal of one day hailed the hero of the morrow, not to understand the necessity of weighing the thoughts and habits of the time, before pronouncing judgment upon men and facts. No new punishment, therefore, was inflicted upon the Bohemian innovators. They were tried and punished by the constant and universal legislation of the middle-ages, which decreed death by fire against obstinate heretics and sectaries. Moreover, Huss and Jerome were not mere theological wranglers whose errors might be deemed unimportant. Their teaching had armed thousands of followers and cost torrents of blood. The philanthropic wail raised by Lutheranism and the Voltarian school over their deserved fate had been more fittingly uttered over the wretched victims of Hussite errors and the innocent blood which they so plentifully shed. The sentence of Constance threw back Protestantism at least a century, in time, and saved the Church.

CHAPTER IV.

§ I. Pontificate of Martin V. (November 11, A. D. 1417—February 20, 1431).

1. Election of Martin V. Submission of John XXIII. to the new Pope. End of the schism of Benedict XIII. and of his successor, Clement VIII.—2. Closing sessions of the Council of Constance.—3. Entrance of Martin V. into Rome.—4. Ravages of the Hussites in Germany.—5. Embassy of John Palæologus to Rome.—6. Joan of Arc. Orleans delivered.—7. Coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims. Execution of Joan of Arc at Rouen. Death of Martin V.

§ II. Pontificate of Eugenius IV. (March 4, A. D. 1431—February 23, 1447).

8. Systematic opposition to the Papacy. — 9. Election of Eugenius IV. The Hussites in Germany.—10. Council of Basle. Its attacks upon the authority of Eugenius IV.—11. Moderation displayed by the Pope.—12. "Bright days" of the Council of Basle.—13. Hussites in the Council of Basle.—14. Eugenius dissolves the council.—15. The council sets itself in open rebellion against Eugenius IV. Election of the antipope Felix V. Pragmatic sanction of Charles VII., king of France.—16. Council of Florence, the sixteenth ecumenical. Reunion of the Greek Church.—17. The people of Constantinople refuse to accept the reunion.—18. Æneas Sylvius, secretary of the Council of Basle, submits to Pope Eugenius IV.

§ III. Pontificate of Nicholas V. (March 6, A. D. 1447—March 24, 1455).

19. Concordat of Nicholas V. with Germany. Submission of the antipope Felix V.—20. John Hunyades. Battle of Varna.—21. Mahomet II. before Constantinople.—22. Heroic defence of Constantine Dragases. Fall of Constantinople.—23. The Pope offers an asylum to the Greek writers spared in the fall of their capital. Invention of printing.—24. Death of Nicholas V.

§ IV. Pontificate of Calixtus III. (April 8, A. D. 1455—August 6, 1458).

25. Crusade preached throughout the whole of Europe, against the Turks. Siege of Belgrade by Mahomet II. Institution of the *Angelus*. Death of Calixtus III.

§ V. Pontificate of Pius II. (August 27, A. D. 1458—August 14, 1464).

26. Efforts made by Pius II. to arm the Christian princes against the Turks.—27. He confers the investiture of the kingdom of Naples on Ferdinand I.—28. Condemns the principles and the acts of the Council of Basle. The bull *Execrabilis*.—29. Rejection of the bull by the Parliament of Paris.—30. Accession of Louis XI. to the French throne. Revocation of the pragmatic sanction of Charles VII.—31. Letters of Pius II. to the Christian rulers and to Mahomet II. Death of the Pope.

§ I. Pontificate of Martin V. (November 11, A. D. 1417—February 20, 1431).

1. Every throne in Europe was either vacant or overturned; it was necessary to raise up the chair of Peter and to give it to a Pontiff who should gather around him the whole flock of the Supreme Shepherd. The Fathers, mindful of the disasters entailed by the hasty election at Pisa, deemed it best to act with cautious deliberation, and indefinitely postponed the meeting of the conclave. Though the return of the Spanish kingdoms seemed consummated, yet the council was not sufficiently sure of their lasting fidelity. It was feared that Peter di Luna might yet find sympathizers among those who had so long upheld his cause. Meanwhile the year 1417 was drawing to a close amid the repeated professions and proofs of submission given by the Catholic world, when, in the month of November, the council, satisfied with the state of things, began seriously to think of ending the widowhood of the Church. But before proceeding to an election, a decree was published, setting forth the chief points of general reform upon which the future Pope would be expected to take some definitive measures.* It was then decreed, for this time only, without any force of precedent in future contingencies, that beside the twenty-three cardinals, the Pontifical election should also be intrusted to thirty deputies appointed by the nations, six for each; that none of the late rivals should be eligible; that the successful candidate must

* These articles were eighteen in number and nearly all related to the collation of benfices, annats, Pontifical revenues, commendams, tithes, &c. We must here remark, with Monsignore Palma, that the council expressly said, in treating of this subject: "Quod Papa electus non potest ligari."

have received two-thirds of the votes cast in the double college of cardinals and deputies. With this preliminary agreement, the fifty-three electors went into conclave, and, after a deliberation of four days, unanimously proclaimed Cardinal Otho Colonna, who, in honor of the Saint of the day, took the name of Martin V. (November 11, A. D. 1417). The election which disinterested and united zeal had alone determined, was hailed with general enthusiasm. The new Pope was saluted with the grateful titles of Angel of Peace and Public Happiness. The great schism of the West was ended. Within two years, the Vicar of Christ saw at his feet the late captive, Balthazar Cossa. Martin V. could not restrain his tears at a sight which so strikingly displayed the emptiness of human greatness. He affectionately embraced the fallen Pontiff, made him Dean of the Sacred College, and directed that he should always sit at his side upon a throne higher than those of the other cardinals. Cossa did not long enjoy the distinction which was no longer one for him; he died within six months, greater on his cardinal's throne than on that of St. Peter. Benedict XIII. still held out in his schism, and died in 1424, in his stronghold of Peñiscola, attended by four pseudo-cardinals of his own creation, and who formed his whole obedience. They gave him, as successor, Giles Muñoz, who took the name of Clement VIII. But that shadow of a Pontiff, yielding at length to the voice of reason, laid aside the tiara, went into conclave with his cardinals, and together they elected Martin V., who had already reigned twelve years (August 20, 1429). Such was the end of this fatal schism, more destructive to the Church than the persecutions and heresies of all former ages. It gave birth to the Lutheran schism and may justly claim the parentage of such an offspring; it robbed the Papacy of much of its prestige and well-nigh overthrew the institution itself. Still, the great evil has borne the good fruit of a valuable lesson, which must force itself upon the dullest understanding—that the Papacy is really the centre of the marvellous unity which makes the Church unconquerable. As the foundation of the whole build-

ing, it cannot be shaken without communicating the shock to the remotest ends of the whole earth.

2. The council held two sessions under the personal presidence of Martin V. They chiefly aimed at the reforms mentioned above. The Sovereign Pontiff entered into special agreements with Germany, France and England, respecting the disposal of benefices and ecclesiastical revenues; the three treaties were called the Concordats of Martin V. He also approved the sentence pronounced against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, with their adherents, and renewed the anathema uttered against Jacobel of Prague, another sectary, who asserted the necessity of allowing the faithful to receive communion under both kinds. Finally, it was agreed to convoke a general council, within a short time, at Pavia, and Cardinal Braocaccio pronounced the usual formula at the closing of the council: "Domini, ite in pace," *et responsum et per adstantes:* "Amen" (April 22, A. D. 1418). At the same time a bull of Martin V. bound all the faithful "to acknowledge the Council of Constance as representing the Universal Church." "It is Our wish," said the Pontiff, "that all should receive what has been decreed, concluded and determined *by you as a council*, in the assembly, *in matters of faith;* for We approve all that has been done *by you as a council in matters of faith, but not what may have been done differently and in another manner.*" The plain and well-defined distinction which the Pope has drawn in these words falls, evidently, upon the decree of the fourth and fifth sessions, in which the council, after the flight of John XXIII., took vigorous measures for the extinction of the schism, declaring that it meant to include, in the regulation, all persons of whatever dignity, even though of Papal rank. The Gallicans defend the ecumenicalness of this decree, from which they draw the general conclusion of the superiority of a general council over the Pope. The Ultramontanists, on the other hand, maintain that the decree was never ecumenical, since Pope Martin V., took particular care to except it from his approbation. If we may offer our own view of the question, we would say: 1. The claim of

the fourth and fifth sessions of the Council of Constance, to be called ecumenical, is at least doubtful, as no one can deny, since it always has been and is still a matter of so much controversy; and, according to an axiom of canon law, *lex dubia, lex nulla.* 2. Either the ecumenical authority of the above-mentioned sessions depends upon the sanction of Pope Martin V., or it does not. If it depends upon the Pontifical sanction, this would be in opposition to the decree which places the council above the Pope. If it is independent of the Pope's sanction, the question of principle remains, after the council, as it was before; for we cannot grant full force to the decrees not confirmed by the Pope, without granting the point in question, that is, without supposing that, before the Council of Constance, the superiority of a general council over the Pope was a truth already recognized by the Church. But such an assumption would be more than gratuitous, since, in all the history of former ages, not a single general council, not a solitary decree was ever received by the Church until approved by the Pope. It is true that several theologians, especially French doctors from the University of Paris, in memorials and discourses addressed to the council, unconditionally maintained the doctrine and claimed to erect it into a dogma. But they constituted only a small minority in the assembly and their extreme views never received force of law. 3. If the ecumenicalness of the fourth and fifth sessions were a fact, the superiority of a general council over the Pope would be a dogma of faith. But, for more than four hundred and forty years, all the Popes, with a vast majority of the doctors and theologians out of France, have loudly, publicly, distinctly denied this claim. Must we, then, believe that all the Popes and the great majority of doctors and theologians of the past four centuries have always held and taught a great heresy? No man, we hope, is prepared to defend such a monstrous absurdity. The most we can conclude is, that the University of Paris and the more or less direct heirs of these Gallican traditions have followed a course too exclusively national to be the most correct.*

* The Council of Constance is not considered ecumenical by the court of Rome, notwith-

3. There was no longer any thing to detain the Pope at Constance. On the 22d of September, A. D. 1421, "a day," in the words of the annalists, "ever to be remembered, and recorded in letters of gold, in the annals of Rome," Martin V. entered the gates of the Eternal City. The multitude, thronging his path, hailed him as the *true father of his country*. The Holy Father felt these proofs of affection the more sensibly, as Rome was his native city, and the house of Colonna had always held a high rank among its nobility. But his eyes surveyed with grief the heaps of ruins which marked the passage of bloody revolutions. "Everywhere," says a contemporary writer, "we looked upon ruined dwellings, shattered temples, deserted streets, impassable roads, a city devoured by famine." The same fearful lesson the Roman people might learn from every page of their history! Every time that Rome has cast off the Popes, she has dug a deep gulf beneath her own feet; without the Sovereign Pontiffs, the traveller might yet be seeking the place where once stood the city of the Cæsars. The presence of Martin V. soon brought back life and activity to the great capital; money circulated freely; the earth gave forth its treasures; strangers again poured through its gates, and the gratitude of the people confirmed by public monuments the name of *father of his country*, with which the general enthusiasm had first hailed Martin V.

4. The Hussites, under the lead of John Zisca, were in the mean time ravaging Germany. Prague fell into their hands (A. D. 1419). Monasteries with their religious, churches with their priests, whole cities with their inhabitants; all were overwhelmed in blood and conflagration. Two Crusades were preached against them by the Sovereign Pontiff, with the same indulgences as for the Holy Wars. From the fortress of Thabor, which he had built upon a height near the city of Prague,

standing the approval of some of its acts by Pope Martin V. In this question, as usual, we follow the sense of the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all others, fearless of being led astray while she is our guide.—*Vide* the admirable work of Monsignore PALMA, *Prælectiones Historiæ Ecclesiæ*, Romæ, 1848, *Typis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.*

John Zisca pointed out to his followers the formidable imperial armies which Sigismund was leading against them, and these armies successively fell beneath their swords. He was already master of Bohemia, when he was carried off by the plague in 1424, after which his party divided itself into three separate factions. Some wanted no chief, and styled themselves *Orphans;* the others chose leaders and took the name of *Horebites.* The third and most numerous division elected, as Zisca's successor, his disciple Procopius Razes, called the Great. This separation did not check their progress. They united against the Catholics, and thus continued to ravage Bohemia and Moravia during the whole Pontificate of Martin V.

5. The Eastern emperors still looked anxiously to the West for defence and support. In 1420, Manuel sent to Rome John Palæologus II., his son, and heir presumptive to the Eastern throne, for the purpose of soliciting the assistance of the Pope against the formidable attacks of the Sultan Amurath II. The prince was, in return, to make the already so often repeated promise of a reunion of the two Churches. The distinguished envoy was favorably received by Martin V., who sent legates to Constantinople, with orders to effect a final settlement of this difficult matter. Ladislas I., king of Hungary, who was in constant communication with the court of Byzantium, was charged to second the efforts of the legates. Manuel proposed the holding of an ecumenical council at Constantinople, as the surest means of reaching the desired end. The legates returned to Rome for instructions, and, before the negotiations on the subject could be satisfactorily concluded, Manuel was stricken down by apoplexy. The parting instructions which he gave, on his death-bed, to John Palæologus, may serve to show the measure of his sincerity. "My son," said the dying emperor, "our wretched age affords no field for the display of greatness or heroism. Our situation calls less for a warlike emperor than for a careful steward of our shattered fortune. Our only resource against the Turks is the fear of our union with the Latins and their dread of the valiant nations of the West.

When the Infidels press close upon you, let them perceive this danger. Propose a council, open communications with Rome; but always protract the negotiations, put off the convocation of the council, and manage to satisfy the Latins with words." The whole Greek policy in regard to the West is revealed in this deceitful counsel of the father to his son. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks was the result of the faithless policy.

6. At the very moment when Manuel Palæologus was speaking in such a hopeless strain of virtue and honor, the whole world was ringing with the fame of a Christian heroine, the glory of France and the admiration of all time. The disasters which marked the reign of Charles VI., his mental disorder, the fury of Isabeau of Bavaria, the assassination of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, the excesses committed by the Armagnac and Burgundian factions ended in the disgraceful treaty of Troyes (A. D. 1420), by which a mother dethroned her son, a queen of France gave up her kingdom to the English. The wretched Charles, the sport of the most astonishing revolutions, died two years afterward, and Henry VI. of England was proclaimed king of France, while the rightful heir, Charles VII., was reduced to the empty title of King of Bourges. Nothing less than a miracle could save the most Christian kingdom; and God wrought the miracle. The English were besieging Orleans, vainly defended by Lahire and Xaintrailles, whose devoted courage was capable of every thing save the creation of armies. Charles VII., safe beyond the Loire, forgot, amid feasting and pleasure, the loss of his kingdom. On the 24th of February, 1429, the court was visited by a poor shepherdess of Domrémy. "The King of Heaven," said she to the monarch, "has sent me to tell you that you shall be anointed and crowned at Rheims and shall rule France." The maiden was Joan of Arc. She said that mysterious voices ha enjoined her to quit her native village and, in the armor of warrior, to save her king and her country. The youthful hero ine of eighteen years was sent to Poitiers that her vocation might be tested by the bishop and doctors "God needs not

warriors," they said to her, "if it be His will to save France." "The warriors," replied the maid, "must fight, and God will give the victory." "And what kind of language do your voices speak?" asked a doctor of Limousin. "A better one than yours," replied Joan with some fire. "If you show no better signs to give authority to your words," said the doctor, "the king will not trust you with his soldiers, for you would lead them into danger." "I am not sent to Poitiers to give proofs of my mission," answered the heroine; "take me to Orleans and you shall see the truth of my words. The sign I am to give is the rescue of that city from siege." She was believed at last. The young heroine armed herself with a sword found in the chapel of St. Catherine of Fierbois, and pointed out to her by the mysterious voices. She held a white standard spangled with golden lilies, and bearing, as a pledge of victory, the names of Jesus and Mary. On the 1st of April, 1429, in open day, she passed through the English lines and entered the beleaguered city at the head of a provision-train; on the 8th of May, the enemy fled before the youthful maid, leaving their camp and military equipage in the hands of the French. On that glorious day Joan of Arc received her title of Maid of Orleans.

7. The heroine might now claim to be believed on her word. "The will of God," she said to Charles VII., "is that you come to receive the crown at Rheims." In a natural point of view, the idea seemed absurd and chimerical; such, at least, was the opinion of all the leaders. They were more than eighty leagues from that city, which was, with all the intervening country, in the hands of the enemy. But what is impossible to man is easy to God, and Joan of Arc had proved that she was the envoy of God. Charles yielded to her request and set out for Rheims with only twelve thousand men, without provisions or artillery. Auxerre, Troyes and Châlons successively opened their gates. Rheims expelled its English garrison and received Charles with triumphal pomp, on the 17th of July, A. D. 1429. During the whole ceremony of the coronation, Joan, shedding

tears of joy, stood by the king with her white banner in her hand. "She has shared the struggle," said the heroine, "she must have part in the reward." At the close of the solemnity Joan threw herself on her knees before Charles and kissed his feet. "My liege," she said with tearful eyes, "now the will of God is done; He had decreed to raise the siege of Orleans and to bring you to Rheims. My mission is ended; I would go back to my parents to resume my life as a shepherdess." The lofty simplicity of her words drew tears from every eye. But Joan had become the army, the hope, the treasure of France, and Charles could not spare her then. She accordingly continued her glorious career; but she had said: "I shall last but another year, or very little longer; I must therefore use it well." The sad prediction was only too strictly fulfilled. On the 24th of May, 1430, Joan of Arc was taken by the English before the walls of Compiègne. If any thing could add to her glory, it would be the unbounded exultation displayed by the enemies of France over their prisoner; their whole camp resounded with cries of joy. The soldiers thronged around to gaze upon her whose very name had made them tremble. The heroine was taken to Rouen and tried for witchcraft. Peter Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, whose name is a disgrace to the Church and a stain on the page of history, dared to condemn the guiltless victim to the stake. The execution of the Maid of Orleans will ever remain an infamous blot on the English nation (May 30, 1431). It is said that Joan appealed from the venal judges in the pay of her enemies, to the Holy See, the hope of all the wronged. Had the appeal been heeded, or had the political passions which guided every act of the shameful transaction allowed it, humanity would have to blush for one crime less. Twenty-five years after the death of Joan of Arc, Pope Calixtus III. ordered the Archbishop of Rheims to institute an inquiry into the particulars of the case. The heroine's innocence was clearly proved and her memory gloriously vindicated. Calixtus published a solemn sentence declaring that Joan of Arc "had died a martyr for her faith, her king and her country."

Meanwhile Pope Martin V. had died at Rome (February 21, 1431), after a peaceful reign of nearly fourteen years. His last act was to convoke a council at Basle to close the difficulty with the Hussites and effect the reunion of the Greek Church

§ II. Pontificate of Eugenius IV. (March 4, A. D. 1431—February 23, 1447).

8. The peaceful close of the last Pontificate was but the lull before a fresh storm. The Council of Constance had given birth to a spirit of unprecedented opposition. Some doctors maintained that the legislative should take the place of the Pontifical power, in the Church; and that general councils, held every three years, should form, so to speak, the permanent council and the centre of ecclesiastical administration. Deliberative assemblies almost invariably give rise to seasons of dangerous excitement, by the disputed questions discussed, the animosity which they awake and the self-love they excite. In the new movement which signalized the first half of the fifteenth century, and of which the Council of Basle was the symbol and standard, France was too unmindful of her exalted title of "eldest daughter of the Church." Her attachment to anti-papal doctrines appeared in the decrees which aimed at setting up Gallican ideas as dogmas of faith. The Council of Constance had deposed three Popes; this unprecedented step was commanded by circumstances and justified by the necessity of restoring peace to the Church. The Council of Basle, without any necessity whatever, in a season of perfect peace, assumed the right of deposing a Pope universally acknowledged; it claimed for itself the whole direction of the government and administration, proclaimed its superiority over the Pope, and set up a shadow of a Pontiff under whose name it sought to reign. Applying the doctrine and the facts to a purely political assembly, we have a perfect identity, in form and substance, with the States-General of 1789. Had the claims of the Council of Basle ever obtained force of law, the Church would have ceased to

exist as a monarchy and would have become a federal republic; the chair of St. Peter would have yielded to the rostrum, and harangues been substituted for decrees. We are, therefore, warranted in styling the pontificate of Eugenius IV. one long tempest, and in asserting that his efforts to resist doctrinal innovations, truly saved the Church.

9. Cardinal Gabriel Gondolmerio, a nephew of Gregory XII., was elected Pope on the 3d of March, A. D. 1431, and took the name of Eugenius IV. His first thoughts were given to the twofold object of repressing the Hussites and continuing the Council of Constance. Since the death of John Zisca, Bohemia, Moravia and Poland were in a state of the greatest disorder. A dispute on purely theological grounds—the question of communion under both kinds—soon grew into fearful proportions. There are crises in the world's history when the minds of men seem but to await the falling of a spark to break out into a fearful explosion. The fifteenth century was one of those decisive moments. The whole of Northern Germany was soon involved in a social revolution. The reformatory notions given to the world during the Western Schism were displayed in deeds of revenge. On the plea of restoring religious discipline, monasteries were laid in ashes; under pretext of reforming the abuse of the temporal power, all ecclesiastical and civil property was seized, and communism set up. In reading the account of his mission, left us by Æneas Sylvius, the Papal legate at Prague, we might almost fancy ourselves present at one of the displays of which modern socialism has furnished us recent examples. "It was a strange sight," says the legate, "and quite novel to us, to see that ill-clad, wretched rabble, giving itself the title of brotherhood, and imagining that by this sordid herding together they were restoring the manners of the primitive Church. They claim that society should supply the wants of its individual members, that royalty and rank, of any kind, are abuses, since a king is, in their eyes, but a useless member who alone profits by the labor of all his brethren." Had the Hussites confined these doctrines to the limits of some monas-

tery, they would have been looked upon as Utopian dreamers, more to be pitied than feared. But they commanded formidable armies. Thrice had the Emperor Sigismund seen them destroy the armaments which had drained his treasure and his state. Eugenius IV. ordered a third Crusade against the Bohemian revolutionists. He also sent, as missionary and legate, St. John Capistran, who joined his preaching and labors to those of Æneas Sylvius to recall the wanderers to the fold.

10. But higher hopes of success were founded upon the general council which Martin V. had appointed to meet at Basle. We have already intimated that this assembly did not fulfil the expectation of the Catholic world. Instead of an ecumenical council, it turned out to be but a wretched cabal, which lasted twelve years, composed of a few insubordinate prelates, pandering to the political passions of a crowd of inferior ecclesiastics; granting them a deliberative voice in the assembly, in contempt of all canonical rules; undertaking, in union with them, to reform the Church, claiming its administration as their right; summoning before them the lawful successor of St. Peter, deposing him by a sacrilegious sentence, and crowning the schism by the election of an antipope. The opening of the seditious council presented a strange sight. On the 3d of March, A. D. 1431, the day appointed by Martin V., the Abbot of Vezelai alone appeared in answer to the summons. The abbot solemnly entered the cathedral; in the presence of the canons he declared the council opened, and took note of the singular inauguration. In the following September, Cardinal Julian, the legate of Eugenius IV., came to Basle, where he found only three bishops and seven abbots. Notwithstanding the repeated representations of these ten prelates, the European princes refused to send their ambassadors and the bishops of their respective realms. Under the circumstances, the Pope thought it necessary to dissolve a council which seemed to command so little respect. Moreover, John Palæologus, the emperor of Constantinople, in obedience to his father's advice, but in a truer spirit of good faith, had begged the Pope to choose some Italian city

as the seat of the general council, which he announced his formal intention of attending in person with the Patriarch and chief members of the Greek clergy. The situation of Basle would have increased the difficulty of such a journey and hindered a negotiation so important to the Church. Eugenius, yielding to these urgent motives, published a bull dissolving the assembly at Basle and convoking a general council at Bologna (November 12, 1431). The measure was one of wisdom. The members of the assembly at Basle did not deem it such. Their number amounted, in all, to fourteen, but their ambition was not in proportion. They answered the Pontifical decree by an insolent declaration. "The most holy Council of Basle," said they, "declares, defines and decrees: 1. That it is canonically and lawfully assembled, and represents the Universal Church; 2. That it holds its authority immediately from Jesus Christ, and that any person, of whatever dignity, even were he Pope, who refuses obedience to the holy council, shall be punished according to the provisions of the law. All the members of the Council of Basle are, therefore, forbidden to leave it, whether in obedience to the orders of the Pope or for any other cause whatever." Here, then, we have fourteen prelates who, in opposition to the head of the Universal Church, claimed to constitute an ecumenical council possessing authority, not over a doubtful Pontiff, as at Constance, but over a certain and lawful Pope, recognized by the whole Catholic world. This was surely too great a breach of all moderation and propriety. But minds once led astray always forget the bounds of reason: they are carried away by their own excesses. The members of the assembly at Basle, persisting in their seditious course, summoned the Sovereign Pontiff to appear before the council in person, or by his legates, within three months, to answer for his conduct. On his refusal to obey, they passed a succession of decrees, in the following sessions, to meet all the acts of authority they might have to fear from the Pope and thus to restrain him in his rights—all this by virtue of the decree of Constance, renewed by them, and subjecting the Holy See to a

general council. Eugenius IV. published a bull, annulling all these summonses and revolutionary measures. The prelates replied by threatening to deprive him of all ecclesiastical administration, and directing that the cases hitherto brought before the court of Rome should now be subject to their decision (1433).

11. Had the thunders of the Church been hurled, at this juncture, against the factious assembly, history would have recorded that they had been deservedly incurred, by the obstinacy of a few bishops composing the Council of Basle. Yet, with a forbearance beyond all praise, Eugenius could reflect, in his trying position, that he was even more a father than a judge, and mercy stayed the uplifted arm of justice. The Emperor Sigismund repaired to Basle and offered his mediation between the Sovereign Pontiff and the rash prelates. It was accepted. Eugenius, trusting to the power of an act of clemency, the more efficacious that it was undeservedly generous, consented to overlook the past. He recalled the bull of dissolution and allowed the council to continue in session on the condition of its working thenceforward in a spirit of peace and mildness, for the extirpation of the Bohemian heresy and the spiritual good of Christendom. Sigismund sent the bull of the Sovereign Pontiff to the members of the council, exhorting them to conduct their operations in such a manner as to save the Church from the misfortune of a schism. To the seditious prelates the imperial admonition was as distasteful as it was necessary. They sent to Sigismund a haughty reply, telling him that the Holy Ghost, in Whose name they had come together, was not a spirit of "discord and schism." They took particular exception to the article of the Pontifical bull, by which Eugenius announced that "he would send four legates to preside in his name at the meetings of the assembly." "This clause," said the captious prelates, "necessarily implies the condemnation of all that has hitherto been done without the participation of the legates. It consequently destroys the authority of this council and of all the other general councils, especially that of Constance, which has

decided that the general council holds its authority immediately from God." The revival of the discussion threatened to crush all hopes of peace. Sigismund once more intervened and obtained a still more explicit declaration from Eugenius IV., in which the Pope speaks thus: "We are ready to receive the Council of Basle without reservation, and wish to favor it with all our power, provided our legates are allowed to preside, and all the proceedings are revoked which attack our person, authority and prerogatives (August 1, A. D. 1433)." The emperor was so forcibly struck by the conciliatory tone of this declaration, drawn up in his presence, that he could not forbear exclaiming, "Really, Holy Father, this is too much. Should they refuse to receive this bull without restriction, I shall take upon myself to bring them to order."

12. The conduct of the Fathers of Basle was beginning to awake the indignation of the Catholic world. The emperor showed a disposition to use harsh measures if the disorder continued. The anarchical doctrines maintained by the council did not threaten the Church alone. In fact, if twenty or thirty prelates, in opposition to the Holy See, are entitled to set themselves up as the representatives of the Catholic world, and as such to control the Pope, to dictate new laws to him, to suspend or depose him at will; with stronger reason, may twenty or thirty deputies style themselves the States-General, the Parliament or national representation of a whole people, and, as such, control, depose, suspend, banish, or put to death kings and emperors. It is evident, then, that these principles threatened the civil governments as well as the spiritual power. Charles VII. of France thus wrote to the council (August 20, A. D. 1433): "We are shocked at your disgraceful conduct toward the Sovereign Pontiff, and we entreat you to show more reserve and moderation in the future." The prelates perceived that, by persisting in their obstinacy, they were estranging all the sympathies of Europe; their conduct then became more prudent, and this period has been called the "Bright days of the Council of Basle;" it extends from the fifteenth to the twenty-fifth session. The

seditious spirit which had ruled the assembly, though confined within certain bounds, was not entirely dead. Thus it was decreed that the Papal legates should not enjoy a co-active jurisdiction. For the fourth or fifth time they renewed the decrees of Constance, asserting the superiority of a general council over the Pope. The arguments upon which the orators of Basle pretended to base this doctrine are worthy of notice. "We are met with the objection," they said, "that our Lord bestowed a universal authority upon St. Peter when he said to him: 'Feed my sheep.' But here we must make a distinction; our Lord intrusted to Peter each one of his sheep in particular, but not all the sheep together." Which amounts to saying that in a flock of a hundred sheep, for example, the shepherd has a right to lead each one separately, but when they are together, it belongs to the flock to guide the shepherd. "It is in vain," they continue, "that our opponents quote the words of canon law to prove that the Pope is recognized as pastor of the whole Church. To say that the Pope is placed over the whole Church is to suppose that he is placed over the head and the members of all the churches established throughout the world. But the Pope cannot be placed over the head of the Roman Church, since he cannot be placed over himself. Hence he is not placed over all the churches which, in their union, constitute the Universal Church." In other words, a general is not placed over his army, nor a father over his family, because they cannot be placed over themselves. Could scholasticism be fairly convicted of always teaching men to reason as wide as this, it might well be deemed the most dangerous invention of human genius. But all the sophistry of subtle dialecticians cannot impair the claim of logic to be the foundation and root of science; the abuse cannot destroy the established usage.

13. The Fathers of Basle now turned their attention to questions more worthy of a council of the Church. Four hundred Hussites appeared before the council, protected by the safe-conduct of Sigismund. Their arrival excited an unusual amount of interest and emotion. "The people," says Æneas

Sylvius, secretary of the council, "crowded around them as they passed, anxious to look upon the warlike men of whom they had heard so much. Their strange dress, their fierce countenances and fiery looks awakened an instinctive feeling of terror. The chief object of attention, however, was their leader, Procopius, whose very name inspired them with fear. 'It is he,' said they, 'who has so often routed the imperial forces, who has overthrown so many cities; butchered so many thousand men; the unconquerable, bold, fearless and indefatigable leader, as terrible to his own soldiers as to the enemy.'" On behalf of his followers, who had assumed the name of Calixtines, from their doctrine that the chalice should be granted to the laity, Procopius demanded: 1. Communion under both kinds for the laity; 2. For all priests, the right to preach the word of God without restriction of place; 3. The promulgation of a canonical regulation forbidding ecclesiastics to hold temporal possessions; 4. The declaration that every one of the faithful is authorized to punish public sinners with his own hand, and according to his own view. The council rejected these demands in the unlimited sense in which they were made, and proposed the following modifications: "The custom of giving communion to the faithful under the simple form of bread was very properly introduced by the Church, to avoid the danger of irreverence and profanation which might result from the common use of the chalice; this prudent measure may not be changed without the authority of the Church. Still the Church has authority to allow the faithful, with stated conditions, to receive communion under both kinds. It might even be granted, for a time, to the Bohemians, if they would promise to return sincerely to Catholic unity. The right of every priest to preach the gospel without restriction must always remain subject to the approval of the diocesan. The right of ecclesiastics to hold temporal possessions is warranted by examples in both the Old and New Testament. The Church, however, has the power and the will to prevent or to reform abuses by wise regulations. The punishment of public crimes

belongs immediately, in spiritual matters, to the ecclesiastical tribunals; in temporal concerns, to the civil magistrates. Any canonical decree to the contrary would only make vengeance lawful, perpetuate feuds and authorize countless murders." Upon this basis a concordat was drawn up to the satisfaction of the Calixtines and more moderate Hussites. The Taborites, Orphans and Horebites openly opposed the union, and again took up arms. Their first engagement, near Prague (A. D. 1434), cost them twenty thousand men, the second, in the same year, their chief, Procopius. The loss of their leaders induced the sectaries to listen to the propositions of the council, which allowed them to receive under both kinds, until a general rule should be established in the final arrangements for the re-union. The remains of the Hussite faction gradually disappeared among the various rising sects, thus forming a nucleus of op position, which would afterward help to swell the ranks of Lutheranism.

14. The conduct of the Fathers of Basle in this matter was irreproachable; it is their only claim to the respect of posterity. The urgent request of John Palæologus, that a nearer and more accessible city than Basle should be chosen, in order to facilitate the re-union with the Greek Church, was the signal for a fresh outbreak on the part of the prelates. They were unwilling to leave the city in which they pretended to hold sovereign sway. The Greek ambassadors vainly entreated them not to allow secondary considerations to mar so important a result. "Is it possible," said the Greeks, "that while our emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Greek prelates, are willing to cross the sea and expose themselves to the dangers of a long and toilsome voyage, you can refuse to undertake a journey of seven or eight days, to effect a reconciliation so desirable!" The prelates were unyielding; and, in their twenty-fifth session, May 7, A. D. 1437, they decreed that the council for the re-union with the Greek Church should be held at Basle, or at Avignon. The Papal legates refused to sanction the measure, and Eugenius IV. issued a bill naming

Ferrara as the seat of the general council, and dissolving that of Basle.

15. The lawful existence of the council was now at an end; the Papal legates and the more moderate prelates accordingly withdrew. A few prelates remained with a number of the inferior clergy, whose obstinacy was proportionate to their canonical incapacity to take an active part in the regular deliberations. This party, which might be styled the popular faction, was led by Cardinal l'Allemand, archbishop of Arles. Though endowed with many good and noble qualities, the cardinal had two faults which led him astray and kept him long a wanderer from the true path; he sometimes showed a want of tact and judgment with an unconquerable obstinacy. After the departure of the legates and the other cardinals, he sought to win popularity by obtaining a decree that simple priests should thenceforth have an active voice. The famous expression of the Fathers of Chalcedon was quoted in opposition: "A council is an assembly of bishops, not of clerics;" to which he replied by a subtlety unworthy of his character: "In the sense of the Council of Chalcedon, a council is an assembly of bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, lectors and acolytes, but not of simply tonsured clerics." But at the time of the Council of Chalcedon there were no merely tonsured clerics in the Greek Church. Moreover, it is plain enough that by these words the council meant to establish a distinction between the bishops and all the inferior clergy, including priests. However, the majority ruled and the motion of the Archbishop of Arles was carried. From this date the Council of Basle is but a reproduction of the Latrocinale of Ephesus. In the twenty-sixth session, the factious members began to take violent measures against the Pope, who was summoned to appear before them, and, on his failing to comply, was condemned and deposed as contumacious. To crown all their outrages, they elected an antipope; the object of their choice was Amadeus VIII., duke of Savoy, who was then living in retirement at Ripaille, a delightful retreat on the shores of the lake of Geneva (A. D. 1439). Amadeus had ruled his states

with singular prudence and justice; his code of laws, published in 1430, under the name of Statutes of Savoy, won the admiration of all Europe and obtained for their author the title of the Solomon of his age. Disgusted with worldly honors, he abdicated in 1434, in favor of his eldest son, Louis I., and withdrew to the hermitage of Ripaille, where, with seven lords of his court, who had followed to share his retreat, he instituted the military order of St. Maurice. When he received the tidings of the dignity offered by the schismatical prelates at Basle, Amadeus was utterly ignorant of the real character of the assembly. For six years the Catholic world had been looking upon it as a general council. A small number of theologians, more enlightened than the common people, had alone followed it steadily through all its changes and formed an opinion on the question. The mass of Catholics erred in good faith in recognizing its claims. Amadeus VIII. was of this number, which will appear less surprising when we see that the error was shared by men even more able than himself; that Æneas Sylvius—afterward Pope Pius II.—was at that time secretary of the council, and had even acted as master of ceremonies in the conclave which elected the antipope. Amadeus at first refused the offered dignity; he was loath to change the sweets of solitude for the cares and responsibilities of a throne. At length, however, he yielded a reluctant and tearful consent, and took the name of Felix V. He made his solemn entry into Basle, and was crowned by the Archbishop of Arles (1439). The antipope's authority was recognized only in Switzerland, Savoy and Piedmont. The Emperor Sigismund, dying in 1437, was succeeded by Albert II. of Austria; this short reign of two years was followed by that of Frederick III., who agreed with Charles VII. of France to keep a strict neutrality between the candidate of Basle and Eugenius IV. Yet France showed a certain leaning toward the schismatical council in which the French element was predominant. Charles even issued, at Bourges, in an assembly of the princes of the blood and dignitaries of the Church, under the name of *Pragmatic Sanction*,

an edict calculated to flatter the Fathers of Basle. The king declared that "the general council is superior to the Pope; he suppressed the annats, reserves and expectancies, which had hitherto accrued to the court of Rome; he restored elections to their primitive forms, denying the right of the Sovereign Pontiff to nominate subjects for bishoprics or benefices." It has been attempted to represent this Pragmatic Sanction as a concordat; but such an assumption betrays utter ignorance of the simplest principles of jurisprudence. The very word concordat implies two contracting parties. But at Bourges, the King of France alone decreed in his own case; the Roman court was in no way represented; the Pope had not even been consulted. By what right could the Papacy be bound by a treaty to which it had not subscribed? After the consummation of the schism, the Council of Basle held out, in spite of the general disrepute into which it had fallen, until 1443, at which period the wars in Germany compelled the prelates to withdraw. Such was the end of the assembly which has too long been honored with the title of ecumenical. To us it can appear but the seditious protestation of a few ambitious prelates against the Papacy.

16. The true ecumenical council was opened at Ferrara on the 10th of January, A. D. 1438; Nicholas Albergati presided as Apostolic legate. Eugenius reached the city on the twenty-seventh of the same month, annulled all the acts and decrees of the false Council of Basle and launched a sentence of excommunication against the antipope and his adherents. A plague which broke out at this time in Ferrara obliged the Pope to transfer the council to Florence (January 16, 1439), whence it derives its name of general Council of Florence, and sixteenth ecumenical.* The Greek emperor, John Palæologus, with the Patriarch of Constantinople and the bishops of the principal Eastern sees, landed at Venice, and appeared in the council on the 4th of March, 1438. On meeting the Pope, Palæologus would have

* In treating of ecumenical councils, we adopt the nomenclature of Monsignore Palma

knelt to salute him, but Eugenius stopped him and embraced him with great affection. The heads of Sts. Peter and Paul had been brought from Rome and were placed, with the book of gospels, upon a splendid throne, as if to consecrate the solemn assembly by the presence of the august relics. On the following day the Latin and Greek Churches stood face to face and the contest began. The Latins, but especially Cardinal Julian, showed a degree of learning, logic and eloquence for which the astonished Greeks were not prepared and with which they felt themselves hardly equal to cope. Preëminent among the eastern prelates were Bessarion, archbishop of Nice, whose splendid gifts of mind were enhanced by an unswerving uprightness of heart, and Mark, archbishop of Ephesus, whose talents were degraded by a pitiful and unyielding stubbornness. The discussion turned upon the doctrine of Purgatory, which the Greeks refused to admit, at least in the Catholic sense; upon the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharistic Sacrifice; upon the beatific vision, which is to begin, according to the Greeks, only after the general judgment; upon the procession of the Holy Ghost, with the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed; and upon the primacy of the Pope. The first articles were easily settled; but upon the last two the debate was long and violent. The Greeks yielded the point of the procession of the Holy Ghost and the addition of the *Filioque*, only when thoroughly convinced of a truth of which they had hitherto been, or feigned to be, ignorant: that the Latins admitted but one principle of the Holy Ghost, or that, the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son *tanquam ab uno principio*. The opposition to the primacy of the Pope was not made by the Eastern bishops or theologians, but by the emperor himself. He was willing to grant the preëminence of the Roman Pontiff, in general; but he was not prepared to allow the right of appealing to his tribunal from the judgment of any Patriarch, nor the exclusive right of the Pope to convoke general councils. Palæologus saw that if this principle were conceded, he would lose the species of supremacy in the Church which had been claimed by his

predecessors; and, for a moment, he entertained serious thoughts of breaking off the negotiation. But the Greeks were beginning to realize that their own liberty and independence rested entirely upon the liberty and independence of the Roman Pontiff. The Patriarch of Constantinople had just died in Florence, after a long illness. He was found dead, at his table, upon which he left these last words, traced with a faltering hand: "Joseph, by the mercy of God, archbishop of Constantinople, the new Rome, and ecumenical Patriarch. While I am fast sinking into the grave, I wish to communicate my dying sentiments to all my beloved sons. I admit all that the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Ancient Rome believes and teaches. I confess that the Pope is the Pastor of Pastors, the Sovereign Pontiff and Vicar of Jesus Christ, appointed to confirm the faith of Christians." The profession of the dying Patriarch produced a powerful effect upon the Greek prelates in the council. With the single exception of Mark of Ephesus, they unanimously acknowledged the primacy of the Pope, and by their concert overcame the reluctance of the emperor himself. The discussion was at an end; the union of the two Churches was accomplished. On the 6th of July, 1439, Eugenius IV. officiated Pontifically before the assembled Greeks and Latins. After the solemnity, he took his seat upon a throne on the right of the altar; John Palæologus occupied a throne on the left; all the prelates, in full episcopal dress, sat in their respective places. The celebrated decree of union, *Lætentur cœli*, was read in Latin, by Cardinal Julian, and then in Greek by Bessarion, metropolitan of Nice. The emperor and all the members of the council kissed the Pope's hands, according to the usual custom. On the 26th of August, Palæologus left Florence, bearing back to Byzantium the faith of Constantine. Eugenius sealed the act of union by bestowing the Roman purple upon the Archbishop of Nice, the great Bessarion, whose virtue and talent had won the admiration of the whole council. The same honor was conferred upon Isidore, archbishop of Kiew and metropolitan of all Russia. All the

Eastern churches seemed to have been simultaneously convinced of the necessity of union, and Florence received, in close succession, the deputations from Armenia, from the Patriarch of the Ethiopian Jacobites (the famous Prester-John), from the churches of Jerusalem and Mesopotamia, and from the Syrian Patriarch Ignatius, who all sent in their submission to the Roman Pontiff. It would almost seem that this general submission of the East was sent to console the Church after the disgrace of the Western schism. The sixteenth ecumenical Council of Florence closed its sessions with these glorious results (April 6, 1442). The mere comparison of its acts with those of the seditious Council of Basle should suffice to determine their respective value.

17. The peace so hardly won at Florence, signed by the Greek emperor and bishops, confirmed by the oath of so many prelates, was not ratified by the Eastern people. Mark of Ephesus was, in their eyes, a hero and almost a martyr, because he alone had held out to the last against the act of union. Metrophanes, who succeeded the Patriarch Joseph in the see of Constantinople, inherited his spirit of submission to the Church, and died of a broken heart under the bitter persecution of the schismatics (A. D. 1443). John Palæologus was too weak to resist the torrent of popular opinion. The see of Constantinople, after a vacancy of three years, was at length accepted by Gregory Melissenus, who likewise struggled against the schism. The death of the emperor, in 1445, left the throne to John VIII., also a Palæologus, who ascended it rather to witness the obsequies of the empire than to reign. The Turks were coming to make the Greeks atone for their insubordination and repeated revolts against the Holy See. "How did it happen," says Monseigneur Parisis, "that the peace concluded at Florence was disturbed within a few months; and by what means had the schism asserted its power, within four years after the council, in all the points comprised in the decree of union? It was the work of the popular feeling, of the spirit of the masses, a spirit of division helped on by the action of rulers, by the silence and inaction of bishops. The

emperor made fruitless efforts to assert the supreme power before which all had been wont to bow; he was accused of having betrayed his religion and dishonored his throne. The bishops in vain appealed to the confidence of their flocks; they were contemptuously styled azymites and apostates. The popular prejudice was kept alive, and fanned into fanaticism against the partisans of Rome, so that, in 1444, the emperor, finding most of the prelates who had signed the act borne down by the torrent of schism, was powerless to fulfil the terms of the treaty which he had signed in the face of the world."

18. The two Councils of Basle and Florence had lasted during the whole Pontificate of Eugenius IV. He died on the 23d of February, A. D. 1447, at the moment when Germany was on the point of abandoning the neutral position it claimed to hold between the two obediences, to declare openly for the lawful Pontiff. Æneas Sylvius, who had acted as secretary to the Council of Basle, was charged by Frederick III. to arrange the terms of reconciliation, as ambassador of Germany. "Holy Father," said the envoy, when presented to the Pope, "before submitting the message of the emperor, allow me to say a word concerning myself. I have spoken, written and done many things at Basle against your authority. I was in error; and I wandered in company with great men, with justly renowned doctors. Yet I had no wish to injure Your Holiness; I only sought to serve the Church. I was afterward convinced of the unlawful character of the Council of Basle; I withdrew from it at once, yet not to throw myself into the arms of your mercy, as did most of the others. I feared to strike upon a new shoal while trying to avoid the one I had already discovered. I have spent three years in the emperor's court, in this state of neutrality. The conferences which I have since held with your legates have completely convinced me of the justice of your cause. Now I know and firmly believe that justice and truth are on your side. It is this which has led the emperor to choose me for this mission. I have sinned through ignorance; I entreat Your Holiness to absolve a repentant sinner." We know not

that history can furnish any thing more noble, more truly great, han a retraction so frank and sincere. The heart that was apable of these lofty sentiments was yet to embrace in its love the care of all the churches. Eugenius not only pardoned Æneas Sylvius, but attached him to his own person as his secretary.

§ III. Pontificate of Nicholas V. (March 6, A. D. 1447—March 24, 1455).

19. The work of reconciliation was not broken off by the death of Eugenius IV. His successor, Thomas Sargano, cardinal of Bologna, who took the name of Nicholas V., signed the concordat between the Holy See and Germany, drawn up by the Cardinal-legate Carvajal (A. D. 1448). All the claims against the exactions of collectors and the abuses of ecclesiastical administrators were fully satisfied. Episcopal elections were restored to their primitive condition. Each church named its pastor, who was then to receive the confirmation of his authority from the Sovereign Pontiff. This concordat served as a foundation to the ecclesiastical jurisprudence of Germany, until 1803. Its ratification was a death-blow to the schism. Charles VII. of France had lately sent an unconditional act of submission to Nicholas V. Under the circumstances, Felix V., who had reluctantly accepted his questionable dignity, saw that it was time to offer his submission too. He transmitted it to Rome through Charles VII., who arranged the terms, in concert with the Pope. Nicholas received, with merciful indulgence, the propositions which were to put an end to the schism. On the 9th of April, 1449, Amadeus solemnly declared that he renounced the Sovereign Pontificate; the Pope made him cardinal of Santa-Sabina, dean of the Sacred College, and perpetual legate of the Roman court in Savoy. He moreover granted him the right to wear the Pontifical insignia, excepting the fisherman's ring, the cross upon his slippers, and a few prerogatives attached to the person of the Pope himself. Amadeus, however, made but little use of these

privileges. He returned to his peaceful solitude at Ripaille, where he died a holy death in 1451.

20. The Greek empire was now in a truly pitiable condition. In 1442, Eugenius IV. had preached a Crusade against the Turkish sultan Amurath II. Ladislas Jagello, a pious, just and valiant prince, the idol of his subjects, then wore the two crowns of Hungary and Poland. He was proclaimed leader of the Holy War. Ever at his side shone his illustrious general, John Hunyades, whose exploits are known to the whole Christian world, and whose very name was so terrible to the Ottomans that they used it to frighten their perverse children, as *Jancus Lain*, or the *Wicked*. The Pope made over to Ladislas the income of the Peter-pence, to meet the expenses of the Holy War. A fleet of fifty galleys, equipped by Eugenius IV. and commanded by Cardinal Julian,* as Apostolic legate, sailed toward the Bosphorus, while the Christian legions crossed the Danube and marched triumphantly to Sophia, the capital of Bulgaria. Two great victories over Amurath (July, A. D. 1444) opened the way to Constantinople. But the Crusaders forgot themselves in their success, and the sultan gave them cause to repent most bitterly their careless inaction. On the 10th of November he attacked the Christian army on the plain of Varna. Hunyades with his wonted impetuosity charged and routed the left wing of the Mussulmans, while Ladislas with his cavalry pierced their centre and reached the Sultan himself. The two monarchs were about to engage in personal combat, when the King of Hungary, borne down by numbers, fell covered with wounds. His death spread dismay among the Crusaders, and they fled in disorder. Cardinal Julian sold his life dearly and fell fighting like a soldier; ten thousand Christians lay strewn upon the field. The battle of Varna secured to the Turks the rule of the provinces they had already won in Europe, and opened the way to new, conquests; but the losses of the Christian army were irreparable. John Palæologus, for whose sake these Christian heroes

* The same who presided at the opening of the Council of Basle

fell, died without glory, in 1449. He was succeeded by Constantine Dragases, whose heroic death redeemed, at least to some extent, the inglorious end of the Lower Empire. The name of Constantine seemed fated to attend the rise and the fall of the Byzantine empire.

21. Amurath was succeeded by his son Mahomet II., upon whom the Turks bestowed the title of Great, "doubtless," says Fleury, "because he never showed any thing like moderation in pride, avarice, rapine, perfidy, cruelty, in all manner of licentiousness, and especially in impiety." Immediately upon his accession to the throne, his first care was to add these words to the public prayers, in all the mosques: "The best prince is he who shall capture Constantinople; the best army shall be his." These significant words soon became the watchword throughout the Mussulman army. In 1452, six thousand workmen, under the personal superintendence of the sultan, were engaged in building a fortress upon the right bank of the Bosphorus, within the imperial domain, for the purpose of intercepting the Greek commerce in the Black Sea, and the forces that might be sent to the help of the Eastern capital. Constantine protested against this violation of his territory, at first in moderate terms. "Go tell your master," answered the Mussulman to the Greek ambassadors, "that the sultan who reigns to-day is not like his predecessors, and that their highest ambition did not reach the bounds of his present power." Palæologus replied like a Christian and a soldier: "Since neither oaths nor treaties are able to secure peace, I shall do my duty, I shall defend my people; with them I can conquer or die." Three hundred thousand Turks sat down before Constantinople, which was defended by ten thousand men. Palæologus had written to Pope Nicholas V., asking for help in his great danger, and urging him to send a legate to Constantinople, to attempt to recall the schismatics. The Sovereign Pontiff addressed the most earnest appeals to all the Western courts, to arouse the zeal of the Christian princes, and to rekindle the spirit of the Holy Wars in the hearts of the people. Venice and

Genoa alone answered the Pontiff's call to arms. They could best appreciate the importance of the crisis, since their commercial relations were more frequent with the countries now held by the Turks. Their notions of geography were far superior to those of most European nations at that time; they sent their troops to swell the ranks of the Greek emperor and bring him, not the hope of victory, but the means of holding out longer in his desperate resistance. The Latin auxiliaries were received with curses by the people of Byzantium. Religious antipathies and the hatred of the schismatics against the Catholics, had never raged with more fury. Constantine Palæologus, a hero worthy of the brightest days of chivalry, a model of the purest patriotism, was assailed by his shameless subjects with the bitterest and most insulting taunts. "Away with them!" cried the Greeks; "we want no Latin allies! Away with the worship of the azymites!" The popular frenzy reached even the higher classes; and the Grand-Duke Notaras was heard to say: "For my part, I would rather see the turban of Mahomet than the Pope's tiara, in Constantinople." Cardinal Isidore, the legate sent by Pope Nicholas, at the request of the Greek emperor, was not spared by the violence of the schismatics. "Wait," they cried, "until the city is delivered from the attack of the fierce sultan, and we will show you whether we are reconciled to the azymites." A demoniac named Scholarius went about through the most populous portions of the city, fanning the flame of discord. "Why will you give up your faith?" he exclaimed. "With your faith you must lose your city. Do not trust the Italians. If you submit to them, you accept a foreign yoke."

22. Still the Venetian and Genoese troops fought like lions; they were worthy to serve under Constantine Palæologus, who multiplied himself to meet the assaults of the Turks. Fourteen powerful batteries, under Mahomet's personal direction, thundered incessantly against the walls. The beleaguered garrison replied by a shower of darts, javelins and Greek fire. The fearless and watchful emperor encouraged his

soldiers by word and example; he was always found where danger threatened. He knew no rest; his days were spent in combat, his nights in directing the repair of the walls shattered or broken down by the besiegers. He had kept up this heroic resistance for nine months. Mahomet, despairing of victory over such determined valor, planned and executed one of those daring feats of strategy which change the fortune of war and compel the admiration of history. His fleet of eighty ships rode at anchor in the Bosphorus; but the strong defences of the city on the water side made it comparatively useless. He conceived the thought of conveying all the ships, by land, to the Golden Horn, the port of Constantinople, protected only by iron chains which could be easily broken. The Turkish fleet was drawn, by main strength, along an inclined plane of well-greased planks, and on the following morning was anchored in the port of Byzantium. "Within a few days," said Mahomet II., "Constantinople shall hold my throne or my grave." The 29th of May, A. D. 1453, was the day appointed for the assault. Palæologus, equal in this crisis to the greatest heroes of antiquity, spent the night in the discharge of his last religious duties; then quitting the palace of his fathers, which he was never again to behold in life, he armed himself, mounted his horse, called together his handful of brave warriors in the Hippodrome and thus addressed them: "Companions in arms, we go to our last triumph or to our last hour! Glory awaits us, our country calls! The spirits of our departed heroes look down upon us at this moment! I shall share with you all the dangers of the field, as well as the glorious fruits of victory. But if Constantinople must fall, I shall find a grave beneath its ruins." Such was the testament of the last Greek emperor. The Turks entered the city and massacred its defenders. Seeing his troops cut to pieces about him, and the last hope of success destroyed, Constantine threw himself into the thickest of the fight and received the welcome stroke of death. All the heroism of its last prince was unavailing to save the Lower Empire from the punishment deserved by the unprincipled

faithlessness and cruelty of so many unworthy predecessors. Byzantium fell after an existence of eleven hundred and twenty-three years from the time of Constantine the Great.

23. In less than two hours, fifty thousand Byzantines had become bondmen, to be scattered over the vast Asiatic empire of Mahomet II. Some more fortunate Greeks found shelter in the Venetian galleys anchored in the Golden Horn, and sailed to Italy, bearing with them, beside the pang of forced exile, the precious manuscripts of ancient Greek literature and of the Fathers of the Church; noble monuments of human genius, which they had snatched from the flames that laid waste their homes.

The Pope received the exiles with the twofold respect due to genius and to great misfortunes. Theodore Gaza of Thessalonica; Calchondyles; George of Trebizond; John Argyropules and Gemistes Pletho, of Constantinople, brought to the West these literary treasures which would only have excited the contempt of the ferocious sultan. Nicholas V. showed a splendid liberality toward these martyrs of science, who repaid his hospitality by enriching the Vatican library with rare manuscripts. Thus the hour of ruin for Constantinople was that which gave a new impulse to letters in Italy. By a remarkable coincidence, this revival took place at the very time when Guttemberg discovered, at Mentz, the wonderful art of printing, which was destined to perpetuate and carry abroad human thought and to open to modern civilization hitherto untrodden paths. A brilliant invention which was destined to make human language, in the hands of coming generations, a potent lever of usefulness or a fearful hammer of destruction. A two-edged sword, equally powerful for good or for evil, deserving of all praise for the good, and of maledictions for the evil, it has done and will yet do in the world.

24. Mahomet had the wisdom to secure the fruits of his victory by moderation. He even pretended to consider himself, to a certain extent, the successors of the Greek emperors and to exercise their rights. Finding the patriarchal see of Con-

stantinople vacant, he ordered an election and conferred the investiture with the usual ceremonial and formula. Thus these proud metropolitans, styling themselves *ecumenical*, who had thrown off the guardian authority of the successors of St. Peter, of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, now saw themselves degraded to the point of receiving their pastoral staff from the hands of an unbelieving barbarian whose tools they would thenceforth become. The most important result of the fall of Constantinople was the establishment of the Turkish empire in its formidable unity. The war between the Gospel and the Koran was now to be waged upon the boundaries of the Christian States and of European Turkey. We shall now find recorded on every page of history the attempts of the Turks to invade Europe and the efforts of the Popes to repel and crush them. This constant struggle lasts until our own day. Pope Nicholas V. inaugurated the holy war and made every effort, during the years 1454 and 1455, to form a great league of all the Christian princes against Mahomet II. He seemed to be upon the point of gathering the fruit of his labors, when death put an end to his glorious reign (March 24, A. D. 1455).

§ IV. Pontificate of Calixtus III. (April 8, A. D. 1455—August 6, 1458).

25. Cardinal Alphonsus Borgia, bishop of his native city of Valencia, in Spain, was seventy-eight years of age when the votes of his colleagues called him to the Papal throne, upon which he sat as Calixtus III. St. Vincent Ferrer had foretold his elevation. Though at an age when men are wont to lose their native energy, the new Pope still kept his youthful vigor unimpaired. On the day of his exaltation, he uttered the solemn vow: "In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, I swear to pursue to the death, by every means in my power, the infidel Turks, those cruel enemies of the Christian name." He kept his word. Æneas Sylvius was sent to all the European courts to organize the Crusade, while the illustrious St. John

Capistran, of the Order of St. Francis, was appointed to preach it in Germany. The emperor and the Kings of France, England, Aragon, Castile and Portugal, promised their coöperation The Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, had taken the cross and pledged his word as a knight to rescue Constantinople from the Mussulman yoke. This general movement in favor of the Holy War warranted the brightest anticipations. Mahomet II. had likewise ordered the most extensive military preparations. One of his viziers ventured a respectful inquiry concerning the object of the formidable armament. "Were a single hair of my beard conscious of my design," answered the sultan, "I should pluck it out and burn it." On the 3d of June, A. D. 1456, an Ottoman force of one hundred and fifty thousand men appeared before Belgrade. The young king, Ladislas VI., fled from Vienna. Europe was open to the Turks. John Hunyades became its bulwark; and the great captain was ably seconded by St. John Capistran. The great Franciscan had already acquired a high renown by his preaching, in Bohemia, against the Hussites. He was revered by the people as a prophet, and Calixtus could have chosen no better leader for the Crusaders he was sending to Hungary. The Christian princes had not kept their promise. The ardor for the Holy War proved but a passing enthusiasm, which fell as rapidly as it had risen. All the Pontiff's efforts to rekindle the flame were useless. Hopeless of arousing the West, the Pope would at least call upon Heaven to rescue threatened Hungary. He ordered that in every parish church in Europe the bells should be rung at noon, to remind the faithful to pray for the defenders of Christianity, then fighting against the Turks. Indulgences were granted to all who should, at the sound of the bells, recite once the Lord's Prayer and the Angelical Salutation, for that intention. This was the origin of the Angelus, which the custom of the Church has consecrated and preserved down to our own day. Compelled to rely upon his own scanty force, Hunyades performed prodigies of valor. St. John Capistran, with no other weapon than a crucifix, was ever in the breach, inspiring the

Christian warriors with a superhuman courage. All fell before these heroes, and the proud sultan, seriously wounded, withdrew his shattered forces in a frenzy of rage (August 6, 1456). Had Europe now seconded the Sovereign Pontiff's efforts, the Turks must assuredly have lost the empire of Constantinople But all the western princes were occupied with national interests or ambitious rivalry ; and to crown the train of evils, Hunyades, the glorious liberator of Belgrade, and St. John Capistran, died within the year which their triumph had immortalized ; the Turks continued to threaten the Catholic world with their ever-growing power.

The Pontificate of Calixtus III. was shortened by his grief at the cold indifference of the Christian rulers. Deeply versed in jurisprudence, he instituted a thorough investigation of the trial of Joan of Arc and vindicated the memory of the heroic Maid. His resolute firmness commanded respect for the power of which he wielded the sceptre. Juan II., king of Aragon, of whose kingdom Calixtus was a native, thought to rule him still upon the Papal chair. The king's ambassadors were instructed to ask the Pope upon what terms they should live : "Let him rule his States," replied the Pope, "and leave me to govern the Church." History has but one reproach to bring against Calixtus : the promotion to the cardinalate of his nephew, Roderico Lenzuoli, whom he allowed to assume the name of Borgia, and who afterward sat in the Papal chair as Alexander VI., though his habits and manner of life were far from suitable to a minister of the altar. Calixtus died at the age of eighty years (August 6, A. D. 1458).

§ V. Pontificate of Pius II. (August 27, A. D. 1458—August 14, 1464).

26. The chair of Peter may receive a new incumbent ; it can never admit a new line of policy in regard to the great interests of the world. At the death of Calixtus III. the votes of the assembled cardinals fell upon Æneas Sylvius, who had

acted as secretary to the Council of Basle, and whose noble retraction before Eugenius IV. we have had occasion to record. His election to the Sovereign Pontificate was due to his vast knowledge, his eloquence, skill and prudence in the discharge of his difficult duties. As poet, historian and orator, he has left a glorious name. At his accession he took the name of Pius II., and openly declared his intention of carrying on his predecessor's plans for the Holy War. He formed the design of calling a general assembly to discuss the means of carrying out the important expedition. The city of Mantua was appointed as the place of meeting and the time fixed for the 1st of June, A. D. 1459. All the kings and princes of Europe were invited to attend in person or by their ambassadors. To the lasting disgrace of the age, the appeal of the Sovereign Pontiff was once more unheeded. Cyprus, Rhodes, Lesbos, Albania, Epirus, Bosnia and Illyria—in other words, only the provinces immediately threatened by the Turkish invasion—sent their representatives; but they met with no encouragement from the western nations. Pius II. wept as he spoke of the danger which threatened Europe, of the need of prompt and energetic succor. He offered all the resources at his command and directed that all the revenues of the Holy See, in every Catholic kingdom, should be devoted to the purposes of the Crusade. France refused to pay her subsidies; the Parliament appealed from the Pope's decree to the next general council. Charles VII., whose reign was drawing to a close amid an unhoped-for prosperity, utterly forgot the duty of gratitude to Providence, and did not second the generous efforts of Pius II. Germany, whose interest and resources should have called it first into the field against Mahometanism, was wholly given up to civil strife. England was prodigally shedding its best blood in the wars of the roses. Aragon was engaged in an attack upon Catalonia. The south of Italy was also becoming a field of unceasing struggles. The often disputed kingdom of Naples was divided between the factions of René of Anjou and Ferdinand I. of Aragon, a natural son of Alfonso the Magnanimous.

Ferdinand had been adopted by Joanna II. as her heir; but his succession was disputed by the Duke of Anjou, who sought to revive the claims of his family to the throne so repeatedly contested and never definitively conquered.

27. Amid the complicated struggles which were exhausting the Christian world, Pius II. saw that his first duty was to secure universal peace. He began with Italy, and, as suzerain of Naples, pronounced between the two competitors. Ferdinand commanded the sympathies of the people over whom he had been reigning for a year (A. D. 1458). The cruel and crafty disposition of the prince had not yet had time to display itself openly, and public opinion was in his favor. Under the circumstances, the Pope did not hesitate to confer upon him the investiture of the Neapolitan States. This decision was the more disinterested, as, hitherto, the Popes had generally shown a leaning toward the house of Anjou. But Charles VII. was a stranger to the generous policy which acts only upon the lofty motives of general good and public peace. He sent ambassadors to Mantua to protest against the Pope's decision and to put forward the claims of the French prince. Pius vindicated his policy in a clear and energetic reply which lasted no less than three hours. "We are astonished," said the Pope, in conclusion, "that France should have expected the investiture of Naples, in favor of one of her sons, while she yet pretends to enforce a fraudulent contract, openly hostile to the Holy See; we mean the Pragmatic Sanction. It is made a fundamental law of the State; and it is attempted to put forward, as an ordinance of the Church, the most injurious act ever set up against the Pontifical authority." It will be remembered that the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII. was framed in the States-General of Bourges, during the sessions of the Council of Basle and in perfect conformity with the views of that assembly.

28. The closing words of the Pope's reply were, therefore, a formal disavowal of the Council of Basle, of which Æneas Sylvius had been secretary. To mark still more clearly the

difference between the Chancellor of Basle and the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius II. determined to publish a solemn bull, condemning, in the face of the whole world, all that had been done at Basle against the lawful authority of Eugenius IV. This duty he discharged with a self-forgetfulness and frankness which won universal admiration. "We are human," said the Pontiff, "and, as such, subject to the weakness and ignorance of humanity. Among the things We may have said or written before Our promotion, many are censurable; We wandered because misled; We persecuted the Church of God through ignorance. Like the great Augustine, We do not hesitate to retract the errors that may exist in our discourses or writings. Then, I spoke and acted like a youth; now, receive the word of an old man; listen to the Sovereign Pontiff rather than to a private individual; discard Æneas Sylvius and hear Pius II." After a declaration so clear and explicit, the Pope was free to follow the course he had marked out for himself. On the 18th of January, A.D. 1459, he published the famous bull *Execrabilis*, unreservedly condemning any appeal from the Pontifical decision to that of a future council. "It has been reserved for our age," says the Pope, "to witness an execrable abuse, unknown to all former time. Driven on by a spirit of insubordination, some rebellious spirits claim the right of invalidating the sentence of the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to appeal to a future council. Who can fail to see the fallacy of refusing the decision of a certain tribunal to seek that of a tribunal not yet in existence and not even convoked? The most limited notion of canon-law must suffice to show how prejudicial such a system would prove to the Church of God. Anxious to remove from the flock of Christ so dangerous a poison, by the advice of our Venerable Brethren the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, of all the prelates and jurists of Our court, We condemn these appeals, We censure them as unlawful, and forbid any one, under penalty of excommunication, *ipso facto*, to make any such appeal in future." The spirit which dictated this decree was the same that animated a Gregory VII. and an Innocent III.

29. The publication of the bull aroused a fearful storm in France. The University of Paris, the bulwark of Gallicanism, still held to the teaching of Basle. It had learned with favorable anticipations the promotion of Æneas Sylvius to the chair of St. Peter, not doubting that the Pope would prove faithful to the traditions of the chancellor. The wreck of these flattering hopes called forth the full force of its displeasure. Charles commissioned the Parliament to examine the bull. It was a strange pretension in the eldest son of the Church, to clothe a body of civil magistrates with the power of changing Apostolic ordinances to suit their own views. Deep indeed must be the blindness with which party-spirit affects even the strongest minds, since for so many centuries this enormous inconsistency was allowed to pass unnoticed! The procurator-general, Dauvet, appealed from the bull to a future council, and had his appeal registered in the parliamentary court. Charles was highly gratified by this expression of the magistracy against the Pontifical authority, little dreaming that the opposition now displayed against the Pope would at a later day be turned against the royal authority. Excessive abuse of power ever brings its own punishment with it, and, in a historical point of view, it is but too true that children must bear the punishment of their fathers' faults.

30. The death of Charles VII. (A. D. 1461) put an end to the disputes which seriously threatened the peace of the Church. The crown of France descended to Louis XI. By nature harsh, gloomy and intriguing; bold in prosperity, but timid to excess under reverses; habitually penurious, but liberal by policy; devout even to superstition, and regardless, when his interest was at stake, of the most solemn oaths; courting popularity by a feigned condescension, while the walks of his park at Plessis-les-Tours were set with traps; cold and calculating in his cruelty, and sporting with his victims before immolating them—the new king came to the throne with a determined plan of action, with ideas long matured. He had resolved to build up the royal power upon the ruins of the

aristocracy, and pursued his object through the most tortuous paths, overturning all that stood in the way of his design. The acquisition of Burgundy, Maine, Anjou, Provence, Cerdagne and Roussillon, were the fruits of his policy. It cost the lives of Charles the Bold, of the Count of Armagnac, Charles d'Albret, the Duke of Nemours, the Constable de Saint-Pol and of several other notable characters. "But," said Louis, "such are the fruits of the tree of war." Louis XI. inaugurated his reign by removing all the officers who had until then managed the affairs of state, and gave their places to those whom his father had discarded. He intended to enter upon a totally different line of policy. The Pragmatic Sanction, maintained by Charles VII. as a fundamental constitution, was included in the general condemnation of the preceding system. "We deem the act detrimental to Your authority and to the rights of the Holy See," wrote Louis to the Pope. "Produced by a season of schism and sedition, it can tend only to the overthrow of law and order, since it hinders the free exercise of the legislative power attached to Your dignity. It destroys subordination in the Church; and, under its protection, the bishops of our realm are raising up an edifice of license; the unity and uniformity which should exist in Christian States is thus broken. Therefore do we annul and revoke the Pragmatic Sanction in all the States under our authority, and restore every thing to the condition in which it was before the appearance of that edict. Be assured that, henceforth, the prelates of the French Church shall be subject to Your decrees, and act in perfect harmony with Your Holiness." This negotiation had been intrusted by Louis to John Geoffrey, bishop of Arras, who returned from his mission with the cardinal's hat. The measure was, however, received with general disapproval in France. The University of Paris and the Parliament remonstrated on the subject with the king. Louis reserved to himself the right of violating the promises he had just made to the Pope. His respectful demonstrations were but a feint, to give to his opening reign, in the eyes of Europe

the support and concurrence of the Holy See. In reality, the Pragmatic Sanction continued, at least in its more important provisions, to rule with force of law until 1515, when the final concordat was concluded between Leo X. and Francis I.

31. Meanwhile Mahomet II. had planted the standard of the Prophet in the islands of Lemnos, Lesbos and Negropont. The heroic resistance of Scanderbeg, worthy heir to the glory of John Hunyades, was the only barrier to his progress in Epirus. The ambassadors of Greece again came to the Sovereign Pontiff for help; and again did Pius II. appeal to the Christian princes to make head against the common enemy. His appeal was unheeded. He then resolved to address Mahomet himself, in the hope that the unsearchable workings of Providence might, by this, stay the scourge which threatened Europe. "Your victory, till now, has been over the Greeks," wrote the Pope to the sultan, "because the Greeks were not, in the true sense, Christians. You have no idea of the power of the West, which you have not yet encountered in the field. If you would but examine the dogmas of the religion of Christ, you could not fail to perceive their superiority over the teachings of Mahomet. By embracing the true faith and receiving baptism, you would strengthen your empire and crown your name with immortal glory. Clovis, among the Franks, Recarede, the Goth, the Roman Constantine, have led the way. You would then become the lawful possessor of what you have usurped by violence and enjoy by injustice." As might have been anticipated, this exhortation was powerless with the sultan. He carried on his warfare with renewed violence. Still the Pope was not disheartened. "We have but one means left," he said to the cardinals, "to move the Christian princes to engage in the Holy War. We must enforce Our precepts and prayers by Our own example. It may be that when they see the Roman Pontiff, their father, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, marching, in person, against the Turks, their hearts will reproach them for their coldness and inaction." The Sacred College applauded the heroism of the Sovereign Pontiff, and a

bull, dated October, A. D. 1463, acquainted the Catholic world with the high-souled resolution of the Vicar of Christ. The Pope announced that he would proceed to the port of Ancona, where a Venetian fleet was in readiness to receive him, and that he would go in person to fight the Unbelievers. Pius accordingly went to Venice, where he was joined by the Doge and the troops of the Republic. As he was on the point of setting sail, death interrupted his journey (August 4, 1464), and thwarted the projects he had formed for the glory of Christendom

CHAPTER V.

§ I. Pontificate of Paul II. (August 31, A. D. 1464—July 26, 1471)

1. Election of Paul II. Scanderbeg.—2. Paul deposes Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, and gives his place to Uladislas.—3. Question of the Pragmatic Sanction resumed.—4. Cardinal de la Balue.—5. Prudent administration of Paul II. Death of the Pope.

§ II. Pontificate of Sixtus IV. (August 9, A. D. 1471—August 13, 1484).

6. Efforts of Sixtus IV. to organize a Crusade against the Turks.—7. Peter d'Aubusson. Siege of Rhodes. Death of Mahomet II.—8. Revolution in Florence. Execution of Francis Salviati, archbishop of Pisa. The city of Florence placed under interdict. League of the Italian principalities with France against Sixtus IV.—9. Policy of the Sovereign Pontiffs in Italy. Death of Sixtus IV.—10. Death of Louis XI. St. Francis of Paula.

§ III. Pontificate of Innocent VIII. (August 29, A. D. 1484—July 24, 1492).

11. Contest in the East for the succession of Mahomet II. Bajazet I. Prince Zizim.—12. Fruitless attempt of Bajazet upon Italy.—13. Troubles in Naples.—14. Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic. Inquisition in Spain. Torquemada.—15. Death of Innocent VIII. Pico della Mirandola.

§ IV. Pontificate of Alexander VI. (August 11, A. D. 1492—August 18, 1503).

16. Election of Alexander VI. His character.—17. Alexander divides the territory of the New World between the Kings of Spain and Portugal.—18. Safety and order restored to Rome by Alexander. Ludovico Sforza, *il Moro*, duke of Milan, calls the French into Italy.—19. The Roman nobles submit to Charles VIII. Entry of Charles into Rome. Expedition against Naples.—20. Punishment of the Roman nobles.—21. Savonarola.—22. Revolt of Savonarola against the authority of the Holy See. His execution.—23. Accession of Louis XII. to the throne of France. New attempt upon Italy. Death of Alexander VI.

§ V. Pontificate of Pius III. (September 23, A. D. 1503—October 18, 1503).

24. Election and death of Pius III.

§ VI. Pontificate of Julius II. (November 1, A. D. 1503—February 21, 1513).

25. Character of Julius II.—26. League of the European rulers against the Pope. The false Council of Pisa deposes the Pope.—27. Seventeenth general Council of Lateran.—28. Intellectual movement in Italy at this period. *Renaissance.*

§ I. Pontificate of Paul II. (August 31, A. D. 1464—July 26, 1471).

1. The cardinals were all at Ancona; but Pius II. had enjoined them not to proceed to the election of his successor until their return to Rome. They respected the wish of the dying Pontiff; and, on their return to the Eternal City, elected the Venetian cardinal, Nicholas Barbo, of the title of St. Mark, who took the name of Paul II. During the conclave, the cardinals renewed an attempt which had hitherto met with but little success. Notwithstanding the canonical axiom: "Papa electus ligari non potest," they drew up an agreement by which the future Pope was to bind himself: 1. To promote no one to the cardinalate without the consent of the Sacred College; 2. To restore the ancient discipline of the Roman Court; 3. To convoke a general council within three years; 4. To prosecute the war against the Turks. The first act of the new Pope was to annul the agreement, declaring that he felt himself bound to the observance only of the last article; and, to console the cardinals in their disappointment at this check, he granted them the privilege of wearing the purple dress and red hat, until then exclusively used by the Popes.

Paul II. now turned his whole attention to the Eastern expedition. He gave the example by obliging himself to furnish a yearly subsidy of a hundred thousand gold crowns to the Hungarians, and the same sum to Scanderbeg, to defray the expenses of the Turkish war. The Venetian fleet was joined by twenty galleys, equipped by the Pontifical treasury. Cardinal Francis Piccolomini was sent, as Apostolic legate, to a diet of the empire, and charged to preach the Crusade to the assembled princes. The most brilliant promises were made to

the nuncio. One hundred thousand Germans were to be in arms, within a year, to fly to the assistance of Hungary. "But these were mere words," say the contemporary historians "Neither the victories of the Turks, nor the wretched condition of Christendom, nor the zealous efforts of Paul II., in so just and glorious a cause, were able to overcome the indifference of the head and members of the empire." They lacked the soul of Scanderbeg, who was popularly called the *second Alexander* and the *Christian Gideon*. The hero, learning that Mahomet II. had sent fifty thousand men to invest Croya, the Albanian capital, hurried forward to the rescue, threw himself into the city, and, after a resistance of two months, forced the Turks to raise the siege. A second attempt of the sultan was not more successful. The province of Albania, poor and wasted by war, rendered almost impassable by its many rugged defiles, defended by a hero and by troops deemed unconquerable, was a thorn in the breast of the Turkish sultan. Hopeless of conquering Scanderbeg, Mahomet determined to have him murdered. The treachery was discovered and the assassins put to death. Scanderbeg did not long survive this attempt upon his life. He died at Lissus (January 17, A. D. 1467). He had been, for twenty-three years, the terror of the Turks, whom he had beaten in twenty-two pitched battles, at a time when all Europe trembled before them, and their power was at its height.

2. These great military preoccupations did not impair the zeal with which Paul II. guarded the integrity of the faith and of ecclesiastical discipline. George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, had openly declared himself the protector of the Hussites, and, like them, he loudly declared against the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, the temporal possessions of the Church and episcopal rule. The Catholics of Bohemia brought a formal charge against him, to the Holy See, and called for his trial. Frederick III. of Germany vainly endeavored to mediate in his favor. The investigation was carried on with great activity, and Podiebrad was found guilty of perjury,

sacrilege and heresy. It now only remained to pronounce the sentence. Paul II. hesitated; he was not sufficiently satisfied as to the disposition of Germany. But the Cardinal of Porto, John Carvajal, whose decision was paramount in all doubtful questions, dispelled the Pontiff's fears. "If human help fail us," he cried, "God Himself will arm to overthrow the designs of the wicked. Let us first do our duty; Providence will provide for the rest." The Pope accordingly pronounced his final sentence on Christmas Day, A. D. 1466, in St. Peter's church. Podiebrad was condemned as a heretic, and the sentence pronounced him "deposed from the government of Bohemia, which he had unjustly acquired and still more unjustly administered." The confidence of Carvajal was not deceived. As soon as the judgment of the Holy See was known in Bohemia, the nobles met together and offered the crown to Matthias Corvinus, worthy son of the great Hunyades. The new king was crowned at Olmutz. However, a certain number of the electors had given their votes to Uladislas, eldest son of Casimir IV., king of Poland; while Podiebrad himself was not without adherents. The struggles between the various claimants lasted until the death of Podiebrad (1470), when Uladislas was acknowledged by all the States of the realm. Thus, notwithstanding the decline of the Pontifical authority in Europe, in consequence of the Great Western Schism, the Papacy still exercised a sovereign power.

3. The Pope next proceeded to settle the question of the Pragmatic Sanction, which had been agitated during the last Pontificate. Geoffrey, cardinal of Arras, and John de la Balue, then bishop of Evreux and confidant of Louis XI., were intrusted with this negotiation; but the opposition of the Parliament was stronger than ever. The procurator-general, John de Saint-Romain, obstinately refused to confirm the letters-patent by which the king had revoked the edict. De la Balue used every means at his command to overcome this stubborn resistance; his efforts were vain, though his zeal was rewarded by promotion to the cardinalate. From the procurator-general he

could obtain nothing but the positive assurance that he would never consent to the abrogation of a law which he looked upon as the safeguard of the kingdom. "The revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction," said he, "would destroy the ancient order of elections and throw the Church into a state of fearful disorder. The most distinguished subjects would hasten to Rome to seek favors and gifts; the universities would thus be deprived of men of worth and able professors. Again, if the edict were revoked, all the money of the kingdom would be taken to Rome." Such exaggerated statements will not bear a serious examination. The old form of elections was precisely that which Paul aimed at restoring. Should the distinguished men visit Rome, the only inconvenience to be apprehended was that the Pope would become personally acquainted with their worth. They would then have been sent to the various posts for which they were respectively fitted. The care of keeping his money within his own kingdom might safely have been left to Louis. The shallow arguments of the parliamentary official were, in reality, but the protest of Gallicanism at bay. Still the University of Paris strongly seconded the opposition of the Parliament. The rector appeared officially before the legate and declared that he appealed to the future council. Struck by the energy of the movement, the representatives of Rome dared not proceed further in the matter, which remained at the same point during the reign of Louis XI.

4. Cardinal de la Balue, whose zeal had been so signally displayed in this intricate affair, did not long remain in favor with the suspicious monarch. The cause of his disgrace is not clearly known. Without entering here upon discussions foreign to our subject, it seems to us that the well-known character of Louis XI. might alone suffice to explain it. However this may be, the king imprisoned his late minister in an iron cage for a space of eleven years (A. D. 1469–1480). In his quality of cardinal, La Balue could be sentenced only by the Pontifical court. Paul II. accordingly made the strongest protestations in favor of the unfortunate captive. He sent five commissioners to France,

with instructions to call the case before their tribunal and to make the necessary investigations. But Louis XI. did not readily drop the prey he had once seized. He refused all explanation and kept his former favorite in the odious prison to which he had consigned him. The Pope continued to protest most earnestly against this act of arbitrary cruelty. His successor, Sixtus IV., succeeded in obtaining the release of La Balue, who withdrew to Rome, where the honors heaped upon him soon healed the smart of his long and painful captivity.

5. Paul II. had not ceased to exhort the Christian princes to a Crusade. He was beginning to believe that his prayers and hopes would soon be granted, when he was snatched away by a sudden death, on the 26th of July, A. D. 1471. His administration was that of a firm and watchful Pontiff. He signed a constitution forbidding all legates, governors and judges of provinces, to accept any present whatever. This decree was designed to do away with the venality which had so long disgraced the negotiations of ecclesiastical officers. As a relief to the people and to make his rule more light, Paul decreed that the custody of fortresses and the government of cities should thenceforth be exclusively intrusted to ecclesiastics. Human motives never influenced his choice in the collation of benefices. "Ecclesiastical dignities," he used to say, "should be bestowed with care, without regard to the prayers and recommendations of influential persons, after a deep and mature examination of the personal worth of the candidate." To Paul II. is due the first introduction, into Rome, of the art of printing, twenty-five years after its first discovery by Guttemberg. "His highest claim to glory," says Quirini, "is to have endowed the capital of the world with the *divine* art of typography."

§ II. Pontificate of Sixtus IV. (August 9, A. D. 1471—August 13, 1484).

6. The voice of the conclave first called to the Papal chair Cardinal Bessarion, one of the most illustrious men of his time.

for learning, virtue and greatness of soul. But he excused himself on the plea of his weight of eighty years, and turned the suffrages upon his friend Francis della Rovere, cardinal of the title of St. Peter *ad vincula*, who took the name of Sixtus IV. The defence of Europe against the Turkish arms was the unceasing care of the Papacy. History will always bear witness, to the glory of the Sovereign Pontiffs, that they alone, among all the Christian rulers, never lost sight of that sacred duty and ever proved themselves the true representatives of patriotism and civilization. Fired by the same zeal which had animated his predecessors, the new Pope gave his first care to the formation of a league against the Turks. To further this design, he first thought of convoking a council at Rome, but the Christian princes refused to send their ambassadors; he then determined to carry on the work by means of his legates. The Cardinal of Aquileia was sent to Germany, Hungary and Poland; Cardinal Bessarion to France, and Cardinal Borgia to Spain. Cardinal Caraffa was appointed to the chief command of the fleet, consisting of the Pontifical squadron, with those of Venice and Naples. The Cardinal of Aquileia, unable to reconcile the German princes among themselves, returned without having effected any thing. Cardinal Bessarion met with no better success in France, where Louis XI. was busy with expeditions less distant than that against Turkey. Borgia, though splendidly received in his native country, Spain, only succeeded in amassing on his own account a large sum of money, which he lost on his return by a shipwreck, barely escaping with his life. Cardinal Caraffa alone was successful. His combined fleet took possession of Attalia and Smyrna after a successful engagement with the Turks.

7. Mahomet II. led his hosts against the island of Rhodes only to cover with undying glory a name ever illustrious on the page of history. A hero of the stamp of Hunyades and Scanderbeg, Peter d'Aubusson, grand master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, belonged, by paternal descent, to the noble line of the counts of la Marche, and was allied, through his

mother, to the royal race of England. The blood of heroes that flowed in his veins, naturally called him to deeds of glory, which proved him worthy of his descent and superior even to his ancestors. On learning the approach of Mahomet, Peter d'Aubusson called the knights of his order from all parts of Christendom to Rhodes. "The enemy is at our gates," he wrote; "the sultan places no bounds to his ambitious designs, while his power is daily growing more formidable. His countless hosts are led by able officers and maintained by an immense treasure. We have no hope but our own valor, and we are lost unless we can meet the foe ourselves. Hasten, then, with equal zeal and courage, to the rescue of religion. Your mother calls; the tender mother that nourished and raised you at her breast. Can there be any knight so lost to all feeling of gratitude as to leave her to the fury of the Barbarians?" Every knight answered the appeal of the grand master; with one voice they swore to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the faith. To avoid all delay arising from a diversity of commanders and the formality of councils, the chapter requested D'Aubusson to take upon himself the entire control of the military operations and financial concerns of the order, which deemed it fitting to clothe him with this species of dictatorship, during this season of danger. In the month of May, A. D. 1480, the great Turkish fleet appeared before Rhodes; it consisted of one hundred and sixty ships, bearing an army of a hundred thousand men, commanded by the renegade Missach Palæologus, of the race of the last Greek emperor. During a siege of two months, every means was tried to reduce the island: assaults by day and by night, the constant fire of heavy artillery, secret manœuvres to surprise, spies sent to poison the grand master and to learn the weak points of the place. Some of the knights, becoming disheartened, spoke of a surrender. The grand master summoned them to his presence. "If any one of you," he said, "feels too unsafe here, the harbor is not so closely blockaded that I may not find means to set you free. But while you choose to stay with me, let me

not hear of composition, or I shall put you all to the sword." Ashamed of their passing weakness, the knights promised to wash out the stain in their own or the Moslems' blood ; and they kept their word. The general assault was fixed for the 27th of July. Under cover of night, the Turks advanced in good order, amid the deepest silence, scaled the ramparts without meeting the slightest resistance, and unfurled their standards in triumph on the walls. But for the dauntless energy and valor of d'Aubusson, the fate of Rhodes was sealed. Perceiving the danger which threatened, he seized his arms, and commanded the great standard of the order to be raised. "Forward, my brethren," he cried to the knights who surrounded him ; "let us rescue Rhodes or die beneath its ruins." Two thousand five hundred Turks stood in the breach and upon the rampart ; giving the order to charge, d'Aubusson was the first upon the ladder ; twice stricken down and wounded, twice he rose again, and stood at length upon the rampart with his knights. Now they fought on more equal terms and the Unbelievers began to waver. Twelve janizaries, especially appointed by the apostate Palæologus, directed all their efforts against the intrepid d'Aubusson. The brave commander bled profusely from five deep and dangerous wounds. The knights entreated him to withdraw from the scene of carnage. "Let us die on this spot," he replied, "rather than yield a step. Can we ever hope for a more glorious occasion to die for our faith and duty ?" Such words and such an example raised the Christians above themselves. Every man became a hero. The Turks fled in terror and dismay, killing one another in the confusion of the rout. Palæologus, sinking under shame and vexation at his defeat, was forced to withdraw his shattered army. Rhodes was saved. The tidings of this glorious triumph was received in all parts of Europe with an enthusiastic burst of exultation ; and in the following year Peter d'Abusson was made a cardinal. Never had more heroic blood ennobled the Roman purple. The baffled sultan, furious at his defeat, revenged his shame upon the city of Otranto, which was given up to flames and slaughter. The

number of Christians slain or led into bondage was estimated at twelve thousand (August 11, 1480). Mahomet raised a new army of three hundred thousand men, to attempt the conquest of Italy. Judging by appearances, nothing could now save Christendom from the coming danger, when the storm was instantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet II., after a brief illness, in the fifty-third year of his age (May 3, 1481).

8. Italy was still a prey to domestic strife. The house of the Medici was beginning to fill the republic of Florence with its glory; but as every elevation attracts some measure of envy and hatred, the new dukes, Lorenzo and Julian, counted many enemies among their fellow-citizens. The ancient line of Pazzi was earnestly striving to regain its former power. Two powerful factions thus contended for the sovereignty of Florence, and soon dragged all the other States of Italy into the great struggle. Sixtus IV. sent them his nephew, the Cardinal of St. George's, on a mission of peace. The Pazzi had organized a conspiracy which only awaited a favorable moment for execution. During the solemn mass celebrated by the cardinal on the 22d of April, A. D. 1478, the conspirators rushed upon the two Medici. The plot only half succeeded. Julian fell beneath the daggers of the assassins; Lorenzo contrived to escape with a slight wound in the throat. The crime was avenged by the public indignation. James Pazzi, who had been the leading spirit in the whole conspiracy, was put to death with fifteen of his accomplices, among whom was Francis Salviati, archbishop of Pisa. The execution of a bishop, without previous trial or judgment, without any recourse to the Holy See, was a serious matter. The Pope could not allow the outrage to pass unpunished, without lowering the dignity of the Apostolic chair in the eyes of Europe. His conduct, in this matter, needed no guidance from political motives; and vainly have the historians of the Medici tried to implicate him in the plot against Lorenzo and Julian. Sixtus was utterly ignorant of its existence. Rome received, at once, the account of the crime, of its arbitrary punishment, and of the arrest of the Cardinal of St. George's,

who was thrown into prison as an accomplice of the Pazzi. In this state of things, the Pope felt bound to lay an interdict upon the city of Florence and excommunicate Lorenzo de Medici. An alliance was at once formed between the Florentines, France, Venice and Milan. Under the influence of the league, the bishops of Tuscany met together and appealed from the Pope to a general council. Louis XI. was, at the same time, preparing new troubles for the Pope. He assembled the clergy and nobles of the realm, at Orleans, to restore the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had himself so repeatedly sought to annul, at the same time sending ambassadors to the Pope, to beg the removal of the interdict which weighed upon Florence, and the punishment of the murderers of Julian de Medici. The Pontiff's situation was trying in the extreme. He had nobly upheld the interests of the Holy See, and now saw himself threatened, at once, by Louis XI. and by the most powerful republics of Northern Italy. The Viscount de Lautrec, the French ambassador, was instructed, in the event of the Pope's refusal to comply with the wishes of the king, to protest and to appeal from the Pontifical judgment to that of the general council. Sixtus IV. answered as became the Vicar of Jesus Christ. "The King of France," he said, "cannot think of restoring the Pragmatic Sanction, without proving false to his conscience and to the laws of honor, since he has already publicly proclaimed the injustice of the edict. If the ordinance be lawful, why did he revoke it by formal decrees? If it be contrary to canonical regulations, no law can effect its reëstablishment. As for the affairs of Florence, the judgment of ecclesiastics and the direction of spiritual matters do not belong to the king; they exclusively concern the head of the Church." Lautrec thereupon made his solemn protest, with an appeal to the future council, and quitted Rome, leaving the Pope in a situation of the greatest peril. The mediation of the German emperor, Frederick III., however, brought it to a peaceful issue. He persuaded the King of France and the Italian princes to send their ambassadors to Florence, for the conclusion of some final

terms of accommodation. The treaty of peace was negotiated by Lorenzo de Medici, and signed in 1480; Sixtus turned against the Infidels the arms which had threatened a renewal of the fatal schism; he imposed upon the Venetian republic the duty of furnishing fifteen ships for the expedition against the Turks.

9. The death of Mahomet freed Italy from the greatest danger with which it was ever threatened. The various republics were reconciled, and Sixtus was building, in Rome, the Church of Peace, as a lasting monument of the happy event. But the spirit of faction was once more abroad, breathing discord into all the States of the Peninsula, where each city erected its own particular sovereignty, for the benefit of some powerful family. This state of things imposed upon the Holy See the political necessity of restoring unity of power by crushing the tyranny of petty lords. This policy, thenceforth a duty for the Sovereign Pontiffs, was inaugurated by Sixtus IV. with a firmness worthy of his high character, and displayed in the remainder of his laborious Pontificate, which closed in death on the 13th of August, A. D. 1484.

10. Louis XI. had sunk, before him, into the grave (August 30, A. D. 1482). The approach of death filled his heart with the most abject terror. The life he had led gave him more cause than usual to dread the judgments of God, nor was his conscience quieted by the thought of the leaden images of the Blessed Virgin and the saints, which he always wore in his hat; of the many offerings made to the most venerated shrines; by the predictions of his favorite astrologers, or the prescriptions of the physicians whom he always kept about him. Italy was, at this time, the scene of the wonderful miracles by which God made known the holiness of St. Francis of Paula, an illustrious solitary of Calabria, and founder of the religious order of Minims. He had retired, in 1425, to a frightful solitude amid his native mountains, where he was soon surrounded by fervent disciples, prepared to undergo the sternest rigors of the eremitical life. The faithful called them the hermits of St

Francis; but the humble founder would have them look upon themselves as the least in the ranks of religion, and bear the lowly name of Minims. Their rule was most austere, enjoining a strict and perpetual Lent. He perfected it by degrees, drew up a second, for the religious of his institute, and a third, for the third order. This was the man whom Louis wished to see by his death-bed. He hoped, perhaps, that the prayers of the saint would prolong a life to which he was bound by so many ties. The envoys of the French king presented their master's letters to the solitary, who refused to comply with their request. The King of Naples, whose intervention Louis had requested, urged him to grant the favor; but Francis only replied: "Is it reasonable to undertake a journey of four hundred leagues, for a prince who seeks only bodily health?" The saint's resistance increased the impatience of the aged monarch, and he entreated the Pope to use his all-powerful mediation. The arrival of a Papal brief at once drew the obedient religious from his loved solitude, and he set out for the royal residence of Plessis-les-Tours. His journey through Italy and the southern provinces of France was a triumphal progress. At Amboise, he was met by the dauphin; near the castle, the king himself came out to meet the saint, threw himself on his knees, and, with tears in his eyes, begged him to obtain from God the prolongation of his life. Francis promised the help of his prayers, but exhorted him rather to attend to his soul, than to seek the life of a body already weakened and reduced by infirmities. Louis followed his advice, and died soon after, imploring, with his last breath, the protection of the Blessed Virgin. "Sweet Lady of Embrun," he repeatedly exclaimed, "my good Mother, help me!" After the death of Louis, St. Francis vainly begged the permission of his successors, Charles VIII. and Louis XII., to return to Calabria. Neither monarch was willing to lose the wise and holy counsels of the saint, who died in 1508, in the monastery which he had founded at Plessis-les-Tours.

§ III. Pontificate of Innocent VIII. (August 29, 1484—July 25, 1492).

11. The Cardinal of Melfi, John Baptist Cibo, of a noble Genoese family, was chosen to succeed Sixtus IV., and took the name of Innocent VIII. Before receiving holy orders, he had contracted a matrimonial alliance, and two of his children still survived when he was raised to the chair of St. Peter. Francis Cibo, the elder of the two, married the daughter of Lorenzo de Medici, and became the founder of the princely house of Massa. Though these antecedents were of a perfectly honorable nature, the malice of some contemporaneous writers has seized upon them to build up, against the youth of the new Pope, the odious charges which grave historians have been too slow to discriminate. The first glance of Innocent VIII. was directed toward the East. The throne left vacant by Mahomet II. had become a cause of intestine strife in the Ottoman empire. Of his three sons, the eldest, Mustapha, was strangled by his own order; the growing renown and military prowess of the young prince had awakened his father's jealousy. The two remaining princes, Bajazet and Zizim, contested the succession, the more fiercely as Mahomet had appointed no successor before his death. Bajazet founded his claim on the birthright generally recognized in the East. Zizim, on the other hand, appealed to the ancient custom of the Greek emperors, who gave the throne to the Porphyrogenitus, to the exclusion of the other princes; and Zizim was born after the capture of Constantinople. The civil war springing out of these rival claims ended favorably for Bajazet. Zizim was defeated, and fled to Rhodes to seek the protection of Grand Master Peter d'Aubusson. The person of a Turkish prince was a most important acquisition, and one which might greatly forward the interests of the Catholic world. All the Christian rulers were eager to offer hospitality to Zizim. Matthias Corvinus, the king of Hungary, who had won the glory of checking Mahomet II. in

his victorious career; the Kings of Sicily and of Naples, whose States were threatened by the continual inroads of the Turks, severally claimed the privilege of receiving the fugitive prince, but the advice of Charles VIII. prevailed; the King of France declared that the custody of such a charge should be intrusted to Innocent VIII. This judgment was based upon the credit and confidence then enjoyed by the Popes. Zizim accordingly set out for the capital of the Christian world. On meeting Innocent, the Mussulman prince touched with his lips the right shoulder of the Pontiff. It was a singular spectacle —a claimant of the Turkish throne asking an asylum from the head of Christendom. Bajazet looked upon his brother's reception by the European rulers as a threat of war ever hanging over his head. Beside, Zizim proved himself in every way worthy of the respect shown him in his honorable captivity. His noble character had won the heart of the Sovereign Pontiff, who tried to win his guest to the Christian faith. "No, no," answered the young prince, "I would forsake my religion neither for the Ottoman throne to which I yet aspire, nor for the sovereignty of the whole world." Innocent respected the conscientious scruples of the prince, and spoke to him words of kindness and comfort.

12. The opportunity was a favorable one for the European princes. Had they then been united in one great aim, and, turning against the common enemy the arms they wielded in domestic strife, announced to the world their intention of placing Zizim upon his father's throne, the fall of the Ottoman empire had been almost inevitable. Innocent saw the advantage. He equipped a fleet of sixty sail and garrisoned all the cities in the Marches of Ancona. He wrote to the King of Naples and to the other Italian rulers, urging them to prepare to meet the attempts of Bajazet. The sultan made a descent upon Sicily, in the following year, but was signally defeated by the combined Pontifical, Neapolitan and Spanish forces. This was all that the Pontiff's zeal could effect; he would have wished to carry on an offensive war, and thought, for a moment, that

the desired opportunity had come, when Andrew Palæologus, the nephew of the last Greek emperor, and a fugitive like Zizim, sold his claim on the Eastern throne to Charles VIII of France. But the French monarch soon found himself engaged in other matters of importance nearer home.

13. Ferdinand I., king of Naples, who had received the investiture of his kingdom from Sixtus IV., soon showed himself as ungrateful to the Holy See as he was cruel to his subjects. He had made his name odious by the most despotic and merciless violence. In contempt of all law and justice, he had caused the murder, in a solemn banquet, of the Count of Sarno, and of all the nobles whom he deemed hostile to his rule. The Neapolitans arose and called upon the Pope, as suzerain, to punish these enormous crimes of his vassal. Innocent could not turn a deaf ear to the cry of a downtrodden people. The appearance of the Pontifical army, led by Robert of San-Severino, changed the conduct of the king; he sought to conciliate the lords of his kingdom, and offered to submit to the Pope on whatever terms it should please him to name. The treaty was concluded, and the King of Naples pledged himself to the regular payment of the tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold and the palfrey. But with the danger that extorted them, the memory of his promises soon faded from the mind of Ferdinand. He resumed his system of oppression against the Neapolitan nobles, refused to pay the tribute to the Holy See, and returned an insulting answer to the Apostolic legates who endeavored to recall him to the observance of the treaty. Innocent VIII. now armed himself with the spiritual weapons of the Church and launched a sentence of excommunication against the faithless monarch. Ferdinand was deposed and the investiture of his kingdom conferred upon Charles VIII., of France, who also claimed a legitimate right to it, as heir of the house of Anjou.

14. The Crusade against the Moors in Spain was at length ended, after a struggle of eight hundred years, by the capture of Granada, the death-blow of the Mussulman domination (A. D.

1492). Ferdinand V., the Catholic, by his union with Isabella the Great, had brought together under one sceptre the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, though both sovereigns continued, with uncommon ability and perfect accord, to rule their respective kingdoms separately, which gave occasion to their title of the *two kings*. A rare good fortune, or rather the peculiar gift of great princes to recognize and appreciate true worth, graced their court with such a combination of illustrious names as Gonsalvo of Cordova, the Great Captain; the immortal Christopher Columbus, whose genius discovered a world; Hernan Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico; Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, and Cardinal Ximenes, of whom Leibnitz has said that "if great men could be bought, Spain would have cheaply purchased the advantage of having such a minister, even at the cost of one of her kingdoms." After a siege of eight months, Boabdil, the last of the Abencerrages, surrendered his capital into the victorious hands of Gonsalvo of Cordova. Ferdinand and Isabella made their solemn entrance into Granada on the feast of the Epiphany, 1492, and from that time assumed the title of kings of Spain. The power of the Moors was destroyed, but their religion remained; the doctrines of Mahomet still reigned in the lands where the crescent had so long ruled in triumph. The Jews, the natural allies of every power hostile to the Christian name, secretly encouraged the resistance of the Saracens, and thus kept alive in the midst of Spain an ever-burning brand of anarchy and revolt. Ferdinand and Isabella felt the necessity of placing their authority upon an immovable foundation. The greater a power is, the more energetic should be its action. They accordingly determined to establish, in Spain, a royal tribunal of inquisition, to secure the faith, union, peace and happiness of their subjects. The Inquisition had hitherto been a purely ecclesiastical tribunal, taking cognizance of crimes against religion, and handing over the guilty to the secular arm. The Spanish Inquisition lost this spiritual character and became, in the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella, what

we might now call the general police administration. So marked was this character of the Spanish Inquisition, that Sixtus IV. at first refused his sanction to the establishment of a tribunal so formidable (1479), lest the odium of the institution, directed by ecclesiastics in the name of the royal power, should bring a storm of hatred and maledictions upon the Church. Ferdinand solemnly declared that his only intention was to establish a royal tribunal of justice, wholly independent of all purely spiritual jurisdiction; that the peculiar position of Spain called for greater rigor in the punishment of heresy and infidelity, because of the continual contact of the Spanish people with Jews and Saracens; that the tribunal, though directed by ecclesiastics, should be a truly civil institution, imperatively demanded by the interests of the crown. On these conditions, Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. consented to confirm the appointment of Torquemada to the dignity of Inquisitor-general. The enemies of the Church have heaped the most bitter invectives, the foulest calumnies upon the name of Torquemada. They have represented him as the minister of a religion of peace, staining his hands by bloody executions; as the sole framer of the inquisitorial statutes, and of the rigorous penal code under which its victims suffered. In a word, the name of Torquemada appears to frightened imaginations, surrounded by flames which consume the hapless victims of the Inquisition's *autos-da-fé*. These are but examples of those philosophical misrepresentations which have almost acquired the force of truth by dint of repetition. The laws of the Inquisition were framed, in royal council, by Ferdinand and Isabella; Torquemada was only their minister. It is as unjust to cast upon him the odium of these executions, as it would be to apply the name of executioner to a minister of justice, because capital punishment has been inflicted during his administration. The penal laws condemning heretics to the stake were not peculiar to Spain. We have several times had occasion to observe that, in mediæval legislation, this form of punishment was universally applied to the crime of heresy.

The ideas and customs of our own day are naturally opposed to this degree of severity. But we cannot pretend to judge the actions of past ages by the standard of our own. Be this as it may, the history of the Spanish Inquisition has nothing in common with that of the Church. It was an institution depending upon the royal authority, holding from that authority its jurisdiction, laws, constitution and form. It belongs to political history to judge this tribunal; and, even on this ground, it would not be hard to justify it. It will suffice to quote a single expression of M. de Maistre:—"Had there been an Inquisition in Germany, to condemn Luther to the flames of an *auto-da-fé*, his death would have spared that of several millions of innocent victims."

15. While the standard of Ferdinand the Catholic was crowned with victory in Spain, it was also planted on the shores of America, by Columbus, and Luther first saw the light in an obscure village of Germany. Protestantism, the great heresy of modern times, was soon to stain Europe with blood. These two names and events changed the destinies of the world. Innocent VIII. had, meanwhile, died at Rome, on the 25th of July, A. D. 1492. The last years of his Pontificate were illustrated by a prodigy of learning, in the celebrated Pico della Mirandola, who, at the age of twenty-three years, defended before the assembled Roman doctors the famous thesis: *de omni re scibili, et quibusdam aliis.* This thesis contained nine hundred propositions drawn from the writings of Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Chaldean authors. This intellectual feat was, perhaps, not really as difficult as might, at first sight, appear, and shows rather a retentive memory than vast acquirements. The *loci communes* of the scholasticism then in vigor furnished well-prepared reasons and intrinsic arguments, in support of every opinion. This may have been the whole secret of the wonderful reputation of Pico della Mirandola.

§ IV. Pontificate of Alexander VI. (August 11, 1492—August 18, 1503).

16. In the course of the funeral oration pronounced over Innocent VIII. by the bishop, Leonelli, the orator thus addressed the assembled cardinals: "Hasten to choose a successor to the deceased Pontiff, for Rome is hourly made the scene of some new deed of robbery or murder." "In fact," says a contemporary writer, "the city was full of evil-doers, of bandits, of men whose very look was threatening and repulsive." The cardinals followed the advice. On the day following the obsequies of Innocent, they went into conclave. The first ballot was divided on Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Roderico Borgia (Lenzuoli). Sforza was favored by the influence of his name and the power of his family; the energy and vigor of Borgia seemed better fitted to meet the dangers which threatened the Church. He was elected and took the name of Alexander VI. If the Apostolic See were an ordinary throne, requiring in its incumbent only ability, quick perception, a liberal disposition, sound judgment with a prompt and energetic execution—Alexander VI. would have been worthy to occupy it. He possessed those qualities which shine in rulers: affability, magnificence, display and prestige. His accession was hailed with transport by the Roman people. "All," says Guicciardini, "appreciated the prudence of Borgia, his uncommon perspicacity, deep penetration, lofty eloquence, incredible perseverance, tireless activity and the tact displayed in all his undertakings." But these qualities, which make a finished statesman, are not sufficient to make a good Pope. Alexander lacked the virtues of a Pontiff. His youth had been given up to the sway of his passions. Four children, the offspring of a licentious intrigue, remained a living witness of his disorders. Cæsar Borgia, the eldest, was made Duke of Valentinois, by the King of France, and brought disgrace upon his father's Pontificate by the deeds of violence which he perpetrated in

Italy in the Pontiff's name. His brother, the Duke of Gandia, whose conduct was equally irregular, died by violence, and was found in the Tiber, with nine stiletto wounds upon his body. In fine, the celebrated Lucretia, exalted by some as the wonder of the age, by others degraded beyond the possibility of truth, was too highly praised and too deeply calumniated to save her morality from question. The odious charges brought against Alexander VI. himself, in connection with Lucretia, are the inventions of bitter malice; they have not been received by historians of any weight. Their only resource was the license of romance. There are pens which gather up every item of scandal from contemporary libels, and dispense them under the pretence of contributing to the moral education of the public, while flooding the world with immorality. We hold that there were two phases in the life of Alexander VI.: the life of the individual, which was, indeed, but too much like that of most princes of his day; and that of the Pope, which carried out, on the chair of St. Peter, the policy inaugurated by his predecessors, and preserved, in its integrity, the deposit of faith and of ecclesiastical discipline.

17. Europe was in a transport of enthusiasm at the great tidings of a new world, discovered by Christopher Columbus. The illustrious Genoese had obtained, from Ferdinand and Isabella, the command of three vessels, and in his first voyage discovered the Bahama islands (A. D. 1492). His success won him the highest honors from the Spanish court; he was made high-admiral, and placed in command of a powerful fleet. The Portuguese, whose navy had, until then, been unrivalled, now eagerly entered the new field so marvellously opened by the genius of Columbus. Their first fleet anchored on the coast of Brazil. A warm contest now arose between the two powers for the discovery of new territory. Ferdinand had already obtained, from Alexander VI., the investiture of all the countries of the new continent. John II. of Portugal protested against the decision. To check, at the very outset, a dispute which might easily grow into a war, the Pope traced

upon the chart a line of demarcation which made two portions of the new world, to which the Florentine, Americus Vespucius, unjustly usurping the glory due to Columbus, had attached his own name. The lands on the east of the line were granted to the Portuguese, those on the west. to the Spaniards. The intervention of the Pope, thus solicited by the two rival nations, and the respect paid to his decision, as a final sentence, are no insignificant facts. It is another one of the accumulated proofs of history, that the middle-ages had made the Holy See the final court and supreme tribunal in which all the great interests of the world were submitted to the judgment of the highest and most conciliative authority that ever existed. The bull *Inter cætera*, which determined the new destinies of America, has given occasion to certain men to inveigh most violently against the pretended interference of the Popes in temporal concerns. "Instead of censuring the decree," says a modern author, "may we not rather regret those times when a single word from the Pope restored harmony among princes; when the voice of the common Father of the faithful at once dispelled the clouds which threatened long and disastrous storms? Those were happy days when the wronged and downtrodden subjects turned a look of hope toward Rome, and soon saw the tempest succeeded by a calm, bloody strife by peace, and public prosperity taking the place of the ruin which inevitably follows political discord."

18. After the settlement of these distant claims, Alexander turned his thoughts to the necessities of Rome and Italy. Order and security were speedily restored in the capital of the world. Within a few weeks after the new Pope's accession, according to the testimony of contemporary writers, crime was crushed by a stern and inexorable judge. The Italian peninsula was torn by the most violent convulsions, the result of the intrigues and quarrels of the petty sovereigns who ruled its several States. Ludovico Sforza, surnamed *Il Moro*, ruled the duchy of Milan, as guardian of his nephew, John Galeazzo. Becoming enamored of the sovereign power, he dreaded

the approach of the hour when he should be called upon to yield it into other hands, and took measures to avert the unwelcome necessity. No step seemed unwarrantable to him, provided it led to the end he had in view; this he afterward proved by causing the death of his nephew (A. D. 1494). But he knew that the success of his usurpation depended upon the concurrence of the Italian princes. Alexander VI. received the proposition with horror and indignation. Ferdinand, king of Naples, who had been excommunicated by Innocent VIII., and reconciled to the Church by Alexander VI., also opposed the project. Sforza, as a last resource, urged Charles VIII. of France to invade Italy, for the purpose of asserting his claims, as heir of the house of Anjou, to the sovereignty of Naples. Torrents of blood must now flow to satisfy the ambition of a covetous prince.

The court of France hesitated, at first, to undertake the hazardous expedition. The wisest counsellors feared the perils of a distant war. But the most prudent were allured by the love of conquest, and cautious forethought was laid aside for the time. Charles sent an embassy to Rome, under the direction of General d'Aubigny, to discover the sentiments of Alexander VI. The ambassadors were charged to obtain from the Pope, either by promises or threats, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. "Three times," replied the Pope, "has the crown of Naples been granted by the Holy See to the house of Aragon. The grant cannot be annulled, unless Charles can show a better title. The Neapolitan realm is a fief of the Holy See; it belongs, therefore, to the Pope to confer the investiture. If the King of France wishes to make good his claims upon Naples, he should have recourse to the tribunal of the Sovereign Pontiff, and try to decide the important question by lawful and pacific means."

The policy of Alexander VI. was the only one that could save the independence of Italy. It was received by the Duke of Savoy, the republic of Venice and most of the other Italian princes. Their remonstrances were, however, unavailing to

change the purpose of the French monarch. In the month of September, A. D. 1494, the invading army, led by the king in person, crossed the Alps, and poured down, like a torrent, upon the Italian plain. It was like a coalition of all the various European nations. French, Biscayans, Bretons, Swiss, Germans and Scotch—all seemed to have met under the standard of Charles, as in the Barbarian inroads. This formidable host brought with it a number of bronze cannon, which the French had succeeded in making light enough to be moved with their armies, at will.

19. It has always been the prerogative of power to command the adhesion of the majority. The Roman nobles, fearing for their property, forsook the cause of Alexander VI., and made their submission to the King of France. The Colonnas, Orsini and Savelli, the representatives of the most powerful houses in Rome, promised to furnish Charles with a certain number of horsemen and men-at-arms. Their desertion was a disastrous blow to the Pontiff, who was left unarmed before a powerful enemy; and, to crown his misfortunes, Ferdinand II., king of Naples, died while making preparations for a strong defence (January 21, A. D. 1494). He was succeeded by his son Alphonso, upon whom Alexander conferred the investiture of a kingdom now more easy to receive than to hold.

Charles passed through the principal cities of Italy, as a conqueror. All the old governments crumbled at his approach. Pisa threw off the Florentine yoke; Florence expelled the Medici. The celebrated Dominican Savonarola—of whom we shall yet have occasion to treat more at length—received Charles, in Florence, as the *Scourge of God sent to punish the sins of Italy*. Ferdinand was in Rome, with Alexander VI. He hurried back to his capital, and the King of France entered the Eternal City. The Pope had shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo. This step nearly proved fatal to him, as his enemies took advantage of his absence to ruin him in the estimation of the king; for, if the conduct of the Pope had been unimpeachable, it was far different with that

of the individual. The ominous words *deposition* and *general council* were audibly whispered about the person of the French monarch; but Charles needed the countenance of Alexander. Schismatical measures against his authority would only have complicated the difficulties of the already troubled times; and, after much debate, a treaty of alliance was at length concluded. The Pope was obliged to yield to Charles the possession of Civita-Vecchia, and other strongholds in the States of the Church, until after the issue of the Neapolitan expedition, which it was now impossible to hinder. The king, on the other hand, pledged himself to support the Pope, to do him homage in person, and to treat him with all the consideration due to his rank and dignity. It was agreed that the Cardinal of Valencia, Cæsar Borgia, should remain with Charles, as a hostage, during the campaign, and that Zizim should be intrusted to the keeping of the King of France, who would appoint him a residence at Terracina.* After signing the treaty, the Pope and the French king met in the gardens of the Pontifical palace. At the Pontiff's approach, Charles twice bent the knee before him; but Alexander hastened toward him, and would not allow him to pay the accustomed homage, though at the official reception Charles insisted upon observing the usual formalities. Notwithstanding all these demonstrations, the Pope steadily refused to confer upon Charles the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. Some writers, relying upon the authority of Guicciardini, have falsely asserted the contrary. Many serious charges weigh upon the reputation of Alexander VI.; but no one can accuse him of weakness or defection in his political career. His courage seemed to increase with reverses; the errors of his private life never affected his conduct as Pope; and this is the highest lesson taught by the history of his Pontificate. Alphonso had, in the mean time,

* Zizim died soon afterward, of dysentery, while in the French camp. Guicciardini accuses Alexander VI. of having caused his death by a slow poison. The calumny has now been rejected even by the historians otherwise hostile to the Papacy.

disgracefully abdicated his throne and taken refuge in a Sicilian convent, leaving the sceptre in the feeble hands of a prince but eighteen years of age. The youthful Ferdinand II., deserted at San-Germano, withdrew to the island of Ischia, and saw his palace sacked by the populace of Naples, always ready to spoil the vanquished. The French finished their work of conquest without a battle, and took triumphant possession of the cities which opened their gates to the conqueror (A. D. 1495). But the triumph had been too easily achieved to warrant a hope of lasting benefit. The establishment of a feudal system, modelled on that of France, soon roused the hatred of the Neapolitans. Italy, galled by the weight of a foreign yoke, appreciated the necessity of returning to the policy first proclaimed by the Pope. Even Sforza trembled at the triumphs of the monarch whom his own faithless ambition had called into Italy. A general league was formed against Charles. The cities which had received him as a liberator now prepared to bar his passage, and to treat him as a common enemy. Alliances were determined by self-interest; such has always been the course of human affairs, in all times and places. The Pope alone, true to the treaty concluded with the King of France, remained neutral. The confederate forces, to the number of forty thousand, awaited Charles, at the foot of the Apennines, near Fornova. The alternative was victory or death. In less than an hour the French had cut their way through the living barrier, and withdrew, at least with glory, from a country which they had found it so easy to enter, but so hard to leave (A. D. 1495). This was the whole result of the Italian expedition. The renowned Gonsalvo de Cordova, the conqueror of Granada and of the Moors, was sent to the assistance of Ferdinand II., drove out the French garrisons left by Charles, and the Peninsula was restored to its accustomed state.

20. Alexander VI. did not forget the treachery of the Roman nobles in the hour of danger. Their punishment was left to Cæsar Borgia; and the duty was performed with terrible fidelity. Moderation formed no part of his character. The

Colonnas, who had been the first to forsake the cause of the Holy See, received the first blow. They made a vain effort to avert the storm, by placing their fiefs under the protection of the Sacred College. Overcome by the avenging Cæsar, they were obliged to come, as suppliants, to the Pope and to lay at his feet the keys of their strongholds. The Savelli likewise obtained forgiveness, by giving up their wealth and possessions to the Sovereign Pontiff. The greater obstinacy of the Orsini brought down upon them a more cruel chastisement. They were taken by surprise and executed at Sinigaglia, as traitors to their country. This act of severe justice was accompanied by circumstances which must ever disgrace the memory of Cæsar Borgia.

21. Florence had, meanwhile, been made the scene of events perhaps without example in human annals. They have conferred its celebrity upon the name of Jerome Savonarola. Jerome was a Dominican monk and prior of the convent of St. Mark. He seemed to have been destined for the retreat of the cloister, where his austerity and fervor were the edification of his religious brethren. But Fra Girolamo had received the dangerous endowment of genius, and his virtue was unhappily too weak to bear the splendid gift. Savonarola was unknown; he was placed in the pulpit, and his eloquence won him a power which met and overcame that of the princely Medici. When Charles VIII. had entered Florence, he demanded from the citizens one hundred and twenty thousand gold crowns, which he needed to continue his campaign. Twenty-four hours were allowed to collect the sum. The required amount could not be raised, and the irritated monarch threatened to destroy the city. The terrified inhabitants hastened to the cell of the Dominican monk. "I will go to the king," said Jerome, who had repeatedly warned the people, for more than a year past, that God was about to punish their crimes by giving them up to the power of the French. Savonarola appeared at the palace-gates, but was refused admittance; he persevered in his efforts and was at length led before the king. Drawing a

crucifix from beneath his religious habit and holding it up before Charles, he exclaimed: "Prince, do you know this sign? It is the image of Christ Who died on the cross for you, and for me, and for all of us, and Who, with his last breath, implored pardon for His murderers. If you will not hear me, you will at least hear Him Who speaks by my mouth, the King of kings, Who gives victory to faithful princes, Who casts down the wicked. Unless you renounce your cruel design of destroying this wretched city, the tears of so many guiltless victims will plead to Heaven with a power far different from that of your armies and your cannon. What are numbers and strength before the Lord? Moses and Josue triumphed over their enemies by prayer; we too will use the arms of prayer, if you will not relent. Prince, will you be merciful?" The monk, as he spoke, held up before the king the image of the Crucified Redeemer. Charles was overcome and abandoned his fatal project. His impassioned eloquence was always a most powerful weapon in the hands of the religious; and Savonarola soon found another occasion to try its efficacy. The Medici were driven from Florence by a popular revolution. A new form of government was to be established, and the Dominican prior was called upon to frame it. Retiring for a few days from the pulpit, he set himself to his new task and drew up a Constitution on the plan of the Venetian. It was read by him, in the cathedral, before the magistrates and the people; and from that moment the monk was, at once, priest, magistrate, judge and lawgiver. He used his boundless influence only for the greater glory of God, with results which, at the present day, may seem incredible. By his order, eight pyramids were erected in the public square, and upon them were promiscuously piled dangerous books, indecent ornaments, dice, cards, and other instruments of vice; the whole was then given to the flames. All the citizens were present at this holocaust of the sensual world, offered up to the God of penance and mortification.

22. So far Savonarola had shown himself worthy of his

high renown; but the Spirit of God, which animated the first period of his life, seemed to have withdrawn its guidance from the second. An instant sufficed to dispel, like a light cloud, all the prestige which had attended his name. The Constitution given by him to the Florentines decreed, among other articles, that every citizen condemned for a political fault should have the right to appeal to the great council of the nation. Five conspirators, who had been arrested and condemned to capital punishment, availed themselves of the new law and appealed to the grand council. Savonarola opposed the appeal, and they were executed. The general indignation broke out into a fearful storm. The religious replied only by invectives hurled from the pulpit, not only against vices but against individuals. The Roman court, the Pope and the cardinals were all included in his sweeping denunciations. The secular clergy withdrew their support, the people gave free rein to their fury and a thousand arms were raised to tear down the idol of yesterday. From all sides arose a demand for prompt and just satisfaction. The judgment of the important case was left to Alexander VI. The Pope enjoined silence in the matter until sentence should have been pronounced upon the culprit, who was at the same time requested to appear in Rome to explain and justify his conduct. Savonarola refused, and continued his furious harangues. A second and a third admonition, likewise unheeded, were followed by a sentence of excommunication, publicly read in all the churches in Florence. The proud reformer had rejected the advances of mercy, laughed at the thunders of the Church, persisted in his sacrilegious preaching, and now stood in open revolt against the supreme head of the Christian world. The schismatic was tried before the tribunal of the Archbishop of Florence. Savonarola was burnt at the stake, after having made his confession and received the body of the Saviour with the plenary indulgence, *in articulo mortis*, sent by the Pope (A. D. 1498). Thus perished one of the most splendid intellects of the fifteenth century, victim of his own ungovernable pride.

23. The throne of France had passed from Charles VIII. to Louis XII., the Father of the people, who inaugurated the Orleans branch of the house of Valois. He had been constrained to marry the Princess Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI., and availed himself of his accession to power, to break off a connection which fear alone had cemented. He applied for the necessary dispensation to Alexander VI., who, after mature deliberation, thought proper to grant the king's request.* The bull of dissolution was brought to France by Cæsar Borgia, upon whom the king bestowed the title of Duke of Valentinois. Charles VIII. claimed, as heir of the house of Anjou, only the right of succession to the throne of Naples. Louis XII. also laid claim to the duchy of Milan, in right of his grandmother, Valentina Visconti, and openly declared his intention of appropriating these two splendid domains: the first as a personal inheritance; the second as a right belonging, by devolution, to his crown. Circumstances favored his design. The Milanese were weary of the tyranny of Ludovico Sforza. Frederick III., of Naples, who had lately succeeded Ferdinand II., was at war with the Holy See. All the Italian rulers, including the Pope, favored the views of Louis, who crossed the Alps with a well-appointed army under d'Aubigny and Marshal Trivulce. The invader's march was rapid, but was rapidly followed by reverses. The victory of Cerisolles was the counterpart of the exploit at Fornova, but it only added another bright page to the history of France without giving an inch of territory to the crown.† Amid the warring of men and the din of arms, the

* The inquiries to which the application of the king gave rise clearly showed that Louis XI. had not only used moral compulsion, but even physical violence, to force Louis XII. into an alliance with his daughter. He had even kept him, for three years, in close confinement. The absence of his free consent was, thus, an impediment on the part of the king; and Alexander could very properly annul the marriage, though he has been unjustly charged, in this instance, with a violation of the canons.

† We have mentioned this action in the exact terms of the original, though the author seems to have confounded the battle of Cerisolles, in which the French troops defeated the Imperialists, in 1544, with that of Cerignola, in which the forces of Louis XII. were routed by the Spaniards, under Gonsalvo of Cordova, in 1503.—TRANSLATOR.

Pontificate of Alexander VI. drew to a close. "He died," says one of his biographers, "of a tertian fever, after having received the Sacraments with edifying piety; and breathed his last surrounded by the cardinals." This account differs materially from that of the romances of the day, which state that Alexander died from the effects of a poisoned draught prepared for some cardinals, and which was, by mistake, given to the Pope at a banquet. His death has been as much belied by calumny as his life (A.D. 1503). Alexander's last days were devoted to a great and noble enterprise. He had used his most earnest endeavors to unite the Christian princes against the Turks; his persevering efforts only succeeded in obtaining help for the Venetians, who were bearing the whole weight of the war. Whatever may be thought of Alexander VI. as a man, it must be allowed that throughout the whole course of his administration he proved himself a skilful diplomatist, and did much for the good of Italy and of the Church. "It is, in fact, chiefly since his Pontificate, that the Popes have begun to appear as a secular power, and that Italy has seen its unity rising upon the ruins of a host of petty kingdoms which had formerly divided its territory."

§ V. Pontificate of Pius III. (September 23, A. D. 1503—October 18, 1503).

24. The conclave which met to choose a successor to Alexander VI. bestowed the tiara upon the Cardinal of Sienna, Francis Piccolomini, who took the name of Pius III. He was a nephew of Æneas Sylvius, and it was hoped that he would revive the glory of his uncle's Pontificate; but after a reign of a few weeks God released him from the heavy yoke, and the tiara, which he had hardly time to wear, served only to adorn his monument.

§ VI. Pontificate of Julius II. (October 31, A. D. 1503—February 21, 1513).

25. "Julius II., elected by a unanimous vote, on the 31st of October, A. D. 1503, to succeed Pius III., was to be the Moses of Italy. History presents no example of a man destined to wear the crown, who possessed in a higher degree all the qualities of a great ruler. Equally unsearchable to all that approached him, he was still a stranger to dissimulation; bold in his designs, but never rash in his execution; quick to resolve, but correct in his calculations. He was patient in adversity, fearless in danger, merciful in the hour of victory."* Nearly the whole of Italy was under foreign domination. On learning the tidings of his election, Julius exclaimed: "Lord deliver us from the Barbarians;" by which term he meant the strangers and the petty sovereigns who were contending for power in every city. This expression pointed out plainly enough the political course which the new Pope might be expected to follow. The reëstablishment of Italian unity became his first and highest aim; and this object, to which he devoted his Pontificate, necessarily drew him into military undertakings which have brought reproach upon his memory. In judging the Pontificate of Julius II., the fact has been too much overlooked, that he was intrusted with the defence of a temporal crown, as well as of spiritual power. The impartial historian will give him the glory of having preserved both, in their integrity, amid the fury of uninterrupted storms.

26. The Venetians had profited by the late troubles to seize the provinces of the Romagna. The famous league of Cambray was formed against them by the Pope, the Emperor Maximilian, who had succeeded his father, Frederick III., in 1493, and the Kings of France and Spain (A. D. 1508). The Venetians were defeated by the French, and their submission satisfied Julius II., who withdrew from the league. Louis XII. had entered

* M. Audin, *Histoire de Léon X.*, t. 1, p. 257. 12mo.

into the compact from motives of policy, deeming it the best means of keeping a foothold in Italy. He accordingly refused to cease hostilities, and sought to revenge himself upon the Pope, by supporting the Duke of Ferrara, a rebellious vassal of the Holy See. Julius asserted his outraged suzerainty by excommunicating Louis, and formed a league against him. This was the signal for a new schism. The irritated monarch resolved to throw off the authority of the Pope. He assembled the French bishops, first at Orleans and afterward at Tours, and proposed to them some questions which, according to the theories of Basle and Constance, led the prelates to the decision that the Pope should be warned and requested to convoke a general council, and that, in the event of his refusal, they should take the matter into their own hands (1510). In the following year, Louis forbade the French clergy to hold any communication whatever with the court of Rome, and took measures, in concert with the Emperor Maximilian, for the meeting of a general council. The convocation was made by the three cardinals, Brissonnet, Carvajál and Borgia, and the so-called council was opened at Pisa (1511), with the attendance of four or five cardinals, several archbishops and bishops, with a number of doctors and jurists. The German clergy refused to take part in what was deemed, even in France, no better than a sacrilegious burlesque. After the first three sessions, the schismatical prelates, finding themselves unsafe among the Pisans, took refuge in Milan, where they were no better treated. They held but five sessions here, when they removed to Asti and thence to Lyons, where the *ecumenical council* of Louis XII. disappeared amid universal contempt and ridicule. Its acts consisted of reiterated anathemas and sentences of deposition against the legitimate Pontiff. It was the Council of Basle on a small scale.

27. Julius II. had, in the mean time, convoked a real ecumenical council, in Rome. The seventeenth general and fourth Lateran Council was opened on the 3d of May, A. D. 1512. It numbered more than one hundred bishops, archbishops and

patriarchs, with a large number of doctors, heads of orders and abbots. The Emperor Maximilian, Henry VIII. of England, the King of Aragon and the Venetian Republic were represented by their ambassadors. The opening address, by the general of the Augustinians, presented a lively picture of the woes which afflicted the Church. "Can we," he exclaimed, "without shedding tears of blood, look around us to-day, upon the disorder and corruption of a wicked age, the monstrous depravity of morals, the ignorance, ambition, license and impiety triumphantly enthroned in the holy place, whence even the shadow of vice should be eternally banished? Who can repress a groan of anguish as he looks upon the fields of Italy, stained, watered, nay, if I may so speak, more deeply imbued with blood, than with the dew and rain of heaven! Innocence is crushed, cities stream with the blood of their inhabitants, butchered without mercy; the streets are encumbered by heaps of slain; the whole Christian republic looks up to you, and implores your protection; a council alone can stay the torrent of evils by which it is borne down and destroyed." With this vast field open before them, the Lateran Fathers began their labors. In the first five sessions, they condemned all the schismatical cardinals and the pseudo-Council of Pisa. An anathema was launched against the Pragmatic Sanction, which the King of France had kept as a weapon to be used, on occasions, against the Holy See. Every election of an antipope was declared null. This decree, promulgated in the fifth session, was the last one signed by Julius II., who died on the 21st of February, 1513. At the time of his death, the Pope's policy was triumphant. The French had been driven from Italy and the tyrants banished from the cities they had so long oppressed; the way was opened for the age of Leo X.

28. The political and military undertakings of his Pontificate had not wholly absorbed the attention of Julius II.; literature and the arts found in him a liberal and zealous patron. He resolved to rebuild the decaying Basilica of St. Peter, and intrusted the gigantic design to the celebrated Bramante.

Indulgences were proclaimed in favor of those who should contribute toward the erection; and on the 18th of April, A. D. 1506, the Pope laid the corner-stone, in the presence of the cardinals and an immense multitude of people. Amid the bloody strifes of the Italian princes, letters and the arts began to feel the onward impulse so splendidly developed under Leo X. The mediæval epoch was at an end; its spirit was everywhere yielding to the study and imitation of pagan antiquity. Perfection of form was becoming the only care of poets, painters, and sculptors; they were, little by little, breaking with the Christian traditions of the middle-ages; they sought inspiration only in the models of antiquity. The destruction of the Basilica of St. Peter was the expression of this tendency. Michael Angelo and Bramante, the two illustrious masters of that period, forgot their rivalry, and joined together in urging on the Pope to the bold design. The middle-ages would have stood aghast at the daring sacrilege of laying a destroying hand upon the old metropolis of Christianity. But the impulse was given; pagan literature, brought to light by the fall of Constantinople, had opened the way for pagan art. Julius II. was drawn along by the spirit of his age. Antiquity triumphed; the worship of form was to inspire the master-pieces of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The full development of these tendencies belongs to the history of a subsequent period.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE SIXTH PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. Effects of the Great Western Schism.—2. Opposition to the Pontifical Power.—3. Struggles of the Papacy against the hostile tendency.—4. The Episcopate.—5. Morals of the clergy.—6. Religious orders. Olivetans. Jesuates. Hieronymites. Sisters of St. Bridget. Minims. Free clerics. —7. Mendicant orders.—8. Preachers. John of Vicenza. Berthold. John Tauler. St. Vincent Ferrer. Savonarola.—9. Saints of the period. St. Veronica of Milan. St. Catherine of Genoa. Nicholas of the Flue.—10. General decline of faith and morality among the people.—11. Penitential discipline. Flagellantes. Dancers.—12. Mystical writers. Tauler. Suso. Ruysbroek. Gerson. Thomas à Kempis.—13. Literary revival. Dante. Petrarch. Boccacio. Christian art.

1. The life of the Church, in all ages, has been one unbroken struggle between the spirit of God and the spirit of the world. These two immortal principles, implanted with a never-ceasing antagonism in the human heart, are found, under one form or another, in every period of the world's history. But never was the combat more perilous, never were its dangers more evident and more real, than during the Great Schism of the West. Until then, the authority of the Church had always been sole and unquestioned; a visible centre of action; the source of power and the crown of the hierarchy, against which the furious billows of sectarian impiety dashed in vain. The schism compromised that supreme authority itself; the faithful were placed in a state of doubt as to the legitimate Pontiff; they might remain neutral, and consequently without guide or counsel. The bonds of ecclesiastical discipline were loosened; the spiritual weapons of the Church, too prodigally hurled by the rival Pontiffs, lost their influence upon the people; they became accustomed to slight the decisions of the Roman court; and, when Luther rose to preach revolt against the Holy See, he

found the field for his work of destruction already prepared by past events.

2. When the election of Martin V. had restored peace to the Church, the Papacy found itself opposed to hostile tendencies which it was necessary to meet. A complete system of opposition was framed in the Councils of Constance and Basle, by theologians commendable in other respects, but then misled by national prejudice and the impulse of the moment. Such men, for instance, were Gerson, d'Ailly, Nicholas of Clémengis and Nicholas of Cusa. The state of things, at that time, favored the inauguration of a set of doctrines hitherto unknown, and tending to make the Church a kind of deliberative republic, by removing the authority from its head and bestowing it upon the general councils. The new doctors held: 1. That the temporal power is wholly independent of the spiritual; 2. That the Popes, even in the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction, depend upon the general councils, to which alone it belongs to pronounce decisions, to frame laws, to impose regulations, to promulgate decrees binding upon the Pope; 3. That it is always lawful to appeal from the judgment of the Pope to that of a general council, and thus arbitrarily to stay the effect of the Pontifical sentences. We have so often had occasion, in the course of this history, to offer our own view on this pretended independence of the temporal power in regard to the spiritual authority, that it would be superfluous to repeat it here. The second article, the superiority of the general council over the Pope, decided affirmatively and for all possible contingencies, by the Councils of Constance and of Basle, seems to us utterly irreconcilable with the words of Jesus Christ: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church;" "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs." Indeed, this appealing from the judgment of the Pope to that of a general council had always constituted the great subterfuge of all heresiarchs; and this fact may help to appreciate the spirit of the innovators at Constance and Basle. A fourth and a far more dangerous proposition ascribed to the Pope but a purely episcopal jurisdiction,

with the title of *First of the Bishops*, but without any real authority over the others. Here we see the germ of what was afterward developed in the assemby of 1682, in the famous *Declaration of the clergy of France*, and in the *four articles* of the Gallican Church. We are not surprised to find these bitter disputes bringing down the most odious charges, from all sides, upon the Papacy. We can only regret to find, in the ranks of such a cause, names otherwise illustrious for piety and zeal. And yet it would seem that, at certain periods of history, the noblest minds must be hurried away, by a spirit of blindness and error, into the devious ways of disregard and contempt for even the most august authority.

3. The Popes, strong in an immemorial possession, in an unbroken tradition, in a right so often and so solemnly acknowledged, could not admit a system which must overthrow all principle, condemn the whole teaching of history, and drag European society into untried and dangerous paths. Their defenders, like Torrecremata and Thomas of Sarzano, leaning also upon unquestionable monuments, maintained that the Sovereign Pontiff is the source of the episcopal authority, that he is superior to councils and infallible in dogmatic decisions. The theologians of Constance and Basle, supported in their opposition by the state of events and by the popular spirit, did not give a hearing to the theologians of the Holy See. They might dare any thing, with impunity, against a divided and disputed authority, which had now lost the prestige of unity and power. And yet more. It was already easy to perceive the tendency, forerunner of Protestantism, which led sovereigns to throw off the spiritual supremacy of Rome and to seize in their own grasp all ecclesiastical power. Yet amid these complicated difficulties and hostile tendencies, amid a society worked into a violent ferment by the leaven of discord, there still remained a tradition ever respected by the people, and far more powerful than the false reasoning of the theologians of Constance and Basle. This firm and unshaken tradition was the idea itself of the Church, the basis of its authority, the bul-

wark of its faith. The Papacy had not yet ceased to be looked upon as the centre of unity, and the history of past ages consecrated this character by the incontestable authority of facts.

4. The doctors hostile to the Holy See had especially labored to make the episcopal elections independent of the Papal power, and to confer upon bishops an exorbitant share of authority. But the bishops themselves refused the extraordinary prerogatives offered by the synods of Basle and Constance; they readily perceived that the abasement of the Papacy must be closely followed by their own depression and by the transfer of their authority into the hands of temporal princes. They continued, therefore, to swear fidelity to the Sovereign Pontiffs and to acknowledge their jurisdiction; but they no longer respected the canons, the observance of which, only the authority of the Pope could have secured, had not that authority itself been impaired by the divisions attending the Western Schism. The regulations concerning the plurality of benefices were the most openly abused; and when the accumulation grew into proportions too nearly akin to flagrant scandal, many prelates were known to have united several foundations into one, in order to escape ecclesiastical censures. The chapters, too often ruled in the choice of subjects by motives of interest, or, perhaps, by a desire to preserve and extend their influence through alliances with the higher classes of society, would admit only the sons of noblemen into their institute. It is not hard to see the danger to which such a state of things would expose the Church; the episcopal ministry, being generally conferred upon members of the various chapters, was in great danger of falling into the hands of ignorant or unworthy subjects. It is well worth while to note that the spirit of the Church has never changed upon this point. The ministry of the Altar is exclusively reserved to no class of society, to no privileged race. God, in His sovereign wisdom, calls to it the little and the great; the lowliest names He places side by side with the most illustrious. St. Paul, the Roman citizen, sat in the Apostolic college, among the humblest fishermen of Judea. The Holy Ghost

breatheth where He will, and if He sometimes chooses the weakest things of earth to triumph over the powers of the world, He likewise bends, at times, the great ones of the earth under the yoke of the gospel, and clothes them with that divine weakness stronger than all earthly power. We cannot, therefore, but applaud the decisions of the councils which checked the extravagant pretensions of the chapters, by reserving a fourth of the vacant places among them for the doctors in theology to be chosen at large, from all classes of society. A still greater abuse was threatening to assume the character of a common law by an already long indulgence. The majority of bishops claimed exemption, on a thousand empty pretexts, from the duty of residence in their respective sees. It is hard to see how they could base their claim upon the example even of the Popes who sat at Avignon. The violence of the seditions which had momentarily driven the Popes from the city of Rome was a fact of public notoriety. The hereditary turbulence of the Romans and their hankerings after a republican government, renewed with every period of history, have but too often forced the Popes to remove for a while the chair of St. Peter. It was therefore a kind of outrage on the part of certain bishops, to rest their culpable neglect of duty upon the constraint under which the Sovereign Pontiffs labored, and we can see but a gratuitous insult in the reply made by a bishop when warned of this duty by Pope Gregory XI.: "Then do you, likewise, return to Rome." However this may be, the councils took measures, as just as they were severe, to check the abuse, and to end the widowhood of so many churches forsaken by their chief pastors,

5. These numerous permanent sources of disorder had necessarily produced a deplorable relaxation in the morals of the clergy. Intrigue, simony, corruption and venality, so repeatedly branded by canonical censures, were again rending the bosom of the Church. The scandals were loudly denounced from the Christian pulpit; and the words of the preachers attest the depth and extent of the evil. The faithful wept to see

the bad example given by those whose office bound them to oppose it and to guard their flocks from its blighting influence. As in the days of St. Gregory VII., the private life of the clergy presented a sad spectacle; the spirit of the world, sensuality and avarice reigned supreme in their hearts. The synods and councils found it necessary to use the last degree of severity, in dealing with the scandalous clerics. The relaxation of discipline had reached such a pitch that some doctors did not blush to maintain, as their fellows of the eleventh century had done before them, that marriage should be made lawful for the clergy; they thought that they could best meet the scandal by making it legitimate. But outraged morality found eloquent and zealous defenders, and among them we read with pleasure the name of the pious Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris. Clerical celibacy was saved, the most rigorous penalties were decreed against concubinary priests, and discipline was brought back to its almost forgotten bounds. If we reflect upon human perversity and its ceaseless endeavor to overthrow the work of Jesus Christ on earth, if we recount the intestine struggles by which the Church has been torn, at every epoch of her history, we must recognize the hand of God upholding, guiding, protecting His work; and we thus gradually follow up the accomplishment of the divine promise spoken on the day of its foundation: "Et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam."

6. The religious orders, too, felt the effects of the general decline. As monasteries became wealthy, the monks neglected manual labor; the obligation of fasting was relaxed in proportion, and modifications were made in the primitive rules concerning the quantity and quality of the food. Particular councils were compelled to establish penalties against those who quitted their retreats to mix in worldly society, at the invitation of seculars. The word *reform* was now heard in connection with the religious orders, as it had already been applied to the secular clergy. We deem this the most fitting time to express our views on this word, which was soon to become, on the

lips of Luther, the signal for the greatest confusion in the Church, for the destruction of the Catholic faith in many parts of Europe, and for the triumph of heresy. Unquestionably, if Gerson, d'Ailly, St. Vincent Ferrer, and the other doctors who then proclaimed the word *reform* could have foreseen the enormous abuse which Protestantism was soon to make of it, they would have protested with all the power of their eloquence and of their outraged faith. While proclaiming the necessity of putting a speedy check upon the unbridled license and disorder brought into the Church by this period of storm and trouble; while preaching conversion to so many covetous and corrupted hearts, they certainly never dreamed of *reforming* the teaching, the belief, the faith of the Church, changeless by their very nature, and ever the same through all succeeding ages. When they recalled the wandering mind to the contemplation of the eternal truths of religion, they did not pretend to *reform* the truths themselves; when they placed before the returning sinner the virtues of the saints as an incentive, their intercession as a help, and their perseverance as a model, they had no thought of *reforming* the worship of the saints; when they called upon every soul to come and drink of the living waters, through the sacramental channels of divine grace, they were far from presuming to *reform* the teaching of the Church on the question of grace, and still less to *reform* the Sacraments themselves. In a word, they preached the reform of morals, and not of the faith; a peaceful reform, in perfect harmony with the true spirit of the Church, perfected by the Council of Trent amid the grateful applause of the Catholic world, and far from the spirit of the sacrilegious revolution led by Luther and Calvin. If some of the old religious orders had fallen from their primitive austerity, new congregations sprang up by their side, to console the Church by their fervor and their brilliant virtues. The Olivetans, who derived their name from a solitude near Sienna, thickly covered with olive-trees, and which they made their first home, were established by John Ptolemy, and confirmed, as a religious order, by John XXII., in 1319. The

Jesuates were established in the city of Sienna, by John Colombino, and renewed the austerities of the monks of Thebais. In Spain, Peter Ferdinand Pecha, chancellor of Peter the Cruel, casting aside all earthly hopes of honor and rank, founded the congregation of Hieronymites, or Hermits of St. Jerome, which was soon after introduced into Italy, under the direction of Peter of Pisa. St. Francis of Paula was, at the same period, forming the Order of *Minims*, by which name he wished to remind his children that they should be *the least and the lowliest* in the house of the Lord. The rapid growth of this order borders on the miraculous; so powerful is the charm of evangelical poverty and humility (A. D. 1470). The northern provinces of Europe were not unconscious of this religious movement. A new order, for religious of both sexes, owed its existence and its name to St. Bridget, a Swedish princess, of that royal race whose name is closely connected with the ecclesiastical history of the fourteenth century. The mother-house of the new order was established at Wadstena, in the diocese of Linkœping; its abbess held supreme authority over all the other monasteries of the order, whether of men or of women. The number of these monasteries was fixed at eighty-four, in honor of the twelve Apostles and seventy-two disciples of our Lord. The Order of St. Bridget was approved by Pope Sixtus IV., in 1474, one century after the death of the illustrious foundress. It is known that St. Bridget was favored with the gift of prophecy. The book of her revelations, dictated by her to the holy religious, Peter, prior of Olvastro, was printed in Rome, in 1455. Holland was, at the same time, made the seat of a new congregation of free clerics, devoted to the duty of teaching. The time which was not given to preaching, they spent in manual labor, and in the practices of a common rule followed individually by each member of the new institute. This was a new form of the *regular canons*, of whose institution we have already spoken in its proper place.

7. Side by side with these religious orders which were sent to console the Church in her bitter grief, the mendicant orders.

true soldiers of Jesus Christ, fought with fearless valor in the cause of God. In the midst of the general decline of morals, they still pursued their life of self-sacrifice and zeal, spread abroad the science of theology, and controlled their age by the ascendency of their lofty virtues. It is, in truth, a moving sight, in the midst of a society eagerly running after wealth and every material enjoyment, to behold these humble religious marching on joyfully beneath the standard of holy poverty, consecrated by their Redeemer. It has taken all the sophisms of a skeptical philosophy to bring popular contempt and ridicule upon those truest friends of the people, of their sufferings and miseries. The children of St. Dominic, chiefly devoted to the duty of preaching, undertook the noble task of defending the integrity of the faith against the assaults of heresy. They were the soldiers of the gospel, and on every shore, in every clime, they won new victories for the truth. The Franciscans, or Brothers of the Regular Observance, recognized under that title by the Council of Constance, made themselves the servants of the poor and taught them, by the example of their resignation and charity, so to bear their sufferings as to make them meritorious before God. Europe gazed with reverent wonder upon these heroes of charity, when the plague was scourging cities and whole provinces, shutting themselves up in the lazar-house and the hospital, braving contagion and death, which swept away their victims by thousands, making themselves the fathers and brothers of those who had been forsaken by their own fathers and brothers. Each year, as the harvest-time returned, the sons of St. Francis, in their humble capuchin dress, went forth into the fields to lend the strength of their arms to the poorest families, to the widow and the orphan, who saw their crops gathered in by the servants of the God of charity. From our own cold and self-loving age, the artless narrative of deeds of love performed by the mendicant orders for their poor brethren, may perhaps draw but a smile of contemptuous pity. But if the scoffers will only take the trouble to study out the true mission of charity, they will perhaps find

that its truest expression is the devotion of one's self and person to the poor after having given them all we had. The external cares of this ever-active charity did not so wholly absorb the majority of the mendicant orders as to exclude zeal for study and the influence of the great literary movement which was then agitating the world. The history of their contests, in the fields of science, theology and letters, with the Sorbonne and the University of Paris, at the period of the literary revival, is an indisputable proof of the contrary. At the moment when the intellectual world, following an impulse perhaps somewhat immoderate, was hurrying on to throw itself, in a body, into the path that led to pagan Olympus, the religious orders felt bound to protest against the dangers of this too exclusive tendency. If their endeavors were fruitless, the fault lies with the weakness of the human mind, which is prone to run into excess in all things; but it were in the highest degree unjust to accuse them of wilful ignorance, against which their learned writings and laborious erudition bear an unanswerable testimony.

8. The pulpit was well and ably represented. John of Vicenza, the preacher of peace, whose words seemed gifted with a power to allay all hatred and dissension in Italy, was covering his name with undying glory. The wonderful conversions ascribed to him recall the halcyon days of religion; never, perhaps, since the time of St. Bernard, had greater power been given to the words of an apostle. Germany gave to the Church the Franciscan monk Berthold, an equally popular preacher, whose immense success was wholly independent of the political controversies which John of Vicenza too often admitted into his sermons. On the shores of the Rhine, John Tauler brought to the Christian pulpit a style of eloquence less graceful and brilliant, in appearance, but which he carried to the height of sublimity. The learned Dominican had studied theology in Paris. After his return to Strasburg, his native city, his warm and tender heart was opened to inspirations of the deepest mysticism. His works on the subject are truly classical. But, if we may

believe the testimony of his contemporaries, it is impossible to express the resistless charm, the powerful attraction, the unction and grace of his discourses. He is said to have retired from the pulpit, through a humble fear at his marvellous success. He spent two years in solitude meditating on the mysteries of the Saviour's life, refusing to appear again in public, to address the thronged assemblages of which his eloquence made him the king and master. At length, however, obedience drew him forth. When he found himself again before the multitudes eagerly waiting to hear his words, he broke out into sobs and tears of emotion; he could make no other discourse. This wordless eloquence converted more souls than the highest efforts of elocution could have won. St. Vincent Ferrer met with a like success in the provinces of Italy, France and Spain, which he visited as a missionary. He was everywhere received with transports of enthusiasm; triumphal arches were erected at his approach; multitudes came forth to meet him, bearing green branches in their hands, and hailed him with the words addressed to the Redeemer as He entered Jerusalem: "Bene dictus qui venit in nomine Domini." The holy son of St. Francis, John Capistran, visited the chief cities of Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bohemia, everywhere combating the heresy of the Hussites, from whose ranks he snatched more than four thousand souls. We have already spoken of Savonarola, the celebrated Dominican who reigned, for a time, the spiritual sovereign of Florence. Had he not unhappily carried with him into the Christian pulpit such ideas as prevail in purely human politics, and which led him to deplorable excesses and a tragic end, he would have been held up, for all time, as the model of Christian orators.

9. Though the preaching of the gospel be a powerful means of sanctification and of salvation, yet the example of virtue is even more eloquent. The Church, in every period of her history, has produced an abundant harvest of great saints, proving, by the wonders of their lives, the admirable fecundity of the faith. St. Veronica of Milan and St. Catherine of Genoa pre-

sented to Italy the spectacle of the highest perfection. St. Veronica was a poor peasant girl, utterly devoid of all human instruction and could not even read. But divine grace became her teacher and revealed to her the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, which are "hidden from the wise and prudent," and revealed to the lowly and humble of heart. The interior light which she drew from prayer enabled her to meditate almost uninterruptedly on the mysteries and principal truths of religion. Having, at an early age, entered the Augustinian convent of St. Martha, at Milan, she felt an earnest desire to learn to read, in order to study, with more fruit, the lessons of the gospel. Her manual labors left her no leisure during the day; she accordingly spent the time, which others give to repose, in diligent study, and succeeded, without the help of an instructor, in overcoming the incredible difficulties of her pursuit. As she one day complained to the Blessed Virgin of her slow progress, the Queen of Heaven deigned to console her, in a vision. "Banish your anxiety," said her august visitor, "it is enough for you to know three letters: the first is purity of heart, which consists in loving God above all things, and in loving creatures only in Him and for Him; the second is, to bear with unmurmuring patience the faults of your neighbors; the third is, to set aside, each day, a certain time for meditation on the sufferings of your Redeemer Jesus Christ." True to the teaching of her Heavenly Patroness, St. Veronica made rapid progress in the path of perfection. Her heart was always closely united to God in prayer; and the sincerity of her contrition kept her eyes continually filled with tears. The most hardened sinners were irresistibly won by the unction of her words. St. Veronica died in 1494, at the very hour which she had foretold; her sanctity was attested by numberless miracles, and she was canonized by Pope Leo X. St. Catherine of Genoa, the daughter of James Fieschi, viceroy of Sicily, illustrated her noble house by the glory of sanctity. Married, in early youth, to a rich Italian nobleman, Julian Adorno, she was compelled to bear the hard yoke of the world, amid a constant suc

cession of frivolous pleasures, a whirlwind of cares, joys, and caprices, which enervate the soul by fruitless lassitude and continual distractions. But God called her to a higher state. Julian, converted by the prayers of his pious consort, entered the third order of St. Francis, where he died a holy penitent; and Catherine, released from the only ties which had bound her to the world, determined to make herself the servant of the poor and the sick, in the great hospital of Genoa. The same grace which had called her to this state of life helped her to overcome all the natural repugnance against which she had, at first, to struggle. The accomplished woman of the world displayed the same affectionate and tender delicacy, the same gentle and winning kindness toward these suffering members of Jesus Christ, which had won for her universal love and respect in all her social relations. Her charity was most admirably displayed during the season of plague which swept with fearful severity over the city of Genoa in 1497 and 1501. Her austerities were truly frightful. She had become so used to fasting, that for twenty-three years she passed the whole season of Lent and Advent without taking the least nourishment. During these seasons she received the Blessed Sacrament daily and drank a glass of water mingled with vinegar and salt. It must be remarked, however, that the hosts which were then given in communion to the laity, were much larger than those used at the present time. We also read in the life of the saint, that immediately after the communion she was always offered a chalice of wine, a custom still in practice with those who are about to receive holy orders.* A life so holy was rewarded by special favors and graces. She was often seen, in the fervor of her devotion, borne up from the ground; as if her body, breaking asunder the bonds which tied her to earth, would have

* Baillet has corrupted this statement into an assertion that St. Catherine received the Eucharist under both kinds. Communion under both kinds was for several centuries practised in the Church; but when the Hussites thence argued that it was of divine precept and binding upon all the faithful, the Catholic Church confirmed, first by usage, and later by decrees, the universal practice, for the laity, of receiving under the single species of bread

soared aloft to the home of her thoughts and of endless rest. St. Catherine has left us her own account of the marvellous transformation by which her soul was made a partaker of heavenly converse while her body still held it captive on earth. Her two principal works, entitled "A Dialogue" and "On Purgatory," breathe the highest spirit of mysticism and sublime perfection. God favored her with wonderful visions, in which she was allowed to behold a part of His glory and to enjoy a kind of foretaste of the heavenly happiness to which she was predestined. The saint died on the 15th of September, A. D. 1510. Numberless miraculous cures encouraged the public veneration, and the solemn declaration of her sanctity was made by Clement XII., in 1737. A name even more illustrious than that of St. Catherine of Genoa adorned the last years of the sixth period; it is that of St. Theresa, of whom we shall yet have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. This was the period of heroic virtue and high social renown. In proportion as the world was hurrying away from the paths of piety and fervor, God seemed to be teaching it, by new marvels, that holiness is not only useful to those upon whom it is bestowed, but that it draws down general blessings for the peace and happiness of nations. While all Italy was pouring with enthusiastic devotion toward the lowly cell of St. Catherine of Sienna, Joan of Arc taught France that true piety is more powerful than marshalled hosts, that faith, too, is strong for victory.—Blessed Nicholas of the Flue, among the mountains of Switzerland, taught lessons of the highest virtue. He had torn himself away from honors and rank in the world, to hide himself among the shepherds of the Alps; and still, as if fearful that he had done too little, he continually repeated, with the deepest humility: "My God, my God, save me from myself." For twenty years he made this rugged mountain-side bloom with flowers of sanctity; the faithful thronged around the man of God to gather the words of grace and benediction which fell from his lips. In 1481, in the famous assembly of Stanz, his influence obtained the pacification of the confederate

Swiss, who renewed the convention of Sempach, concluded in 1393.

10. In spite of the living protest of so many holy souls, against the general spirit of license and disorder, it must be confessed that the evil was making fearful progress. "It is for sacred institutions to change men," said the Dominican, Egidius of Viterbo, in the Lateran Council, "and not for men to change the institutions. Your whole mind," he added, addressing Pope Julius II., "should be turned to the reformation of morals, to the renewal of the spiritual life, to the means of staying the destructive torrent of corruption, license and error." Indeed, the world was so deeply sunk in sensual depravity, that the holy mortification taught by the gospel was a thing no longer understood; while superstition was growing into fearful proportions, especially among the lower classes, where the grossest deceit met with shamefully easy success. The dark practices of magic, sorcery and alchemy, were everywhere held in honor. The Papacy took in hand these dangerous vagaries of the human mind, and Innocent VIII. published rigorous decrees against the absurd errors (A. D. 1484).

11. The discipline of penance could not wholly escape the moral blight which had fallen upon the religious life. Disorders were encouraged by the impunity of crime, while the vices and immorality of the people found a lamentable and disgraceful palliation in the scandalous life of the clergy. In vain the Catholic doctors raised their voices, by word and by writing, to recall the necessity of Catholic penance, of those saving rigors to which the Christians of the early Church submitted with such edifying docility. They were no longer heard; no attention was paid to the interdicts and excommunications launched by the bishops against hardened sinners. The abuse was general, and the reaction against the spirit of the Church seemed so much the more energetic, that its triumph, during the preceding epoch, had been more complete. Still the hardened conscience was at times startled from its sinful lethargy by the fearful catastrophes hurled by the hand of God, like thunderbolts,

upon the guilty world. The plague—that sweeping scourge which makes its fatal rounds among the European nations at periods marked by Providence, and especially the black plague, which dispeopled whole nations—was often the prelude to a momentary season of conversions. But even the little good which appeared at this period seemed branded with the same character of degeneracy, and the very reaction toward penance was attended with new disorders. The Flagellantes ran about in troops, through cities and villages, presenting a spectacle of senseless maceration; while the sect of Dancers, on a diametrically opposite principle, thought to check the ravages of the plague by giving themselves up to the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. The most rigorous punishments were found necessary to check this twofold excess.

12. Catholic science, now called into the field against so many disorders, was not, as is so often repeated, exclusively confined to the, perhaps, too absolute system of the Schools. We have already spoken of the mystic doctor, John Tauler, whose words were so fruitful on the borders of the Rhine. The same period received from Henry Suso, a religious of the Order of St. Dominic, a mystical treatise, entitled *The Nine Rocks*. John Ruysbroeck, of Brussels, amid the sublime beauty of his writings, betrays the germ of the false mysticism afterward developed by Madame Guyon, and which even misled, for a moment, the beautiful mind of Fénelon. These dangerous tendencies were ably met by Gerson. "The essence of mysticism," says the illustrious chancellor, "is to know God by the experience of the heart. By means of love, which raises the soul to God, we attain to an immediate union with the divinity. While the object of speculative theology is truth, mystic theology aims at goodness and holiness itself. Scholasticism and mysticism correspond to the faculties by which the sou knows and desires, comprehends and loves; and by all these means may lead to God. Scholasticism must guide and maintain mysticism within the rules of truth. But it is not enough merely to apprehend God in idea; the idea of God must enter

into and animate the whole life of man, and thus mysticism realizes what scholasticism perceives and comprehends." These high and beautiful thoughts are worthy of a writer to whom the divine books of the *Imitation* have been ascribed. Thomas á Kempis, who shares with him the reputation of having written this beautiful treatise, was at the same period an inmate of the monastery of Kempen, in the present kingdom of Prussia; if his title to the authorship of the sublime work is not irrefragably proved, it is glory enough for his memory that he was deemed capable of having written it.

13. The human mind was not long to abide in this high Christian sphere, where its powers were exercised on the deepest mysteries of our divine religion. The literary revival, a movement of immense import, opened new paths to its active researches. The study of the pagan authors had, until then, exercised only a secondary influence upon writers and poets. It was subject to the spirit of faith which ruled the age. This subordination of pagan literature to Christian faith was expressed by Dante, in his *Divina Commedia*, where he is guided through the regions of hell and purgatory by the heathen Virgil.—Petrarch drew the materials for his *canzoni* and Italian poems, as well as for his Latin treatises, from the purest sources of antiquity, whose forms and images were familiar to him. But the Christian worship, the love of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is still uppermost in his heart; and if his works are resplendent with the literary gems of Homer and Virgil, it is only to express more fitly his admiration for the God of the gospel. Every thing was helping to prepare the field of literature for the age of Leo X., and for the elegant latinity of Erasmus, of Bude, of Bembo and Sadolet; while, in the domain of art, the celebrated paintings of Cimabue, Giotto, Domenico del Ghirlandajo, Fra Angelico of Fiesole, Masaccio, Leonardo da Vinci and Perugino, were but a magnificent prelude to the unrivalled genius of Raphael.

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